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THE
STATE PAPERS
AND
LETTERS
OF
SIR RALPH SADLER.



Engraved by R. Cooper.

THOMAS CROMWEL, *EARL OF ESSEX.*

*From an Original Painting by Holbein, in the
Possession of Thomas Clifford, Esq.^r of Tirall.*

Published by Arch.^d Constable, Edinburgh, Feb 7 1809.

246
38

THE
STATE PAPERS
AND
LETTERS
OF
SIR RALPH SADLER,
KNIGHT-BANNERET.

EDITED BY
ARTHUR CLIFFORD, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A MEMOIR
OF
THE LIFE OF SIR RALPH SADLER,
WITH
HISTORICAL NOTES,
BY
WALTER SCOTT, ESQ.

VOL. II.

EDINBURGH :

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AND FOR

T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, WILLIAM MILLER,

AND JOHN MURRAY, LONDON.

1809.

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THE
STATE PAPERS

LETTERS

SIR JAMES GADSDEN

DA

785

53

1809

v. 2

CONTENTS OF VOLUME SECOND.

I. Memorial concerning the Border Service, 1559-60,	Page 1
II. Letters during the great Northern Insurrection, 1569-70,	29
III. Accompt rendered by Sir Ralph Sadler,	157
IV. Appendix to Sadler's Letters concerning the Northern Insurrection, consisting of a Roll of Attainder of such Rebels as were forfeit- ed for the Northern Insurrection.—Letters concerning the Fa- mily of Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland.—The Estate of English Fugitives under the King of Spain, and his Ministers,	189
V. Letters and Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scotland, during her imprisonment in England,	331
VI. Notes of Speeches in Parliament and Council, by Sir Ralph Sadler,	545
APPENDIX, No. I. An Inventarie of all and singular the Goods, Chattells, and Debts of Ralph Sadler, late of Standon Lord- ship, Esq.	577
II. Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler, giving an Account of the State of the North of England in 1537,	596
III. Genealogy of the Descendants of Sir Ralph Sadler,	602
----- Clifford of Tixall,	603
----- Sadler of Temple Dinesley, in Hertford- shire,	608
----- Sadler of Sopwell, in Ireland,	613
----- Sadleir of Everly, county of Wilts,	616
IV. Description of the Monument of Sir Ralph Sadler,	618
Verses on a Visit to the Monument of Sir Ralph Sadleir,	620
V. Catalogue of Fac-similes of Signatures,	621
Index,	625

MEMORIALS

CONCERNING

THE BORDER SERVICE.

VOL. II.

A

The Memoranda which follow seem to regard the State of the Border in 1559-60, when Sir Ralph Sadler exercised the office of Warden, upon the Earl of Northumberland's sudden departure to London.

MEMORIALS

CONCERNING

THE BORDER SERVICE,

IN 1559-60.

No. I.

THE NORTH PARTS.

The monthlie Chardgis of all theextraordinarie Garrisons in the Northe parts, aswell of the Captens, Officers, and Soldiours serving upon the Frontiers against Scotland, as also of the Fortifications ther, the xxij^d of August, 1559.

Sir JAMES CROFTE, Knight,

	per diem. xxs.	per mensem. <hr/>	
Capten generall of Berwik	-		xxviij <i>li</i> . £28 0 0

GEORGE BOWES, Esquier, Marshall of Berwike.

One capten of light horsemen, at	iijs. vjd. 4 6	vj <i>li</i> . vjs 6 6	
iiij light horsemen, at xij <i>d</i> . the pece	iijs 4 0	v <i>li</i> . xijs.	
One capten of footemen, at	- - iijs.	cxjs.	
One peticapten, at	- - ijs.	lvjs.	
1 ensingberer, 1 seriaunte, and 1 drome,			
at xij <i>d</i> . the pece	- - - iijs.	iiij <i>li</i> . iijs.	
xiiij armed soldiours, at x <i>d</i> . the pece	xs. x <i>d</i> .	xv <i>li</i> . iijs. iiij <i>d</i> .	
iiii ^{xx} vij (87) harquebuziers, at viij <i>d</i> . the			
pece	- - - - - lviijs.	iiii ^{xx} j <i>li</i> . iijs.	<hr/> cxx <i>li</i> . xvijs. iiij <i>d</i> .

Sir WM. INGLEBY, Knight, Treasurer of Berwike.

	per diem.	per mensem.
Himself at - - - -	xs.	xiiijli.
iiij clerks, at - - - -	vs.	vijli.
v horsemen, at xij <i>d.</i> the pece - -	vs.	vijli.
		<hr/> xxviijli.

Sir RICHARD LEE, Knight.

Hymself, at - - - -	xxs.	xxviijli.
x servaunts, at viij <i>d.</i> the pece - -	vjs. viij <i>d.</i>	ixli. vjs. viij <i>d.</i>
		<hr/> xxxviijli. vjs. viij <i>d.</i>

RICHARD OVERTON, Clerke of the Musters.

Hymself, at - - - -	ijs.	<hr/> lvjs.
---------------------	------	-------------

THOMAS GOWER, Esquier, Mr. of thordenance.

Hymself, at - - - -	vjs. viij <i>d.</i>	<hr/> ixli. vjs. viij <i>d.</i>
---------------------	---------------------	---------------------------------

FRAUNCIS SOMERSET, Esquire, Capten.

Hymself, at - - - -	vijjs.	xli. iijs.
j peticapten, at - - - -	iijs.	cxij <i>s.</i>
j ensingberer, at - - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
ij seriaunts & ij dromes, at xij <i>d.</i> the pece iiij ^s		cxij <i>s.</i>
cxx soldiours armed, at xd. the pece ca.		cxli.
iiij ^{xx} (80) soldiours, at viij <i>d.</i> the pece lijs. iiij <i>d.</i>		lxxiiijli. ijs. iiij <i>d.</i>
		<hr/> ccxxxixli. vjs. iiij <i>d.</i>

WILLIAM DREWRYE, Esquier, Capten.

Himself, at - - - -	vijjs.	xjli. iijs.
One peticapten, at - - - -	iijs.	cxij <i>s.</i>
j ensingberer, at - - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
ij seriaunts & ij dromes, at xij <i>d.</i> the pece iijs.		cxij <i>s.</i>
lxxij soldiours armed, at xd. the pece lxs.		iiij ^{xx} iiijli.
cxxviij harquebuziers, at viij <i>d.</i> the pece iiijli: vs. iiij <i>d.</i>		cxixli. ixs. iiij <i>d.</i>
		<hr/> ij ^c xxviijli. xij <i>s.</i> iiij <i>d.</i>
		£228 13 4

CUTHBERT VAUGHAN, Esquier, Capten.

Himself, at - - - -	vijjs.	xjli. iijs.
j peticapten, at - - - -	iijs.	cxij <i>s.</i>
j ensingberer, at - - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
ij seriaunts & ij dromes, at xij <i>d.</i> the pece iijs.		cxij <i>s.</i>
lxx soldiours armed, at xd. the pece lvijjs. iiij <i>d.</i>		iiij ^{xx} jli. xij <i>s.</i> iiij <i>d.</i>
		£81 13 4
cxxx herquebuziers, at viij <i>d.</i> the pece iiijli. vjs. viij <i>d.</i>		cxixli. vjs. viij <i>d.</i>
		<hr/> ccxxviij ^{li} iiij ^s

	per diem.	per mensem.
<i>Capten REDE.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	viijs.	xj <i>li.</i> iijs.
j peticapten, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
j ensingberer, at - - - -	ijjs.	lvjs.
ij seriaunts & ij dromes, at xij <i>d.</i> the pece	iijs.	cxijs.
iiij ^{xx} j (81) soldiours armed, at x <i>d.</i> the pece	lxvijs. v <i>d.</i>	iiij ^{xx} xii <i>li.</i> xs.
cxix harquebuziers, at viij <i>d.</i> the pece	lxxixs. iiij <i>d.</i>	cxj <i>li.</i> xvjs.
		<hr/> ccxxx <i>li.</i> xvs. iiij <i>d.</i>

<i>WILLIAM MARKHAM.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
j peticapten, at - - - -	ijjs.	lvjs.
j ensingberer, j seriaunt, & j drome, at xij <i>d.</i>		
the pece - - - -	iijs.	iiij <i>li.</i> iijs.
xxxvij soldiours armed, at x <i>d.</i> the pece	xxxs. ij <i>d.</i>	xlij <i>li.</i> iiij. viij <i>d.</i>
lxiiij harquebuziers, at viij <i>d.</i> the pece	xlijs.	lvij <i>li.</i> xvjs.
		<hr/> cxiiij <i>li.</i> xijs. viij <i>d.</i>

<i>Capten SUTTON.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
j peticapten, at - - - -	ijjs.	lvjs.
j ensingberer, j seriaunt, & j drome, at		
xij <i>d.</i> the pece - - - -	iijs.	iiij <i>li.</i> iijs.
xlvi soldiours armed, at x <i>d.</i> the pece	xxxvijs iiij <i>d.</i>	liij <i>li.</i> xiiis. iiij <i>d.</i>
liiij harquebuziers, at viij <i>d.</i> the pece	xxxvjs.	li. viijs.
		<hr/> cxvj <i>li.</i> xiijs. iiij <i>d.</i>

<i>Capten INGLEBY.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
One peticapten, at - - - -	ijjs.	lvjs.
j ensingberer, j seriaunt, and j drome, at		
xij <i>d.</i> the pece - - - -	iijs.	iiij <i>li.</i> iijs.
xxx soldiours armed, at x <i>d.</i> the pece	xxvs.	xxxv <i>li.</i>
lxx harquebuziers, at viij <i>d.</i> the pece	xlvijs. viij <i>d.</i>	lxv <i>li.</i> vjs. viij <i>d.</i>
		<hr/> cxij <i>li.</i> xviijs. viij <i>d.</i>

<i>Capten TWETIE.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
Peticapten, at - - - -	ijjs.	lvjs.
Ensingberer, seriaunte and drome, at xij <i>d.</i>		
the pece - - - -	iijs.	iiij <i>li.</i> iijs.
x soldiours armed, at x <i>d.</i> the pece	viijs. iiij <i>d.</i>	xj <i>li.</i> xiijs. iiij <i>d.</i>

	per diem.	per mensem.
iiij ^{xx} x (90) harquebuziers, at viijd. the		
pece - - - - -	lxs.	iiij ^{xx} iiij <i>li</i> .
		<hr/> cvii <i>li</i> . vs. iiij <i>d</i> .

RICHARD PIKEMAN and JOHN PREGLE, *Cpts.*

Themselves, at iij <i>s</i> . the pece - -	v <i>js</i> .	vii <i>li</i> . vii <i>js</i> .
Ensingberer, seriaunt and drome, at xij <i>d</i> .		
the pece - - - - -	ii <i>js</i> .	ii <i>li</i> . ii <i>js</i> .
xliij soldiours armed, at x <i>d</i> . Ɔ diem the		
pece - - - - -	xxxv <i>s</i> . x <i>d</i> .	li. ii <i>js</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
lvij harquebuziers, at viijd. the pece	xxxvi <i>js</i> .	liij <i>li</i> . ii <i>js</i> .
		<hr/> cxv <i>li</i> . xix <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .

THOMAS BROWNE and WILLIAM DYTKEKE, *Cpts.*

Themselves, at iij <i>s</i> . the pece - -	v <i>js</i> .	vii <i>li</i> . vii <i>js</i> .
j ensingberer, j seriaunt and j drome, at		
xij <i>d</i> . the pece - - - - -	ii <i>js</i> .	iiij <i>li</i> . ii <i>js</i> .
xl armed soldiours, at x <i>d</i> . the pece	xxxii <i>js</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .	xlvi <i>li</i> . xii <i>js</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
lx other soldiours, at viijd. the pece	x <i>ls</i> .	lv <i>li</i> .
		<hr/> cxv <i>li</i> . vs. iiij <i>d</i> .

JOHN CARVILE and EDWARDE WOOD, *Cpts.*

Their owne wagies, at iij <i>s</i> . the pece	v <i>js</i> .	viii <i>li</i> . vii <i>js</i> .
Ensingberer, seriaunt and drome, at xij <i>d</i> .		
the pece - - - - -	ii <i>js</i> .	iiij <i>li</i> . ii <i>js</i> .
xv soldiours armed, at x <i>d</i> . the pece	xii <i>js</i> . v <i>d</i> .	xxxij <i>li</i> . xii <i>js</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
xxxv other soldiours, at viijd. the pece	xxii <i>js</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .	xvii <i>li</i> . x <i>s</i> .
		<hr/> lxxij <i>li</i> . xv <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .

WM. REEDE, *Capt. for teh Holly and Ferne Iland.*

For two deputies, thone for Holley Ilande,		
thother for Ferne Ilande, at iij <i>s</i> . Ɔ		
diem the pece - - - - -	ii <i>js</i> .	cxii <i>js</i> .
Two Mr. gonners ther, at xij <i>d</i> . the pece	i <i>js</i> .	lv <i>js</i> .
One Mrs. mate, at - - - - -	x <i>d</i> .	xxii <i>js</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
xx souldiours, at viijd. Ɔ diem the pece	xii <i>js</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .	xvii <i>li</i> . xii <i>js</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
		<hr/> xxvii <i>li</i> . ii <i>js</i> . viij <i>d</i> .

The Gonners of the greate Ordenance at Berwicke.

One master gonner, at - - - - -	ii <i>js</i> .	cxii <i>js</i> .
His mate, at - - - - -	i <i>js</i> .	lv <i>js</i> .
iiij quarter-masters, at xv <i>d</i> . the pece	vs. iiij <i>d</i> .	vii <i>li</i> . ix <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
xliij gonners, at xij <i>d</i> . the pece - -	xliii <i>js</i> .	lxj <i>li</i> . xii <i>js</i> .
		<hr/> lxxvij <i>z</i> . ix <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .

per diem. per mensem.

The Gonners at Carlisle.

Tenne gonners ther, at viijd. the pece vjs. viijd. ————— ivli. vjs. viijd.

The Gonners at Warke Castle.

One master gonner ther, at - xijd. xxvijs.
His mate, at - - - - xxiijs. iiijd.
ij other gonners ther, at viijd. the pece xvjd. xxxvijs. iiijd.
————— iiijli. viijs. viijd.

The Benevolence Monee to the old Garrison.

cxl, at iiijd. the pece - - - xlvjs. viijd. lxxvi. vjs. viijd.
iiij^{xx} x (90) at ijd. the pece - - - xvs. xxjli.
————— iiij^{xx} vjli. vjs. viijd.

Sum of the extraordinary chardges, as is aforesaid per diem. per menses.
lxxvli. ijs. viijd. mmcvli. ijs. viijd.
£2005 2 8

In another copy the following names are added to the abovementioned.

PHILLIPP STIXLEY, Capt. of Fotemen.

Himself, - - - - ijs.
Thalf wagis of one ensingberer, seriant & drome, at vjd.
 ʒ diem the pece - - - - xvijd.
xvij armed souldiours, at xd. ʒ diem the pece - xiijs. ijd.
xxxij souldiours, at viijd. ʒ diem the pece - xxijs.
————— lvli. xviijs. viijd.

JOHN BENNET, Master of thordnance in the North.

Himself, his clark, and his men, at - - - xijs. iiijd. xvijli. vs. iiijd.

JOHN FLEMINGE, Master Gounner.

Himself, at - - - - ijs. iiijd.
The master mate, at - - - - xxd.
iiij quarter masters, at xijd. ʒ diem the pece - iijs.
xliij gounners, at xd. per diem the pece - lvjs. viijd.
————— lxxixli. vjs. viijd.

(In this copy Sir Richard Lee and Capt. Twetie are not mentioned; and it seems too of a different date: it ends with, "the somme totall of the monethlie chardgis aforesaid.")

Men, mviij^cl (1850) besids the chief officers, captens, and inferior officers:

Arg. - - - - - mccccxiiijli. xviijs. viijd.
£2413 18 8

							per annum.
The capten of the towne	-	-	-	-	-	-	clxxli. xvs. xd.
The capten of the castle, with his retynewe	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij ^e xlvi. xjs. viijd.
The marshall	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxxiiijli. vjs. viijd.
The treasurer	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxli.
The gentilman porter	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxli.
The master of the ordenance	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxli.
ij tipstaves	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxiiijli. vjs. viijd.
vij constables	-	-	-	-	-	-	lxxiiijli.
xxx gonners	-	-	-	-	-	-	ccliiijli. xxd.
cxxxij horsemen	-	-	-	-	-	-	vij ^e xxli. £ 820
lvij footemen	-	-	-	-	-	-	cccixli xijs. iiijd.
xxij watchmen	-	-	-	-	-	-	xvli. viijs.
The mayor	-	-	-	-	-	-	xli.
The customer	-	-	-	-	-	-	xli.
The comptroller	-	-	-	-	-	-	vli.
The master mason	-	-	-	-	-	-	xijli. ijs. iiijd.
The master carpenter	-	-	-	-	-	-	xixli. vs.
Annutytes for terme of lyfe	-	-	-	-	-	-	xlviijli. vis. viijd.
The Ferne and Holly Ilands	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij ^{xx} li.
The ————— of thordenance	-	-	-	-	-	-	cxxxvijli. xvs.
Summe	-	-	-	-	-	-	per menses. ciii ^{xx} xiiijli. vjs. jd.—m m v ^e xxvili. xijs. xd. £2526 13 10

There is an error in this accompt.

No. II.

An Estimate of all suche Fees and Allowances as are dewe for the Castle and Towne (of Berwicke) ther, withe the Officers, and olde ordynary Garrison, for one hoole Ycare, as followethe:

The Capten of the Castle.

Sir James Crofte, knight, per ann.	lxvjli. xijs. iiijd.
xl soldiours, at vili xijs. iiijd. per	
ann. le pece	- - cclxvjli. xijs. iiijd.
x gonners, at ixli. ijs. vjd. le pece	
per annum	- - iiij ^{xx} xjli. vs.
xxx watchemen, at xiijs. per	
annum le pece	- - xxjli.
	iiij ^e xlvi. xjs. viijd.

Capten of the Towne.

The said sir James, per ann.	lxxvli. xiiis. iiijd.
Reparacion money for locks & keys of the gates, per ann.	xxvjli. xiijs. iiijd.
ij espialls, at vjli. xiijs. iiijd. le pece per annum -	xiiijli. vjs. viijd.
x blanke rownes per annum	iiij ^{xx} vjli. xiijs. 4d.
	<hr/> ciii ^{xx} xiiijli. vjs. viijd.
	<hr/> vj ^c xviijli. xviijs. iiijd.

*THOFFICERS with their RETYNEUES.**Marshall,*

George Bowes, Esquyer, per ann.	xxxiiijli. vjs. viijd.
xxiiij horsmen, wherof xij at vjli. xiijs. iiijd. & xij at vjli. per annum le pece -	clijli.
	<hr/> ciii ^{xx} vli. vjs. viijd.

Chambreleyne,

Sir Robert Ellerkere, knight, per annum - - -	xxli.
xij horsmen, wherof iiij ^{or} at vjli. xiijs. iiijd. & viij at vjli. le pece per ann. -	lxxiiijli. xiijs. iiijd.
	<hr/> iii ^{xx} xiiijli. xiijs. iiijd.

Treasurer,

Sir Wm. Inglebye, knight, per annum - - -	xxli.
xvj horsmen, wherof iiij ^{or} at vjli. xiijs. iiijd., & xij footemen at vli. vjs. viijd. per ann. le pece	iii ^{xx} xli. xiijs. iiijd.
	<hr/> cxli. xiijs. iiijd.

Master Portre,

John Selbye, esquyer, per ann.	xxli.
xx men, wherof sex horsmen at vjli. xiijs. iiijd., & xiiij foote- men at vli. vjs. viijd. per annum le pece - -	cxiiijli. xiijs. iiijd.
	<hr/> cxxxiiijli. xiijs. iiijd.

Master of the Ordynance,

John Owrd, gent. per ann. xxli.
 xxx gonners, wherof xxij at ixli.
 & viij at vli. xiijs. iiijd. le
 pece per annum - ccljli. vjs. viijd.
cclxxjli. vjs. viijd.

Tipstaves.

Twoo at xjli. xiijs. iiijd. le pece
 per annum - - xxiiijli. vjs. viijd.
 ij servaunts at vli. per annum le
 pece - - - xijli.
xxxvli. vjs. viijd.

Constables,

viij, wherof iiij^{or} at xli., & iiij^{or}
 at viiijli. - - - lxxijli.
 viij men at vli. le pece per ann: xlviijli.
cxxli.
ix^c liijli.

*The great Nombre.**Horsmen,*

lxxvj, wherof xix at vli. xiijs. iiijd., & lvij at vli.
 le pece per annum - - - iiij^c iiiij^{xx} viijli. xiijs. iiijd.

Footemen.

xxxij at vli. vjs. viijd. le pece per annum - ciiij^{xx} xli. xiijs. iiijd.

Watchmen.

xxij at xiijs. per annum le pece - - xvli. viijs.
vj^c liiijli. xiijs. viijd.

Trumpetours and Surgeon.

There is also more allowed unto the said capten and garrison, one
 trumpetour at ijs. per diem, and one surgeon at xviijd. per diem,
 per annum - - - - - lxiiijli. xvijs. vjd.

*Lettres Patents for**Officers Fees, viz.*

The maior, per annum - - -
 The customer - - - xli.
 The comptroller - - - vli.
 The master mason - - - xijli. ijs. iiijd.
 The master carpentre. - - - xixli. vs.
lvjli. viijs. iiijd.

Annuities for Terme of Lif, viz.

Thomas Carlisle	-	-	-	-	xxli.	
Robert Story	-	-	-	-	xijli. iijs. iiijd.	
John Browne	-	-	-	-	xijli. iijs. iiijd.	
Thomas Bell	-	-	-	-	iiijli.	
					<hr/>	xlviijli. vjs. viijd.
						<hr/> ciiiijli. xvs.

Somme totall of all the foresaid payements for Berwicke, per

annum	-	-	-	-	-	-	mm iij ^c iiij ^{xx} xiiijli. vs. vjd.
							£ 2394 5 6

No. III.

A Rate of your (Sir Rafe Sadler's) weeklie Chargis, for your selfe and your Retinewe, if you shoulde bourde within an other.

Sir Rafe Sadleir	-	-	-	-	-	xxs.
Railton	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Tho. Sadleir	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Ric. Sadleir	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Horssey	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Parke	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Greene	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Lovering	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Fryar	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Jaques	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Clerke	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Huntman	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
John Alee	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Starkey	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Adams	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Mr Tho. Man	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
						<hr/> vjli. xvjs. viijd.

To sir John Forster, for the use of thoffice of the wardenrie of the

Middle Marches, Tindall and Ridsdale, besids the fees and profits incident to thofficis of Hexhamsheir Tindale and Ridsdale

per diem	-	-	-	-	-	xiijs. iiijd.
						<hr/> iiijli. xiijs. iiijd.

To sir Rafe Grey, for the exercise of the wardenrie of the Est

Marches, per diem	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
						<hr/> iiijli. xs.

For the intreteynement of 20 horsemen, every of them at 12d.

per diem	-	-	-	-	-	xxs.
						<hr/> vijli.
						<hr/>
Summe totall	-	-	-	-	-	xxijli.

No. IV.

Remembrances for the better executing of the Office of the Wardenrie, &c.

To appoynt som day and place where I may assemble, and mete with the gentilmen of this countrey, to devise with them for the better stay, rule, and order of the same.

To take order with them for musters to be had within both wardenries, to thintent it may be perfutely knowen what number of able horsemen there is within the same, armed, and also what number of fote men, aswell armed as unarmed.

To lerne what marche traitours and felons be within the ij^o wardenries.

To devise that the watches may be kept for the better stay, and avoyding of such stelth and disorder as is daylie commytted.

To devise where it shalbe most expedyent for the deputie wardens to lye for the better execucion of their officis.

To take order that every gentilman within these marches shall answer for his tenaunts and servaunts, and bring them to their tryall, in cases of felonye and march treason, according to the lawes of the realme.

No. V.

A devise for the establishing of the 3 Marches of England foranempst Scotland.

The capten or governour of Darwick, to be also warden of thest marches; for that one man having the rule of bothe, maye at all tymes call the power of the countrey into the towne for the more strength of the same, and also maye, in lykewise, relieve the countrey with the

garrison of the towne at all tymes, as the case shall requyer, whiche wool not be so well doon, ne considered, if there be twoo officers, for that either of them wool have no further respect, then to his owne chardge.

The saide capten or governor of Barwick, to have in garrison xv^c (1500) soldiours during the fortifications, except occasion of warre shall requyer a greater nombre, and when the woorks be fynissed, a thousand besids tholde garrison wooll be sufficient.

A marshall, a treasurer, and a comptroller, to be men of counsaile in Barwick.

The warden of the middle marches to lye at Harbottell * in the tyme of warres, and to have the accustomed fee for his entreteignement, besids the profette of the demeanes of Harbottell for keping of his howse; and also the office of Hexamsheire, † with the accustomed fees of Tynedale and Ryddesdale.

The capten of Norham to be resident uppon his office, as hathe been hertofore accustomed, for the better staye of the countrey.

Sir Rafe Grey to kepe his howse at Warke, according to his convenants, and in the warre tyme to have assistance of the quenes power, to lye there in garrison as hathe been accustomed.

The warden of the west marches, to be also captain of Carlisle, ‡ and to have the accustomed enterteignement for the same.

The iij wardens beyng established, there shall be the lesse nede of a lorde warden generall, forasmuche as always in the warre tyme, the prince useth to make a lieutenant there, to governe the countrey. Nevertheles, if a noble man well qualefied were chosen and appoynted to

* Harbottle castle, on the banks of the Coquet, anciently held by the Umphravilles, barons of Prudhow, for the service of freeing Reedesdale of wolves, and of Border thieves, the more ravenous animal of the two. This castle and its demesne were in the crown in the 10th of Queen Elizabeth.

† Hexham, though a part of Northumberland, was the chief town of a small liberty, called Hexhamshire, which claimed anciently the privileges of a county.

‡ Both offices were long united in the person of Lord Scroope of Bolton.

reside alwayes in the northe parts, and to have suche a porcion of the revenues of the bishoprick of Dureham, as shulde be hable to maynteyn his estate, he myght have the principall care of all the marches, and also myght supplie the place of the president of the counsaile in the northe, whereby the chardge therof myght be abated. And bicause the prince maye alwayes chose a noble man mete for that service, it were expedient that no man shulde enioye that office lenger then he shulde well use it, withoute having any inheritance in the same.

It were mete, also, that ij or iij godlie and well learned men, shulde have convenient interteignment, either by yerlie stipend, or by sune spirituall promotions of the saide bishoprick, to preache and teache the woorde of God, for the better instruction of the ignorant people, which is a thing most nedefull and necessarie in the northe parts, and speciallic in the towne of Barwick, where it were to be wished that one of the saide preachers shulde be placed.

The residue of the revenues of the saide bishoprick maye be applied towards the chardges of the newe crew in Barwick, and of the wardenries, as farre as it wool extend.

No. VI.

A devise fore Norham and Harbottell, with certain articles to be inquyered of, &c.

REMEMBRANCES.

1. The castell of Norhame is the moste convenient place of service for the warden of theste marche to lye at, havinge thereunto anexet all that the holle revennewes pertenyng, and belonginge to the saide castell, withe in Elande shiere and Norhame shiere, as it came to the handes of the laite bishoppe of Duresme, withe the yerlie fee of one pounce by yere.

2. The castell of Harbottell is moste convenyent place of service for the warden of the meddell marches to lye at, for the orderinge of the towe mesdemenede contries of Tendall ande Reddesdal, whiche pertene bothe to that marche. The saide castell and contry of Reddesdall, was, as it is saide, the lorde Talbusses* inheretance, and geven the prince in exchaunge, for that it was so meat a house for the service, bothe for the reulinge of the towe evill countries Tendall and Reddesdall in the time of peace; and the moste metteste place for the anoyeauce of thennymme in the tyme of warres. Sir William Everye, † who was a mane of worshippe, served there, and had the rewell of those towe countries in the tyme of kinge Henry the Eight. The wante of a man of service to lie there, is on of the greateste decayes to the service, that maie be upon the saide meddell marches. If the parsonaige of Rothebery, beinge thre myles destant, ware anexede unto the saide castill of Harbottell, whiche is presently in the handes of one of the prebendaries of Duresme, with the yerly fee of cc^e (200l.) by yere, withe this husbandry, the quenes majestie shulde spare xij^e (1200l.) markes by yere, which is presently geven to the wardenes of theste and meddell marches, and this don, hire highnes shall bothe be better servyde, offenders ponysshede, and the contry defendyde from the spoill of thennymme.

3. To inquire, howe often, or at what tymes my lord haithe callede the gentalmen of this contrey of Northumberland, with in his rewel of theste and meddell marches before his lordshippe, to instructe them there deuties in the service of their prynce, or otherwise to be in readynes for the advoyding of any sodden attempttate that might be offerede

* The Tailboys family succeeded to the Umphravilles by inheritance. Sir William Tailboys forfeited Harbottle castle, with his other property, by attainder, in the 3d of King Edward IV., after the battle of Hexham. Perhaps the family was restored after the accession of Henry VII., and the castle may have again come to the crown in the manner mentioned in the text.

† Sir William Evre was in 1539 governor of Berwick, and in 1542 commanded the northern forces. In 1544 he was created Lord Evre, and held the wardenry of the east marches.

by thennymes. Ande to knowe what godlye moshones his lordship haithe made at eny tyme, to bringe them in love end obedyence, accordinge to there deutes, friste towards Gode, and then to there prince.

4. To inquere, if there be any of the inhabitours within the wardoures of thest and middell marches, that payde rent, or corne, in the tyme of the laste wares, or nowe sence the pece to eny the inhabitants of Scotland or no. *

Or if eny of the inhabitants of Northumberland dide paye eny rent, ether in money, or corne, to eny of the mesdemenyde persones of Tendall or Reddesdall; to calle for the names of suche persones as paide suche rent, and suche licke for them that resavyde it. For the licke presydent was never harde of in this country before.

5. To inquere, upone the lorde warden, whate number of able horsemen, furnysshede with harnes and wappons, readie to serve upon the sudden, are withe in the wardoures of theste and meddell marches. And what numberes of able men withe out horse, havinge armore ande wappon. And whet number of able men in personnes wantinge bothe armore and wappon. Herebye you shall understand the staite of bothe theste and meddell marches.

6. To inquere, what marche tratours ande fellones are within the saide towe wardoures of thest and meddell marches, and to knowe what execucion haithe bene don upon suche offendours senthenes my lordes entrye to the said offices.

7. To inquere, whether the captains dide kepe there garrysones fornyshed with there full numberes, withein his lordships reule of the saide este and meddell marches or not. Ande whether the captens have paide there soildgiors the holle entertenment that was alowed by the quenes majestie or no; and whether his lordshippe haithe sene

* This rent paid to freebooters for protection, or forbearance, was known in Scotland by the name of Black Mail.

the holle nombres brought to the service in the fealde at all tymes or not.

8. To inquire, what spoylles haithe bene comettyt by thennymes of Scotlande, withe in theste ande meddell marches of England; and what explotes commet and don to the realme of Scotlande, by the mesdemenyde persons of this realme, particlerly sence his lordships entry to the saide office; whereby the stayte of bothe the bordours maie be treuly understande.

9. To inquire, whether the wache be put in execution as it was promysse to the byshoppe of Ellye, and the master of the Rowles, beinge commyssioners in theist parties, and to shewe the cause where in the defalte is, that the same is not put in execution accordingle. The wante of the same wache is the occasion of moche stoulthe and desordour; for be it was when the same was observed and kept.

10. To inquire, at what places the deputye wardens are resydent at, and what men of service or knowlege thair are.

11. To inquire, whether the officers of Tendall and Reddesdall, have, at any tyme, taken eny of thenhabitours goodes, within the saide mesdemened contries, for suspece of felony, or otherwise for marche mattours. Ande dothe deteane the saide goodes to there owne proper use and commodyte, the offendours makinge no aunswer to the parties complenante, accordinge to the order of the quenes majesties lawes in that behalfe; the corruptnese of suche officeres, in the detenyng of suche goodes, is the occasion of great disorder of the saide marches, for that povertye constreanethe the saide offendours, frome whome the officeres of those contryese haithe taken suche goodes, and the lawes not beinge executyt upon suche transgressours, the same is ane incorage-ment to those noughtie mesdemenede personnes of the forsaide contries of Tendall and Reddesdall, to robbe and spoyll the trew inhabitours of Northumberland, the reformation whereof is most nedful to be lowcked for.

12. To inquire, whether there be any of thenhabitours of Northum-

berland, within thest and meddell marches, that haithe hade their goods stolne by eny of the inhabitours of Tendall or Reddesdall, ande taken the same agayne, contrary the lawes of this realme, whereby the fellow is not followed. To present the names, bothe of the stellers, and suche as receyvede the saide goods agayne.

13. That every gentelman dwellinge within this countie of Northumberland, within thest and meddell marches, shall answer for suche as dwell upon their lands. Ande if eny maie have cause of compleaunte agaynst eny gentelmanes tennant, or servande, for suspecte of felony; then the saide gentlemen to bringe in his saide tennant or servand, so compleanede upon, to aunswer the same at the next assies, holden within the saide countie. And for marche tresson, to bringe him to the next warden courte, that shalbe appountyt within the forsaide countie. And if the saide gentlemen do not breng in the same, his tennant or servande, then some strate ponyshement to be devysed for the said gentelman in the example of others.

No. VI.

Gentelmen dwellyng wythin the Est marches of England.

Brambro shyer.

Sir Raph Gray of Chelygham,
Sir Robert Elddecare of Hulle,
Thomas Foster of Ederston,
Jhon Horsley of Olchester,
Jhon Care of Bulmer,
Thomas Hering of Howeke,
Edward Bradford of Emletoune,
Roland Bradford of Faladone,
Thomas French of Elyngham,
Henry Fweno of Mousesfend,

Sir Thomas Gray of Horton,
Sir Jhon Foster of Alnewyke
Abbey,
Thomas Bradford of Bradford,
George Care of Lefflee,
Thomas Rodam of Lytell Hawgh-
tone,
Jhon Bradford of Togell,
Necolas Foster of Newam,

Brambro shyer.

Robert Hoppene of Hoppene,	Robert Whytwham of Detchburne,
Francys Armere of Belford,	Richard Care of Elwyke,
Welyam Maners of Neutowne,	Robert Lausone of Roke,

Clendale.

Thomas Heburne of Heburne,	Thomas Holburne of Holburne,
Roland Foster of Hezelryg,	Thomas Elderton of Elderton,
Oswald Musteans of Ham Hall,	Welyam Strother of Neuton,
Tho. Rotherford of Medelton Hall,	Henrye Ryvelay of Chutton,
Jhon Care of Ford,	Robert Collyngwood of Etell,
George Musteans of Barmor,	Welyam Selbe of Pavstone.

Norham and Joland shyer.

Gylbert Swene of Goswyk,	Thomas Gray of Elwyke,
Jhon Ryveley of Berengtone,	Raph Gray of Hetowne,
Welyam Selbe of Grendone Rype,	George Orde of Neubegeng.
Edward Revelay of Ancroft.	

No. VII.

The names of the Townes within the Est Marches.

Norham, Horklee, Twesill, Tilmouth, Heton, Etyll, Forde, Dudagh, Barmer, Lowyk, Bosden, Felkynton, Grendon, Shoreswode, Thorne-ton, Orde, Twedemouth, Skrymerston, Cheswick, Goswyck, Beile, Fenham, Holie Islande, Fenwick, Kylagh, Lowelyn, Berington, Ancroft.

No. VIII.

The names of the Erles in Scotland.

Therle of Angush, Duglas	Therle Marshall
Therle of Huntley, Gordon	Therle of Crauforde, Craufurde
Therle of Arrayn, Hamylton	Therle of Sutherland, Gordon
Therle of Argile, Cambell	Therle of Catnes,
Therle Bothwell, Hebburn	Therle of Cessils, Kenedie
Therle Morton, Douglas	Therle of Eglington, Montgomery
Therle of Glencarn, Conyngham	Therle of Lenox, Stewarde
Therle of Mountross, Grayme	Therle Murray, Stewarde
Therle of Athol, Steward	Therle of Arrell, Hay
Therle of Rothers, Leslie.	

No. IX.

A Scedule in what Townes the Footemen be to be placed.

Norham	-	cc	Bowyk	-	c	Beill
Warke	-	c	Agarston	-	c	Fenwick
Etil	}		Skremerson	}		Beryngton
Forde	}	- ccc	Cheslewick	}	cc	Hornecke
Fenton	-	c	Holy Islande	-		Orde
Lowick	}		Buckton	-	c	Twesill
Barmer	}	- cc	Fenham	}		Tilmouth
Chatton	}		Goswick	}	- c	Woller
Chillingham	}	cc	Cornehill	-		Westlilborn
Horton	-	c				- c

In the same list, are the following names, probably of Sir Ralph Sadlers horses.

Grey Crost, Grey Somerset, Grey Forster, Bay Forster, the Balde Nag, the Herryet, Grey Starkey, Bay Reynolde, Grey Palmer, Lyarde Grey, Bay Markeham, Bay Bowes.

No. X.

The entreteynment of the East and Mydle of England for the Warden and his Officers.

The mydle marches.

The lord wardens fee, per ann. at v ^c marks.	}	iii ^c xxxiiij ^{li} vi ^s viiiij ^d .
Twoo deputie wardens, per ann. at xx ^{li} .		
Twoo land serveaunts, per ann. at iiij ^{li} .		

The east marches.

The lord wardens fee, per ann. at vij ^c marks.	}	iiij ^c iij ^{xx} vj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d .
Twoo deputie wardens, per ann. at xx ^{li} .		
Twoo land serveaunts, per ann. at iiij ^{li} .		

Thoffice of Ryddesdall per annum, at xxvi^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d.

Thoffice of Tyndall, per annum at Herham.

The steward, per annum, at	vj ^{li}	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d
The receyvour, per annum, at	vj ^{li}	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d
The baylief, per annum, at	xiiij ^{li}	vj ^s	viiij ^d
The gaylour, per annum, at	xxvj ^s	viiij ^d	
Twoo sergeaunts, per annum, at	xxvj ^s	viiij ^d	
The woodward, per annum, at	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d	

Sum total at xxx^{li}

No. XI.

The particlers of Lowhall, otherwise called Walthamstow Frauncys.

Lowhall hathe belongyng to yt these parcells of lande, as followeth :—

First, the towe close leeses callyd Butchers Marse, conteynyng by estymacyon lxx acres, or ther abought.

Letten to farme unto the goodman of the sygne of the Swane, at Mylkestrete corner, for xxiiij^{li} by the yere.

Also, letten to Bramley and Peperd, butchers of Saynct Nycolas shambles, for lyk pryce for one yere.

xviiij acres of medow in the comen meade, letten at x^s the acre, ix^d.

xiiij acres, or ther aboughts, in tow lyttell close lesses, letten to tow pooremen of Wolthamstow for one yere, at v^{li}.

Busshe marshe conteyneth by estymacion, l acres and more.

Annother lyttell close, conteyneth a bought vj acres lying by southe Bussh marshe.

Annother lytell close, conteynyng by estymacion, tow acres.

A close of herable lande, conteynyng xij acres, or ther abought.

Annother lyttell pece of grounde by north the house, conteynyng tow acres by estymacion.

Al. these closes, with the howse, and barne, and stable, and twelve acres of mede in the comen marsh, the tennant that dyd dwell on the same, payd me xxij^{li} by the yere, his name was Sparowe.

Ther belongeth to the sayd Lowhall, a fyld, callyd Hernes marshe, which, I never had, conteynyng by estymacion, xl acres or more.

Ther ys moore land in sertyn mennes hands of Walthamstow, that dyd belonge unto Lowhall, I know not how moch, nether who they ar that had yt.

To kepe these groundes drye and to imploy them to most proffett.

Fyrst, skore the tow great dyches that goeth alonge in the lane, frome the howse to the ryver warde.

Then cause all the dyches on the north syde of Butchers marse to be skowreyd, that the watter may come into the foresayd dicke of the longe lane, and so in to the ryver.

Cause the tennants of Walthamstow to skowre ther dyches on the north west syde of the Butchers marshe.

Also you must stubbe and stock Bussh marshe, and Butchers marshe, and make good medow of them, for Bussh marsh, was at my beyng ther, clene over growen with thornes.

No. XII.

The complaynte of ISABELL WETHERET, widowe, against EDWARD BRANDFORTH of Emiltoun. To the Right Honourable Lorde SADDLER, Lorde Warden of Theste and Mydle Marches of England, for anempst Scotland.

In moste humble maner, shewethe and complenethe unto your good lordship, your dayly oratrixe, Isabell Wetheret, wedo, late wyff of John Wetheret of Bassendon, yeomen.. That where as there was mater in controverse betwixte your saide oratrixe, and one Roberte Wetheret of the said Bassendon, for, and concerning thoccupacion of on tenemente in the said Bassendon, and certen goods which were the said John Wetheretts, late husbände to your said oratrixe, and the same mater being brought in open plein courte, before the right honourable erle of Northumberland; it was ordryd that your said oratrixe shoulde have the occupation of the saide tenemente, together with certen goods conteignyd in an inventorye, (as by the said order, redy to be shewyd,) it dothe, and may appere. So it is, good lordship, that one Edward

Braideforthe of Emilton, baillyf of the libertie there, haithe ye said honorable erles warrante, for to possesse your said oratrixe in the saide tenement; which, notwithstanding, he will in no wyse performe or accomplish unto suche tyme he knowe your lordships pleasure in the same, and so your said oratrixe is withoute remedy, and lyke to be withoute your lordships favorete beswyd; in consyderation whereof, it may please your honor, in way of justice, to cause the said Edward make answer to the promisse, and to minister justice, as to equite aperteignethe, and she shall pray, &c.

No. XIII.

The Supplication of Wydowe FENWYCK against OSWALD FENWICK and THOMAS HUNTLEY. To the Right Honorable Sir RAUFFE SADDER, Knyght, Warden of the Theste and Medle Marches of England, for anenste Scotlande.

Moste humbly complaynethe unto your honer, your dayly oratryx, wedowe Fennycke, late wyf of Dennys Fennycke, dwellinge in the towne of Wuller, within the county of Northumberland; that wheras your said oratryxe did complayn laytly unto your honor, upon Oswalde Fennycke and Thomas Huntley, for steling of thre kye out of your said oratrixe house, within the said town of Wuller, so it his that John Huntley, Edmonde Huntley, James Scote, and John Lawson, was at the steling of the same thre kye, which your said oratryxe durste not complayne of beffore, for feare of ther displeasure, beinge her neghbours, and John Scote of the said town of Wuller, did resave the said kye, and helpe to dryve them out of the town, and beares so with the stellers, that your power oratryxe can get no redresse for the same. In considyracion, wherof, it may please your honour of your honourable goodnes to be a meane, wherby your power oratryxe maye have ius-

tis herein, and your said oratryxe, as she his dayly bound, shall praye unto Almighty God, for your prosperous honour longe to endure.

No. XIV.

*The complainte of JOHN GILRIE against WILLIAM ARCHER of Bolton.
To the Right Honourable Sir RAPHE SADLER, Lorde Wardinge of the
Este March, for anempst Scotland.*

Complaynynge, sheweth unto your lordshippe, your poure orataur and daylye beadman, John of Gylrie, that where as your said orator hathe bargayned for the some of iiij^{li} vj^s viii^d with one William Archer of Bolton, in the countye of Nortumberland, yeomen, for twentye bowles of beathe, (otherwise called barley,) to be delyvered immediatly after there bargayne made, whiche was at Mychelmas laste paste ; and your said orator had day geven for the pamente therof, unto the tenth day, before Wytsndaye next comynge, of the whiche corne your said orator haid alredye receyved ten bowles, and hathe dyvers tymes sence bene at the said Willam Archers, for to demaunde delyverye of the other ten bowles, whiche to doo, hee utterlye denyethe. And at your said oratars laste beinge there with his horses, for to receyve the said tenth bowles, one Raphe Collingewodde, by the meanes of the said William Archer, hathe arreasted your said orators horses, and them with holdethe from your said orator, for the payment of the said ten bowles receyved by your said orator. And in nowyse wyll delyver your said orator his horses, (without he fynd suertyes to paye immediatly for the said ten bowles receyved for the payment whereof he hathe day as ys abovesaid for the hole,) agaynste all right equitye and good concyence, and to the utter undoinge of your said orator, unles your lordship moved with petye, take some order herin. Therefore may yt pleas your good lordship, to directe your lettres unto the said William Archer and Raphe Collingewodde, not onelye to delyver

your said orator his horses, but also to appeare before your lordship to answher the premysses. Thus for the love of Gode, and in the waye of petye, and your said orator shall daylye pray for the preservacion of your lordship longe to endure in honour.

No. XV.

Certen interrogatories to be ministered to Richard Riveley.

To call for Richard Riveley of Ancroft, and to inquier of him where he was that nyght that Robert Dawsons 7 oxen was taken oute of Skirmerston. To knowe, also, where he was a Saterdaye at nyght last, viz. the 16 of December, and what companey he was with.

If he saye he was at home, then let it be inquyred why he cam not to the fraye that was at Cheswick, when Raphe Smythes geare was taken awaye by the Scotts, if he answer that he harde it not, that cannot be trew, for there cam 20 men after the Scotts shuting overwhart Ancroft moore, and they harde the watches of Ancroft speake, so as he must neds heare it also.

Lyllico the thefe

Law

Gray the baylif of Dodington

Wilkykson.

No. XVI.

The abatement of every Captains enterteynement here, sithens the 2 of Maye, as also their supplicacion.

Wher by the last cassement at the second of Maye, ther was abated of every capitaines interteynment, as followeth :

Capt. Somerset.	First, of his owne wages per diem	-	iiij ^s
	His lyftenant per diem	- - -	ij ^s
	His enseigne per diem	- -	xij ^d
	One sarjent per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	One drome and three phiffes, a prieste and a surgeon, at xij ^d per diem the pece	}	
Capt. Vaughan.	First of his owne wagis per diem	-	v ^s iiij ^d
	His lyeftenant per diem	- - -	ij ^s
	His enseigne per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	One serjent per diem	- -	xij ^d
	A priest, one drome, three phyffes, a clerke, and a surgion, either of them at xij ^d der diem	}	
Capt. Drury.	First of his owne wagis per diem	-	iiij ^s
	His leiftenante per diem	- -	ij ^s
	His enseigne per diem	- -	xij ^d
	One serjent per diem	- -	xij ^d
	One drome, three phyffes, a preist, and a surgion, at xij ^d per diem, the pece	}	
Capt. Reide.	First of his owne wagis per diem	-	iiij ^s
	His lieftenante per diem	- -	ij ^s
	His enseigne per diem	- -	xij ^d
	One sarjent per diem	- -	xij ^d
	One drome, three phiffes, a priest, and a surgion, at xij ^d per diem the pece	}	

And all other capiteines are lykewise abated accordinge to their numbers; and yet, neverthelesse, for the better performace of their duty, and great desyer they have to serve the quenes majesty, both presently, and in tyme to come, as nede shall require; they have bynne dryven out of their own wagis to contynew the enterteynement, not only of all those their said officers so latelie cassed at lyke rate as they were before, but also for thentent and purpose abovesaide, they have receaved all soch officers and best furnyshed souldiers of all other handes cassed, as well of the towne as countrey. And for that the said capiteins arr by reason therof so impoverished, that they canne no longer contynew the same. It may please you, therefore, knowing the premysses to be true, to make petition to the lordes of the quenes majesties most honorable counsell for some allowaunce above thordenary, to soch numbre of the said officers and best soldyers, as to their wisdom shall seeme convenyent. Otherwise the saide capiteins shalbe dryven at this next paie to eyse their own borden, by the discharge of all those men. 1559.

LETTERS

DURING

THE GREAT NORTHERN INSURRECTION,

1569-70.

Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, were, with others of the English nobility, deeply involved in the intrigue for marrying Mary Queen of Scotland to the Duke of Norfolk. When Elizabeth was apprised of this design, the Duke of Norfolk was committed to the Tower, and a summons was sent to the two Northern Earls to appear at court. Whether they distrusted Elizabeth's good faith, or conceived that the present was a fit opportunity for setting her rival at liberty, and re-establishing the Catholic faith, is difficult to be decided. But it is certain, that the Earl of Northumberland fled precipitately from his house of Topcliffe, in Yorkshire, to Brancepeth, where he found Westmoreland surrounded with vassals and allies, and ready to take arms. Insurrection being determined upon, the popularity of these Barons soon assembled a considerable force, with which they marched to Durham, where they celebrated mass in the cathedral, and destroyed the Bible and books of the reformed liturgy. Thence they advanced nearly as far as Weatherley, but turned back on learning that sir George Bowes was assembling his vassals in their rear. They besieged this Baron in the fortress of Bernard Castle, which they compelled to surrender upon terms : but in the mean time the country rose against them in every quarter, and the earl of Sussex advanced northward, with an army of seven thousand men, supported by a yet stronger host, commanded by the most experienced of Queen Elizabeth's generals. Upon receiving this intelligence, the insurgent barons retreated in great disorder to Hexham, where their tumultuary army, whom they had neither means to feed nor to pay, dissolved entirely. The earls fled to Naworth Castle, then held by Leonard Dacre, uncle of the last lord Dacre, who was involved in their ill-concerted rebellion. The earl of Warwick and lord Hunsdon, marching against them with a force of twelve thousand men, drove them from this last place of refuge, and Westmoreland and Northumberland, with few followers, fled into Scotland by different routs : the former was protected by the laird of Fairnihurst, and at length escaped to Flanders ; but Northumberland, less fortunate, fell into the power of the regent Murray, by whom he was imprisoned in Loch-levin castle, where he remained until 1572, when the regent Morton delivered him up to lord Hunsdon. He was beheaded at York in the same year.

During this insurrection sir Ralph Sadler acted as treasurer, or paymaster-general of the army, which marched against the earls, under the command of the earl of Sussex.

LETTERS

DURING

THE GREAT NORTHERN INSURRECTION, 1569-70.

No. I.

*To our trusty and right well beloved Counsellor Sir RAPH SADLER,
Knight, Chauncellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

ELIZABETH R.

By the Queene.

Trusty and right well beloved counsellor, we grete you well. By our lettres to our cosin of Sussex, we have signified the cawses of the sending thither of our cosin the erle of Rutland,* whose desire to serve us in the beginning of this his yowth, we cannot but much allowe. And considering he is by order of the lawe in our tuition, we have the more care that he shuld be well ordered and advised. And being now upon this occasion absent from the master of our wards, by whom he hath ben very willingly directed, we have made choice of you to take

* Edward Manners, third earl of Rutland, who succeeded his father in 1563, and being a minor was now a ward of the crown. It is pleasing to see the attention paid by Elizabeth and her ministers to the education of this young nobleman. Neither was their care thrown away, for Camden pronounces him to have been a profound lawyer, and a man accomplished with all polite learning. The queen had thoughts of promoting him to the office of Chancellor, when he was cut off by a premature death, in 1587, at the age of thirty; so that in 1569-70, he could only be about thirteen years old.

the care of him, prayeng you to have regard to his well doing, and to direct him in all things that shalbe for our service, or for the weale of him self; for so we have directed him to do, and we dowte not but he will performe it, and shew himself gratefull to you, for your advise which you shall give him. Geven under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the 20th of November, 1569, in the twelveth yere of our reigne.

No. II.

From Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLER. To the right honorable Sir RAFF SADLER, Knight, Chancellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, and one of the Quenes Majesties Privy Counsell.

SIR,

In my bedd I doo scribe as you may see, and therfor am forced to wryte shortly and rudly. You shall perceave by the quenes majesty's letters, both to my lord of Sussex and to your self, the cause of my lord of Rutlands comming. I pray you the rather for my sake, be tendre and carefull over hym, and I know he will be advised by you. I have delyvered hym some monny in his purse, and if he shall nede any thyng, I will see his chardgis satisfied. I thynk it good that he had the chardg of his tenants to serve under him, having some ther that can guyde them well. He shall therby norrish his corradg, and his tenants shall the more esteme him. I am sure he will be faythfull and loyall. I pray you, sir, admonish hym if you see hym negligent of resort to comon prayor. I have commanded my sonne to attend hym, whom I am very willyng shuld be employed in any service, that he can, for the quenes majesty and his countrie; and in lyke manner I beseeche you challendg hym as you wold your owne, for thyngs nedefull in youth to be reformed. From Wyndsor, in my bed, 20 Novembre, 1569.

Yours at commaund,

W. CECILL.

No. III.

From my Lord of BEDFORD to the right honorable my verie good friend
Sir RAUFE SADLEYR, Knight, one of the Quenes Majestys Privie
Counsaile, Chauncellor of her Duchie of Lancaster.*

After my harte commendacions. This gentleman, captein Strelley, hathe undertaken to go to Branspeth,† or other like places, where the quenes majesties ennemies are now, as you hear, assembled, and to discover as moche as he maye, their doings and devises, and thereof to make reporte to her majestie, for the which purpose, it is her majesties pleasure that he should be addressed unto you for advise and direction in this enterprise, and not to my lord of Sussex to have any dealing or conference with him touching the same. And therefore her majestie hath willed me by thes my letters to directe him unto you, as a person whom she conceyveth very well of, and not unlike to atchieve this his purpose. In hope wherof she hath promised him, (and in respecte of his long and faithfull service don unto her,) a suite which he hath bene a long suyter for. And I have, by her majesties order, gyven him some money to beare his charges in some parte towards this matter. And you shall also do verie well upon the performance of this his promised attempt, not onely to graunt him your warrante for post horses backe agayne to the corte, or otherwise as you shall see cause for his better expedicion, and also your letter to her majestie with him, to testifie his doings, and therewithall some fewe goode and favourable words on his behalfe, the better to encourage her majestie to stande his good

* Francis Russell, second earl of Bedford. This nobleman held many important offices during the reign of Elizabeth. He was governor of Berwick, and warden of the East Marches, during the Scottish civil wars, chief justice in Eyre of the forests south of the Trent, and lieutenant of the counties of Cornwall, Devon, and Dorset. He died in 1585.

† The castle of the earl of Westmoreland, at which the insurgent earls made their first levy.

lady. And that this message is true, you shall understand by this token, that when you were going to horseback, I came downe from the quenes majestie to you about this matter. And so wysshing you helth and good successe in all your affaires with my hartie thanks shall committ you to God, having as yet no newes from thence, but that the enemyes have made their proclamations for assembly of people. And thus eftsones I committ you to God. From the corte, at Wyndsor, this 21st of November, 1569.

Your assured friende,

J. BEDFORD.

You shall, also, do verie well of suche treasure as you have of her majestie in your hands, to gyve him towards his charges to come up fyve poundes, or twenty nobles.

NO. IV.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR to the Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

After my departure from the courte, I used my iourney so, as I might well have been with my lord of Sussex this mornying by viij of the clock, if the passage had been fre, but meting with Bynks the messenger at Stamforde on Monday night, he told me that the rebells kept the waye bytween Doncaster and York,* so as I coulde not passe that waye. And arryving here yesterday at ix of the clock in the mornying, I had the same confermed, and that my lord of Hunsden † re-

* This seems to have been a mistake; yet, though the earl's main body never advanced beyond Clifford moor, near Weatherby, their advanced guard took possession of Weatherby, and dispersed some levies which were marching to join the earl of Sussex at York. See Stow.

† This was sir Henry Carey, created by queen Elizabeth baron Hunsdon. He was her nearest relation, being the son of her mother's sister. Naulton describes this old baron as

toured from Doncaster, and was with my lord Willoughby* at his house of Kneth, abouts xvi myles hens, whereupon I sent thither to know the trewth, and had answer from my lord Willoughby, that my saide lord of Hunsden toke bote yesterday in the mornynge, to passe over Humber to Hull, intending to remayn there, untill he might here from my lord of Sussex, whether he might safely repaire unto him, and that the waye and passage between Hull and Yorke were open and free. After this, one of my men whom I had sent before to ley my post horses, retourned to me from Doncaster, and tolde me, that the rebells did in dede lye at Sherborn and at Tadcaster, so as I coulde in no wyse passe that way to Yorke, wherefore I mynde to folowe my lord of Hunsden over the Humber, and so as I may to Yorke with all the spede I can make, God willinge. My saide servaunt told me, also, that my lorde Darcy lieth at Doncaster with and wolde gladly go to my lord of Sussex, but can not, by reson that the rebells lye in his waye, and also that sir Tho. Gargrave† lyeth in Pomfret castell, who, by lyke meanes, is kept from my saide lorde of Sussex. Mr Ed-

of an honest, stout heart, and rough manners; one who, as he lived in a ruffling time, loved sword and buckler men, such as our fathers were wont to call tall men of their hands, of which he had a numerous attendance. Yet he was not deemed popularly ambitious, and queen Elizabeth entrusted her person to his charge in the camp at Tilbury. Lord Hunsdon was, after this northern expedition, made governor of Berwick, and afterwards lord chamberlain. When he was on his death-bed, the queen honoured him with a visit, and began to enumerate the favours she had designed him; to which he answered, that as he had not been thought worthy of them by her when in health, he did not now esteem himself worthy of them when he could no longer serve her.

* Peregrine Bertie, lord Willoughby, was, says Naunton, one of the queen's first swordsmen: he was of the ancient extraction of the Berties, but more ennobled by his mother, who was duchess of Suffolk. Lord Willoughby distinguished himself in the Low Country wars, where he was general of the English after the recal of Leicester; and, in 1589, commanded the auxiliary army sent to the assistance of Henry IV. of France. He might have risen high as a courtier, but was wont to say (and Naunton observes it did him no good,) that he was none of the *reptilia*; he therefore preferred a life of retirement, and died in 1601.

† Sir Thomas Gargrave of Wakefield, knighted by the earl of Warwick in 1547, during the Scottish wars; he was a member of the council of the north, and at one time president; and had great influence in Yorkshire, from the extent of his property.

warde Cary * who overtoke me yesterday by reason of my stay here, is even now gon hense towards Doncaster, intending to levie as many men as he can, within his rule of Wakefield, and so to ioyn with my saide lorde Darcy, † not onely to kepe the towne of Doncaster, but also to do further as he shall see cause to annoy the rebells, whereunto I see he lacketh neyther good will nor good stomacke, but I have given him myn advise to have good regarde not to hazarde over moche without some advauntage ; also, my saide servaunte told me, that the rebells ar abouts the number of iij m. (3000,) whereof vij^e (700) horsemen, of the which, I here say, there be iij or v^e (4 or 500) of the L. theves and outlawes of Tyndayle, Riddesdale, and also of Tividale, both English and Scottish theves together, and the residue of the saide iij m. ar fotemen : the horesmen, as he hereth, are well appoynted, but the fotemen ar for the most parte unarmed, and a number of them very raskalls, such as by force and synister meanes, the hedds of the rebells have drawen unto them. This my man telleth me, but what my lord of Sussex doth or intendeth, I can not here more then Bynks told me, when I mette him at Stamforde, which I am sure he hath also declared unto you. The xxij of November, 1569.

* A son of lord Hunsdon.

† John lord Darcy was grandson, or great grandson, (compare Dugdale and Collins,) to Thomas lord Darcy, who was executed 30 Henry VIII. for his share in the insurrection called The Pilgrimage of Grace. The duke of Leeds represents this family, which has always held very extended influence, from property and connections in Yorkshire. The lord Darcy here mentioned died in 1575.

No. V.

To the Right Honorable Sir RAFF SADLEER, Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and one of the Quenes Majesties Privy Counsell; from Mr Secretary.

SIR,

I thought good to signify unto you of the safe arrivall of your last letters written at Gaynsborough, and also of the former written at Newark, whereof the counsell have been privy, being sorry of the occasion of the alteration of your waye. We dowe therle of Sussex letters have ben intercepted, because we have not hard from him a good while. We have hard from Sir Geor̄ge Bowes by a servaunt of the lord Scropes, who was the 20th of this moneth at Barney castle, * with the said sir Georg, who had good power of horsemen and footemen redy to come forward to the erle of Sussex, when he should have commandement. Having not the said 20th receaved any thing from the said erle, gessing therby that therles letters and sir Georg's have ben likewise intercepted. It is here alredy concluded, that therle of Warwick and the lord admirall † shall have a joynt commission of lieutenancy of

* Barnard Castle, in the bishopric of Durham, at this time belonged to the earl of Westmoreland. It was formerly vested in the Beauchamps of Warwick, and Staffords of Buckingham, and probably came to the Nevils by marriage with the latter, but sir George Bowes had seized upon it on the breaking out of the rebellion. The Bowes's seat of Sheatlam is only two miles from Barnard Castle, and they held great property immediately adjoining, and in the town itself, (*Temp. Jac. I.*) When it was in contemplation to make Barnard Castle a borough town, it was said that the Bowes family could procure the return against all court letters. Barnard Castle was part of the forfeiture to the crown, and remained in it till sold out, or leased to Carr, earl of Somerset, and after to sir Henry Vane.

Sir George Bowes had a lease of the demesne lands of the crown in Barnard Castle, dated 11th Eliz. renewed in 1580. This will, perhaps, prove to have been a little antedated, and granted after the forfeiture of Westmoreland.

† Lord Clinton.

all the army that shall come out of the south against these rebels, and for that purpose, the nombres for therle of Warwik are appointed to be at Leicester, whitherwards the said erle went yesterday, accompanied with a great number of gentlemen of service from hence. The army is like to be great, but I could have ben content that one thousand horsmen had ben furthwith expedited, according to our opinion, for that the suppression of this rebellion lieth in celerity. Yesterday the quene of Scotts was removed from Tutbery to Ashby,* and we make assured accompt she shalbe in Coventry this night, conducted by the erles of Shrewsbury and Huntingdom.

I dowte not but you will use all the good meannes you can to procure us advertisement from you, which may be there devised by you there, then here by us.

The quenes majestie hath ordered that therles with the rest shalbe proclaymed rebels here to morrow, and the lik to be don through the realme. I trust my lord of Rutland wilbe with you before these letters, whom I pray you suffer not to venter his parson in any vayne enterprise; for the speciall purpose of sending him downe, was, that his name and estimation might be used to allure his tenants and others to service, then to be employed in any corporall service himself, although I know he will spare none to shew his duty.

† Thus far was wrytten yesterdaye.

This morning came your letters from Barton, by which you signified the reports made to you by Mr Roan; I trust at your coming to Hull, you shall fynd more certenty.

My lord admirall will be in the feld with spede.

My lord Darcy shall have ayde from my lord admyrrall to gard Doncastre, and so shall he have from Nothyngamshire, which is or-

* Ashby de la Zouche in Leicestershire, where there are the remains of a magnificent castle, built by lord Hastings, the faithful adherent of Edward IV.

† The remaining part of the letter is in Cecill's own hand writing.

dered by letters sent away this for noone. The quenes majesty shall have an army here about hir person of xv m. men by the 10 of December. Whereof my lord of Pembroke shall be generall.

And thus I take my leave from Wyndsor castle, 26 of November, 1569.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECIL.

No. VI.

Sir RAFF SADLER to the Quenes Majestie.

Please it your royall majestie to understande, that forasmuche as my depeche from your highnes you gave me in charge, to write of the state of your affaires here; I do therfore presume to trouble your majestie with the reding hereof. I was inforced, because the way by-tween Doncaster and Yorke was occupied by the rebels, to take another way, by meane whereof it was the longer before I could come hither; nevertheles, making all the spede I coulde on Wednesday the xxiiijth of this present, I arryved at Hull at midnight, where I founde my lord of Hunsden, and the next day his lordship and I cam together to this citie, being mette within viij myles of the same, with ij^c (200) horse sent out by my lord of Sussex,* to convey us safely hither. And

* Thomas Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, lord president of the northern council. He was a gallant soldier, a good commander, and yet so well skilled in the arts of courts, that honestly and openly he maintained his influence with the queen, in opposition to the intrigues of Leicester, who both feared and hated him. Many of his letters to queen Elizabeth are preserved in Mr Lodge's Illustrations, who has given an excellent and deserved character of Sussex, in a note on one of them, Vol. I. p. 307. The commendations which sir Ralph Sadler here, and elsewhere, bestows on Sussex's zeal, conduct, and fidelity, were intended to balance suspicions which might be infused into the mind of his mistress, by his rival in court favour. Indeed Sussex was in a very delicate situation; for having been the confidential friend of Norfolk, whose deliverance from prison was one object of Northumber-

my lorde himself receyved my lorde of Hunsden at the gate of the citie where we entered, and reioysed not a litle of our coming ; after our being in his lodging, I delyvered unto him your majesties lettres, which, when he had redde, he rendred most humble thanks to your majestie, and sayd, that of all the benefits which ever he did, or shall receyve at your highnes hands, he doth accompte this for one of the greatest, in that it pleased your majestie to sende me to him in this sorte, and in this tyme ; I assure your majestie, I do fynde meself welcom unto him, for if I were his own brother, he coulde not use me with more gentill enterteynement then he doth. And now to signifie in what terms I fynde all things here, as I can iudge, and as nere as, for the short tyme I have been here, I can get any knowlege : First, I assure your majestie on my fydelite, that I do fynde my saide lorde of Sussex a trew and faithful servaunt to your majestie, and as carefull, diligent, and circumspect in the execucion of his charge, and in my iudgement, as sufficient to use the same, as any noble man that I have seene supplie that office, and well I do perceyve, that if he had force and power, according to his good will, he wold not have suffered thes rebells to kepe the felde in that sorte as they do. He sayeth, if nothing ells depende upon the matier but the losse of his lif, he wolde, or this have adventured the same with such small company as he hathe here ; but when he doth consider how daungerous the sequele might be, if he should receyve the overthrowe, that onely forceth him to stay for a tyme, wherein surely he hath grete reason, for by myne advise, the overthrowe of thes rebells wolde not be attempted but with suche force, as by Godds grace, might execute the same with suretie. The force and power assembled here for your majestie, is about the nomber of iijm. v^c (2500) fotemen, and abouts v^c (500) horsemen, which is not hable to encounter the force of the rebells, being, as I am crediblie in-

land and Westmoreland, and his own brother, Egremont Ratcliffe, being with them in arms, he might naturally be suspected of favouring the insurrection. This great man died at his manor of Bermondsey 9th June, 1583, leaving one of the most unspotted characters of his time.

fourmed, abouts the number of vjm. (6000) fotemen, and m. (1000) horsemen very well appoynted, whereof a grete number of them being serving men, servants, and tenants to the ij erles, and to thother gentilmen, their associats, in this wicked rebellion, be pistoliers armed and furnyshed with shotte, which argueth that this matier hathe long before hand ben prepared for by the saide rebells. It hath bene wisely foreseen, therefore, by my lord of Sussex to forbere, and stay untill such tyme as he may be able to take the felde with som securite, and with suche force, as by Godds grace, he may do your majestie good service, and bring thes troubles to such ende, as may be to your honour and quyet; whereunto, I assure your majestie, he lacketh neyther good will, nor noble courage, and to that ende, doth spare no charge of his owne, which I do see, is very greate. I fynde the gentilmen of this countrey, though the most parte of them be well affected to the cause, which the rebells make the colour of their rebellion, yet in outwarde shew, well affected to serve your majestie trewly against them, and yet I see no suche cause, as I may be utterly voyde of suspicion towards them, and therfore it is wisdom to be furnished with such force, as your majestie may be assured of, which will the rather inforce them to serve trewly, though they had any meanyng to the contrary. The doubte and suspicion conceyved of them by my lorde of Sussex, not without vehement and good cause, as I do well perceyve, hathe moche troubled his lordship, but yet nothing more grevous unto him, then the trayterous deling with him of Egremont Ratclif,* with the circumstances, whereof, I will not trouble your majestie now in wryting, but surely my lordship taketh it so to herte, that I dare promise on my fidelyte, that if he fall into his hands, he will be revenged on him in such sorte, as the worlde shall see how moche he

* The earl of Sussex's brother, who was amongst the insurgents. He was attainted by act of parliament, fled to the continent, and was afterwards executed in the market-place at Namur for a plot, real or pretended, against the Spaniards, together with Gray, another English fugitive. *Estate of the English Fugitives*, London, 4to, 1595.

abhorreth the trayterous doings of an unnatural brother; I will now leave to trouble your majestie with mo words, for what order is given here by my lord lieutenaunt* for our reenforcement, with such power as is to com from Barwick and out of Northumberland, † and otherwise your majestie shall understonde by our commen lettres. And if order be given there, as I trust there is, for som relief of horsemen to com to us from the south, out of those shires bordering on thys, we shalbe the stronger; and also expedient, and most necessary it is, that some convenyent masse of money be sent hither with spede, for the diffrayeing of thes chargs, whereof it may please your majestie to have consideracion in sorte, as the importaunce of thys matier doth require. The 26 of November, 1569.

No. VII.

*From my Lord Admirall to the Right Honorable Sir RAFFE SADLER,
Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

Att your goinge frome the courte, yow promysed me to answeere my letters, of suche matters as arr mete to lett me understand in the north, which I earnestlie desier yow to performe. The newes that arr, nott onelie in thease parts, but in the hole realme ys, that all ys in quiate and good obedience unto the quenes majestie, and every man bente to sarve her highnes to the deathe, with all that they have, and deteste and mislike this rebellion. Every man providithe to furnishe hymself, to sarve her highnes ageynest all rebells, and other her enemies. This cuntrie ys in redynes under my charge, with 12 thowsand men well ap-

* i. e. The earl of Sussex.

† Sir George Bowes was assembling a force in the bishopric, in the rear of the insurgents, and sir John Foster, with the earl of Northumberland's own brother, Sir Henry Percy, were mustering forces for the queen upon the Borders.

poynted, when so ever the quenes majestie will commaunde us to sett forward. I wold yf yt pleased the quenes majestie, that I might receyve her commaundement to marche, to sarve with my lorde of Sussex to assist hym yf he have nede which I wold most gladlie do in this quarrell. Then hopinge yow will lett me heare frome yow as sone as yow maye, I take my leave, desyringe to be commendid most hartelie to my good lorde of Sussex, I take my leave of yow. Frome Lincoln, this 26th of November, 1569.

Your assured frend,

F. CLYNTON.

No. VIII.

Lord Admiral to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

J dyspatchyd one unto you yesterday with my letters, who j trost shall pas safly to you, wherin I have syngefyd unto you, what redynes this sher * is in to serve your quenes majestie, and with what good wyll and forwardnes they goe to sarve her hynes. And the number of them wych ar xij thowsand, or ther abouts, j beseche you that j may here from you to understand the estate off the parts of the northe; wherof j here very lyttyl synce my comyng. My lord of Warwyk† hath presently wryttyn to me, that he is com to Warwyk, and doth levey the quenes subjects ther for her servys, and to morrow he wylbe at Leys-

* Lincolnshire.

† Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, a bold warrior, and subtle politician; to whom was intrusted the command of the large force, advancing northwards to support Sussex. This nobleman received a wound (with a poisoned bullet, as was supposed) at the siege of Havre de Grace, in 1563 which never healed, and in 1589, occasioned the amputation of the limb, and his subsequent death.

ter, and tak all the powre of that shere with hym, and so as it aperyth by his letter, he wyll com towards the Trent in these parts, wher his lordship and I shall mete, as he wryteth to me ; I have not wrytyn therof to my lord of Sossex, becaus my letter was clossid or I dyd resseve my lord of Warwyks letter, wych I pray you let hys lordship understand. And thus I take my leve with my harty comendashions, from Lyncoln the xxvij of November, 1569.

Your assured lovyng frend,

F. CLYNTON.

*A star, with an inscription,
not legible.*

*To the right honorable sir Raff Sadler, knight,
chancellour to the dutche of Lancaster, and
one of the quenes majesties privie counsell.
Hast with all diligence.*

No. IX.

*From my Lords of the Councill, to our assured loving friend Sir RAFFE
SADLER, Knight, Chancellour of the Duchie of Lancaster, and one of
the Quenes Majesties Privie Counsell.*

After our right harty commendations. We have receyved your severall letters and advertisements, as well from Newewarke as from Barton upon Humber, which we have communicated unto the quenes majestie, whose highnes taketh your diligence used therein in very acceptable parte, and we all gyve you our harty thanks for the same, praying you to contynew therein, as often as commoditie may serve. And by your next letters wee hope to heare, that you shall be come to Yorke to the erle of Sussex, the rather for that by late letters receyved from those partes, wee be advertised that the rebells be retyred backe agayne northwards, so that the passage betweene Doncaster and Yorke

is now open, the lord Darcie contynuing at the said towne of Doncaster, and very honourable provyding to the uttermost he may, for the savegarde and defence of the same, which he hath the rather doon by your good advice and counsell, for the which wee hartely thank you. There is alredy a mayne armie put in ordre, and shall, by Gods grace, marche forwards within a very fewe dayes towards those parts, under the leading of the earle of Warwyke, and the lord admirall, her majesties lieutenants generall of the same. And so fare you hartely well. From Wyndesour the 28th of November, 1569.

Your assured loving friends,

F. BEDFORD.

W. NORTH.

R. LEYCESTER.

F. KNOLLYS.

W. CECILL.

FRA. MILDMAI.

No. X.

*From my Lord of Bedforth and Sir F. KNOLLES to our very loving frend
Sir RAPHE SADLER, Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy.*

After our very hartie commendacions. Where this bearer, Roger Askeham, having heretofore served at Barwicke, dothe now presently repayre into the north, and is the quenes majestie servaunt, very willinge to do some service in those parts, if he might be employed: we have thought goode so to signifie unto you, nothing doubting but you will employe him in somme one place or other of service, according to his desire, and the rather upon this our commendacion. And thus we bidde you moste hartely well to fare. From Wyndesour, the 28th of November, 1569.

Your assured loving frends,

F. BEDFORD.

F. KNOLLYS.

Post script. This bayrer hathe somewhat to ympart unto you.

No. XI.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

I have sente a letter herewith to master Carie beinge at Sandall castle, neare Wakefeld, by commandement frome my lords of the counsell. I pray yow that the same maye be sente hym with all dylligence, that I maye receyve answer from hym as sone as may be possible. And thus wisshinge yow long lyf in moche honor, I take my leave from Lincoln this xxixth of November, 1569.

Your assured lovinge frende,

F. CLYNTON.

[*Star.*]

I have sent yow two letters before this tyme, wherof I have receyved no answer; in one of the letters I made greate booste of the numbers of men in this countie, because the rebells beinge then betwext this and Yorke, I dowed the intercepcion of them. I pray yow lett me be most hartely commended to my lorde of Hunsden.

F. C.

To the right honorable, &c. Hast, hast, hast.

No. XII.

The Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

After my hartie commendacions unto yow. I have presentlie receyved letters frome Mr Secretary, wherof one ys directed unto yow, w^{ch} I send you by this berer. I have wrytten twise or thrise to yow wherof I have nott yett had answeare, and do gretly desier to heare

from yow; and therefore I pray yow, as shortelie as maye be, gyve me suche advertysments as yow thinke mete for me to understand. I am presentlie puttinge my self in redines wth all the force of this shier, to marche towarde my lorde of Warwyke toward Leycester, to ioine wth his lordship, and the forces under hym, for the quenes majesties service, accordinge to her majesties commaundement, and her comyssion to his lordship and me directed, besechinge yow, that I may be most hartelie commended unto my verie good lorde the earle of Sussex. I trust to be redie wth in this iij daies to marche, frome hence towards my lorde of Warwicke. And thus for lacke of tyme I ende, and byd yow most hartelie fare well. Frome Lincoln, this xxixth of November, 1569.

Your assured frende,

F. CLYNTON.
[*Star.*]

No. XIII.

*Sir WALTER MILD MAY * to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.*

SIR,

I was vearly glad, by your lettres of the xxvith, to understand of your sauffe arrivall at Yorke, the rather for that fynding the passages stoped, you were driven to take an other way, and by meting of a man † of small acquaintance with thoes matiers, were put in more doubte, that you found just cause. Sory we are here, that all this while your force there is growen no greater, but we be in good hope, thoroughe the care and provision you write of, you shall be in better strengthe shorte-

* Sir Walter Mildmay, a learned and upright servant of queen Elizabeth, was early employed in affairs concerning the revenue of the crown, and became chancellor of the exchequer, on the death of sir Richard Sackville. He founded Emanuel college in the university of Cambridge, and largely endowed Christ's college, in which he had been educated. Sir Walter Mildmay died of a consumption in 1589.

† Binks the messenger.

lie; the rather for that, by the retire of the rebels,* you have some more commoditie to bring your nombres to you.

Of the army prepared from hence for your assistance, undre the erle of Warwick, and my lord admirall, I am sure you here; they goe forwards with all spede possible; in the meane time, Mr Horsley† commyng hether with a band of 500 harquebuzers out of the Wight, doeth march this day towards Doncaster, and captain Leighton followeth hym with the like nombre furnished out of London, to be employed as thoes generalls shall appoint.

Ordre is geven for your help in munition. And for money, there is presentlie sent you 2000l. besids 2000l. paid afore, in the begynnyng, to Sir Tho. Gargraves hands, whiche we understand is paid to hym, thoughe you make in your common letters no mencion; and herafitre my lords meane to remembre you with further help.

I trust you have hard from my brother Cary, he ys in Sandall castle, a myle from Wakefield, having, as he wrote, a good nombre of men, but unarmed; my lords have taken ordre to relieve hym with munition and some money. But I pray you, allso, let hym heare from you, and receyve that help you may.

The quene majestie liked well of your spedy repayre to Yorkes, and reposithe a singler trust in you, for the furtheraunce of her service there, wherof every man here is most assured. And for my parte, I doubte

* The earls having advanced as far as Weatherby and Tadcaster on their way towards York, suddenly altered their intention, and on the 23d November, retired northwards, for the useless and dilatory purpose of besieging sir George Bowes in Barnard Castle.

† Horsley, rather Horsey. Sir Edward Horsey was knighted 1577, (*Catal. Knts. temp. Eliz.*) He commanded in the Isle of Wight. In a libellous poem, called "Leicester's Ghost," that statesman is made to number among his adherents,—

Sir Edward Horsey in the Isle of Wight,
And noble sir George Carie next bore sway,
Men of great courage, and no little might,
To take my part in any doubtful fray.

Horsey distinguished himself at the siege of Nieuport in 1563. See *Hollinshed*.

not but this iorney shall redounde to your perpetual commendacion, though, for the tyme, it be painfull to you. Thies small things that I can further you in, I trust you will use me as your owne, and as one that wisheth to you most hartelie the good successe, that I wold to myn owne hart. And so leave you to the Almighty Lord. From Windesor, the xxxth November, 1569.

Your owne most assured for ever,

WA. MILDMAI.

*To the right honourable my veary good frende sir
Rauf Sadleir, knight, chauncellor of the duchie,
and one of her majesties privie counsell.*

No. XIV.

Sir RAFE SADLER to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

It may lyke you to understande, that this mornyng your lettres of the xxviiijth of November to my lord lieutenant, arryved here, whereunto his lordship made my lord of Hunsden and me pryvey. And fourthwith we made a dispatche to my lord admirall by our lettres, sent with a speciall messenger, for the supplie of men, money, and munycyon nedeful for this service, according to your direction. What force we have here, and what trust us in the same you understonde by our former letters; nevertheles, if we may have a supplie out of the south of m. (1000) horsemen and m. m. (2000) fotemen, whereof as I wrote before I wolde have v^c (500) pikes armed, and v^c (500) shotte of the harquebuss, there is no doubte, but, with Goddes grace, we shalbe able to bring this matier to a good ende without any daungier: my lorde lieutenant thinketh with a lesse force to do it, but for my part having no grete trust in our northern force which we have here, I desyre, therefore, to have the greater force out of the south, whereunto we may trust. Order is given, as we wrote before in our common letters to the quenes majestie, of the xxvjth of November, for

som force of horsemen, to com to us out of Westmorland, Cumberland, and Northumberlande, and, also, for parte of the garrison of Barwicke; but whether any such force will com unto us, or when they will com, I can make no sure accompte. And, therefore, desire to have the saide supplie from my lord admirall with all spede, which, if we had, we nede not tary for the rest. The rebells ar now at Raby,* as I have intelligence, and it is sayed, that yesterday, or to day, they wilbe doing with sir G. Bowes at Barnay castle, what they intende further, I can not tell. But they have gotten Hartilpole† as I here, and have put ccc men into it, to kepe it for them, which hath proceded thorough the negligence of suche as my lord lieutenant put in trust, to go thither and to levie the number of cc men nerest to the same to be put into the towne, which, for lacke of good dilligence in them, is now prevented by the rebells, whereof I gather, that they meane to kepe that towne for their refuge, and to seke their escape by sea, orells be in hope to receyve there som foreygn ayde, wherefore it were good, that one or ij of the quenes majesties shippes on the sea, shoulde lye on this coste to prevent the same. The 2d of December, 1569.

No. XV.

Mr Secretary to Sir R. SADLEIR.

SIR,

Only to thank you for your sondry lettres, I now wryte, and therewith, also, for your gret goodnes to my lord of Rutland, who, by his lettres, craveth of me many thanks, besyde his owne.

* The splendid baronial castle of the earl of Westmoreland, now the seat of the earl of Darlington.

† Hartlepool, a village and sea port on the coast of Durham, about sixteen miles from that town, at that time fortified with a wall and towers on each side of the harbour. It was of more consequence before the rise of Sunderland, and was mentioned in Jac. I. as a proper place to send members to parliament.

By the quenes lettres to my lord of Sussex, you shall fynd som staye lykly to be of your supply you wrote for ; which I looked not for this morning.

Her with I send a lettre in ciphre from the quenes majestie to my lord regent, it is to thank hym, and provok hym to come to the frontyers with force. I feare Hartillpoole will brede some longer trooble.*
From Windsor, v Decembre, 1569.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

No. XVI.

The Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

Syr,

I have presentelye wrytten to my lord of Sussex of the sendinge of the treasure appoynted to be sent you, viz. two thousand pounds, which ys delyvered to sir Thoms Gargrave this day att Doncaster, yf he be ther to receyve the same ; and so to be conveyed by my lorde Darcy and hym to Yorke, and lykewise have I wrytten to his lordship of the munycion and supply of hys men, which I entende to send hym with all the diligence I maye, as by my lettres sente to his lordshipe yow shall perceyve. I have no newes to write unto yow, other then I am sure you are dalye advertised of frome the courte, which ys all well, and quiatt in the hole realme, and every man redie and glad to sarve her highnes ageynst the rebells. And albeytt I thinke you have hard all suche newes as ys to be written from the courte, yett one thinge

* From the facility of foreign support afforded by the insurgents possessing a seaport. Vitelli, marquis of Catena, was at the court of queen Elizabeth, under pretence of an embassy from Spain, but, in reality, to foment the insurrection, and take on himself the command of such forces as the duke of Alva should send over to support it. Of this Cecil was probably aware.

I thought good to write in adventure, ytt be nott come to your knowledge. That ys, howe my lord of Derby* havinge receyved lettres, and other sedicious writings, to provoke his lordship to consent to the two earles rebells, haith dewtifully sente bothe lettres and the messenge to the quenes majestie, with offer to sarve her highnes agaynst them, and all other that are nott true unto her, to the uttermost of his power, wherein he haith showed hym self so faytheful a noble man, as he haith ever bene, as I do wishe ytt shall be knowen to all men to his honor and prayse. And thus thankinge you for yours letters which I have receyved from you, I take my leave, wishinge yow as well to do as I wold do to my self. Frome Scrowbye, this vjth of December, att viij of the cloke at night.

Your assured lovinge frende,

F. CLYNTON.

I pray yow that I maye be recommended to my lord of Rutland.

No. XVII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

I do perceyve by the quenes majesties lettres of the first of this present, addressed to my lord lieutenant, my lord of Hunsden, and me,

* Edward Stanley, third earl of Derby. He was of queen Mary's privy council, and her lord high chamberlain. It is probable, that being a catholic, the insurgent earls calculated upon his support, but in this, as in other instances, they were too sanguine. Camden assures us, that many of the noblemen of this faith behaved in the same manner as lord Derby. This earl was so remarkable for hospitality, that it was said upon his death, good house-keeping seemed to fall asleep in England. He died at Latham house in 1574.

The letter of the rebel earls to lord Derby, with their general protestation or manifesto, sent to him, lord Mounteagle, and others, and also his letter sending them to the council, are all printed in Haynes's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 564.

that her majestie will hardly beleve, that the force and power of her good subiects of this countrey should not increase, and be able to matche with the power of the rebells; but surely, sir, if it may please her majestie to consider of it, it is easie to finde the cause thereof, for there be not in all this countrey x gentilmen, that do favour and allowe of her majesties procedings in the cause of religion, and the comen people be ignorant, full of superstition, and altogether blynded with tholde popish doctryne, and therfore do so moche favour the cause, which the rebells make the colour of their rebellion, that though their persons be here with us, I assure you their harts, for the most parte, be with the rebells, and, no doubt, they had holly rebelled, if, at the begynnyng, my lorde lieutenant had not both wisely and stoutely handeled the matier. This I have founde to be most trew, and therfore have good cause to doubt, leest, if we shulde go to the felde with this northren force onely, they would fight but fayntly in this quarele, for as I wrote to you before, if the father be on this syde, the soon is on the other, and one brother with us, and the other with the rebells. Whereof you may conceyve what trust is in them.

We tary now for such force as is to com unto us out of the south, which being arryved, we will tary no longer, for that which we loke for out of Westmoreland, Cumberlande, Northumberlande, and Berwick, whereof I can make no sure accompte, and therefore our force out of the south wolde be the stronger; and yet having v^c (500) horsemen with the shotte, ledde by Mr Edwarde Horsey, and som armed piks, I trust we shall do well ynough, whereof, I doubt not, you will have care to see us furnished. As yet, the money, armour, and munycyon sent from thens, is not arryved here, whereof we have great lacke. Sir, I did partely advertise you by my former lettres, what charge my lord lieutenant susteyneth here, which, I do assure you, is very greate, for he fedeth all the noble men and gentilmen here assembled, and therefore, in reason, his dyet is to be encreased for the tyme of this service. Whereof it may please you to have som consideracion there, and that I maye know her majesties pleasure, whether of her highnes

treasure, which shall com to my hands, his lordship may have any allowance therof; assuring you, by the faith I owe to God, and to her majestie, that he never spake any woorde to me of it, ne yet semeth to make any accompt of the charge, but this that I write, I do it of my self, without him thinking it grete reason that he shoulde be considered. vj Decembre, 1569.

No. XVIII.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

SIR,

Even now I have receaved your lettre of the vjth of this present, and at this tyme being full of care for sir Grey I do only wryte therof to my lord lieutenant.

I thynke it nedeful, that the mashall of Berwyk shuld have good regard to captain Rede, * whom here, we wish to be taken and committed to saff custody.

I am half angry with my lord Scroopes delay. † I thanke you for my lord of Rutland, whom I am gladd to be brought upp in understanding of affayrs there, but, I thynk, without there be some other cause, that it wer better his hand shulde not subscribe lettres of counsell ioyntly with my lord lieutenant, my lord of Sussex, and your lordship, as I now see a copy of a lettre to my lord Scroope. I leave this

* It would seem from some passages in the sequel, that this officer was suspected of holding a communication with the rebels. He had distinguished himself in the Scottish reformation war, of which he communicated the principal passages to Hollinshed.

† Lord Scroope was brother-in-law to the Duke of Norfolk. Queen Mary had been confined in his castle of Bolton, until January 1568, when she was removed to Tutbury. He was captain, or governor of Carlisle, where he was now raising a force, in conjunction with the earl of Cumberland, for suppression of the rebels.

to your consideracion to ordre it, without prejudice to the yong gentillman. And so until to morrow I take my leave.

I would gladly here more from you of Hertilpoole. You forget to wryte to my lady Sadler, who lately sent hyther to know how you did, and I answered hir, well. But your self shall be better beleved. 8 December, hora 10 nocte.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

No. XIX.

*Mr ROB. CONSTABLE * to Sir RAYFF SADLER.*

My humeble and bowndayn dewty consydred, may yt please your honour to understande, yt hayth plesed the qweyns majestie to ellect and appoynt me to serve hyr hyghnes yn sych sort, as I never practessed the lyke here to fore, gyvyng me greatter credgett then I have dysserved as I doo consave by my lord my gud Mr,† and sir Walter Myldmays

* The Robert Constable here playing so base a part, seems to have been Robert Constable of Flambrough, *Co. Ebor.* His grandfather, sir Robert Constable, was hanged in chains over Beverly-gate at Hull, for his share in the rebellion, called the pilgrimage of grace. His father was sir Marmaduke Constable, made Knight Banneret at Roxburgh, by the earl of Surry. The lady of sir Marmaduke, and mother of Robert, was Elizabeth, daughter to the lord Darcy. Robert Constable was probably extravagant as well as otherwise worthless, for he sold the monastery and manor of Nun-Eaten, *in com Warwick*, to sir Ambrose Carr, in the 6th of queen Elizabeth. He married Dorothy, daughter of sir John Widdrington, knight, and relict of Fenwick, and hence, probably, his connections among the rebels. He was knighted, as appears from Stow's Chronicle, and Collins's Baronetage, in 1570, by the earl of Sussex, for his services in the invasion of Scotland in 1570; and one of his letters to Shrewsbury, giving an account of that furious and wasting incursion, may be found in Lodge's Illustrations, Vol. II. p. 42. Sir William Constable, bart son of this infamous man, signed the sentence of death upon Charles I. and his estates were seized by the crown on the Restoration.

† The earl of Leicester, to whom Constable was a retainer.

words and derectyon, which I trust thay have serteffyed your honor of or thys. Mere at lerdge, sir, thys ys the trust commytted unto me, to use all the pollesy and meyns I can, to get yntellegens what number of horsemen and footmen the rebbells be, wher thay be devyded, or encamped, whether thay pretend to remove from tyme to tyme, what fornetter thay have of armoore and munysseyon, what ayd thay look for, from whens and which way yt shoulde come to thaym, and thus to serteffye your honor, or Mr Edwerd Care, yf he be nerer from tym to tym. Allso to attemp yf I can be ressaved, to sarve amongs thaym, with so manny as I shall thynk neydful to sarve my torn, and to enterpryse to doo sum explots, all though thay be contrary to the laws, to wyn me creddet emongs the rebbells; after that, to doo my endeavor to saw sedyssyon, to dysscoradge, to devyde, and to dyspars thaym yf I can. Nevertheles, all ys reffered unto my dysscressyon to doo, as I convenyently may, respectyng myn awn safty. I was commawnded not to spare for munnye, with prommes to be forneshed of so myche as I should thynk nedfull to reqwyre; and as thys ys the greatest creddet that I ever entred ynto, and the fyrst sarves that ever I was commawnded to do for the qweyns majestie, or for my lord my mayster, to whom I am of dewtye manny wayes most enterely bownd; so ys yt the most perrellos kynd of sarves that any man can enterpryse, yet I never thought to reffuse the saym, thogh yt shoulde cost me my lyff; so, that I have takne upon me hereyn, to do thottermost of my endeavor, which I shall, with Gods grace, trewly perform, avoydyng so nere as I can wyllfully to rune upon myn own dystroctyon, besechyng Almyghty God to grawnt me grace, wyt, and powr, to do unto the qweyns hyghnes, and to my lord my master, as gud sarves, as I pretend and trust to do thayme faythfull and trew sarves, acordyng to ther commawnmnts so sone as I possyble may; and where as the qweyns majestes fre pardon ys promest unto me, and so many as shall sarve by my appoyntment, allso hyr hyghnes to be my gud and gratyos ladye hereafter. I have not stayd as a curyos wyse man wold to have

my pardon delyvered yn hand ; nor to endent for my reward, but submytts me to abyde and stand to hyr hyghnes most noble benevolens, as best may plesse hyr majesty, whether owght or noght, yf I esscayp with lyff, otherways my full hope and most humeble sewt ys, thatyt may plesse hyr hyghnes to have pytty and compassion of my powr wyff and childeren ; I dowt not but God wyll styr hyr noble hert to be myndfull of me and myne, to our gret comforths hereafter ; for yt, I am so glad to hassard my lyf yn deffens of hys trewth, and hyr hyghnes just qwarrell. I wyll humebly crave of your honor, as ys neydfull for me, fyrst, your favorable gud wyll to the furtherans and strenghtnyng of all my cawses, for otherways, I know a word of you yn my contrary, may overthrow all my sarves, (2) secret delyng, not so mych for my safty, as for preservatyon of the queyns sarves, both now and hereafter, yf neyd requyre, (3) yowr favorable counsell, with instructyons what you wyll commawnd me fyrst to doo, &c. and by what meyns I may best atcheve therto, (4) I have neyd of a supply of munny at your honors dyscressyon, which ys the cheyffest enstrement pertenyng to thes works, wherby great sarves may be done ; yt may be that v c.ⁱⁱ yn hand, wyll do more gud then v m.ⁱⁱ (5000l.) yn promes, or yet x m. (10,000) mens strengths as your honors, or thys, hath experymented. I can not at all tymes send for munny as neyd may requyre. I trust yt be a sownd creddet ys commytted to me, so that yow neyd not dowt nor fere to hassard a porsyon of munny with me, that hasserdys my lyff yn sarves, yt shall not be waysted nor converted to the payment of my debts, or to my use, but bestowed as yt awght to be ; and yf I scayp with lyff, I wyll render a trew accownt thereof ; yf I dye the qweyns majesty may thynk yt a cast lost at dyce. That porcyon of munny that yow thynk meyt to ventur with me, I pray yow send yt by myn unkle, thys berer, for thogh I say yt, your honor wyll fynd hym worthy of creddet. Lastly, I pray yow to gyve as full creddet unto my sayd uncle Wylliam Constable as I trust yow wold do unto me, for I was commawnded to bryng hym with me for my better comfort and help yn thys sarves ; he can declare unto yow the reasonable cawses of my long

letter yn comyng from the cowrte, and the cawse whye I come not unto yowr honor at thys tym, as my bowndayn dewt were, and althowgh I have an egerr dyssyer to se my powr wyf and chyldren, to understand what cayse they bey yn, feryng lest thay be spoyled of the lyttle that I left, or extreymlly used by the rebbells. Yet no care shall caws me neglect my dewty of sarves, but shalbe glad to stay, and do as yow lyke to commawnd me, or thynk yt best. Sir, I pray yow pardon, my bawldnes, and tedyosnes heryn, for I meyn to wryt more breyfly from hens forth. Thus I rest at yowr commawndment, wyshyng yow most prospethous heylth, encreyse of mych honour. From Ferrybryggs, thys x day of Dyssember, 1569.

Yowr honors humebly assewred

and ryddy at commawndment unto deth,

ROBERT CONSTABLE.

No. XX.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I have presently spoken with a man of good credyt, who sayeth to me, that he is well assured, that the rebells have gevyen over the sege of Barney castle * on Saturday last, and becaus I do think the serten-

* Barnard Castle, as we have already noticed, had been occupied by sir George Bowes, the proprietor of Sheatlam Castle, which lies about two miles distant, and of considerable property in the town of Barnard Castle. The fortress itself belonged to the unfortunate earl of Westmoreland, against whom it was now garrisoned. It had been in his family for at least two descents, being acquired by marriage, or purchase, from the Staffords of Buckingham, who held an interest in it, till the attainder of Edward, duke of Buckingham. The report of the siege being raised, was erroneous. It surrendered to the insurgent earls on honourable terms. After suppressing of the rebellion, Barnard Castle fell to the crown by attainder, and was leased by queen Elizabeth to sir George Bowes, as Mr Surtees discovered from an entry in the rolls at Durham. The ruins of Barnard Castle declare its extent and im-

ty of intelligens is better knone to you ther, then any reporte that can other wys be made, j desyer, if j may be so bold with you, to have your advertisement howe the matter standythe; we ar com this nyght to Pomfret, and to morow, we wyll, with Gods leve, go to Wetherby, assuring you, upon my fayth, that j never sawe so very horses, and rairly so fornyshed men on them, they ar com out of dyvers countereys to sarve under my lord of Warwyck and me. And to be playne with you, j am in opynyon, that except we have one daye or towe to rest our horses, and to pot our horsmen in order, and to fyt their armere on them as agret number of them is come this nyght to Pomfret, j fere we shall have a wek sarvys of them. So that if the caus be not soch bot that we may rest our horsis at Wetherby, j wishe you wold let my lord of Warwick and me understand it. We are calyd on to prosede to com to yow; bot we ar not gevyn to understand how things pas by the rebels, nor of any alteracion that hapyns. I trest my lord of Sossex doth tak order for commaundment to be gevyn for the vyteling of us as we com towards you, wherof our sodyers fynd gret lak alredy. j pray you for the frendship I bere you, let me know

portance, and the situation is very strong. If we can take the authority of an old ballad, published in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, on this "Rising in the North Countrey," the outer circuit of the castle was soon stormed, but the keep secured by strong interior defences, resisted much longer.

Then sir George Bowes he straitwaye rose
 After them, some spoyle to make;
 Those noble erles turned back againe,
 And aye they vowed that knight to take.

That baron he to his castle fled,
 To Barnard castle then fled he,
 The uttermost walls were eathe to win,
 The erles have wonne them presentlie.

The uttermost walls were lime and brick,
 But thoughe they won them soon anone;
 Long e'er they wan the innermost walles,
 For they were cut in rock of stone.

how you prosede with your armye. And thus I take my leve from Pomfrett, the xij of Decembre, 1569, at ix oclock at nyght.

Your assured lovyng frend,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XXI.

Therle of Westmorland to ROBERT CONSTABLE.

COSYN ROBERT,

I thank you wyth al my hart, for your gentle offer, and fynd my fortune is now to have nede of fryndes, I pray you shew your self now such a frynd, as nature should have you to be, and her I promise you of myne honour, to come safe, and go safe, and this latter shalbe your warrant. From Branspeth, thii xiiij of December.

Your assured frynd and cosyn,

C. WESTMORLAND.

*Seal, a bull's head, the ancient crest
of the Neville family.*

No. XXII.

ROBERT CONSTABLE to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

My humeble and bowndayn dewty consydered. Pleseth yt your (honour), allthough you were not wylling to gyve me yowr counsell, becaws yow had resaved none advertessment from my lord my master, nor sir Walter Mildmay, conserning my sarves derecte by thaym, which had lyke to have beyn my utter dysscorredgement, yet deyply weyng my

* This letter the spy Constable probably forwarded to Sadler, inclosed in that which follows.

faythfull promes mayd unto thaym, to hasserd my boddy theryn, I thynk me bound yn consyens, as well as yn dewty, to do theryn my full endeouours to thuttermost of my power, and that yt ys not soffysyent for me to excuse myself by ye cold comforth I fownd yn your words, for so much as yow reffered all to my dyscressyon. *

I adventred to send my servand yesterday to therll of Westmerland at Branspeth, with thys messaydge, that I was retorned from the cowrt, and dyssyerous to speak with hym, as nature and dewty dyd pryk me yn thys hys extremetye, rather then yn prossperrety; praying hym yf he wold have me so to do, not only to send me hys handwrytng, that I may saffly come and goo, but also to appoynt with my man which way I shold come, and so he hath appoynted me to bayt thys day at Kyrk Meryngton,† where I must be tayken prisoner and browght affore hym. My pretens ys, God wyllng, fyrst to excuse my self why I came not to sarve hym, and what news I careyd to the cowrte, and what moved me so to doo. As I may doo by gud reson, and yt behoves me not to ommytt the same for fere of falls, for my servand was bordened therwith, as drectly and partyculerly as yf I had beyn constrened to have exprest yt, where at I marvell gretly of there gud espyall. Also I will tell hym, that withowt fayll he shall withyn x dayesse the quenys armye yn the felds, xxx m. men, where of m. (1000) pystellers of horsbak, v m. (5000) lyght horsmen, iiij m. footmen, and xx m. (20,000) armed pyks, archers and bylls. Moreover, I wyll declare as I have met hys soldyers comyng from hym, by ij, iiij, vj and dosons yn severall companes, complenyng, as I have yn deyde examined dyvers that sayd their comyng home was for more munny, but thay wold be hangged at home or thay retorned agayn to sarve withowt wayges. Moreover, whereas thay mayk ther full accownt that my lord presy-

* Sir Ralph Sadler, as appears from a subsequent letter, reposed little faith in Constable's reiterated professions of zeal for the queen's interest, and no less distrusted (it would seem) his repeated hints that money was essentially necessary to his doing good service.

† Kirk Merrington, a considerable village and thoroughfare on the road from Durham to Piersbridge; about four miles from Branspeth; it is also the direct road from Catterick to Branspeth.

dent, therll of Comberland, therll of Rutland, and my lord Dacers, with all ther forcs, and Mr Edwar Horsay, with all hys shott,* wyll torn to tayk ther part. I intend to tell thame playnly, that thay do but flatter thaym sellfs. I trust, with Gods hellp, to put sych terror yn ther herts, as possyble yow may wyn the battell withowt strok or shott.† I have herd that a wyse captayn wold be glad to mayk hys enemy a brydge of gowld to pas by hym; I say as I dyd; I pra God gyve me grace to do as gud sarves, as my pretens ys to do faythfull and trew sarves. Yf I had church land I wold sell yt for iij yers purchases, or I lakt munny to serve the quenys majesty as I wold now doo; with munnye I wold not dowt but to be dellyvered with all the most prynspall traytors yn to your hands withyn few days. iij^c (300) horsmen myght have taykne both therles forth of Brawnspeith thys last nyght. Thay declyne from thorder of gud soldyers; thay tryst so mych to the contry that they nether keyp scuryers, warders, watch, nor scoott. Of Sonday last the Protestants and Papests withyn Newcastle mayd a fray, but Mr Hodshon,‡ a rank Papest, ys put forth of the town, and the matter payssuffed, praised be God. Yesterday was a muster apoynted upon Awkland mowr, and a pay promest, but yt ys put of tyll thys day. The lords entends to repare to Newcastle, and thynks to have yt dellyvered, but I trust they may be dyssaved yn yt as yn other thyngs. The town of Mydlam§ is spoyll-ed. My lord warden of the mydle marches hath scummed all John Swynborns cattell from hys pasters. John Swynborne and Merkne-

* Sir Edward Horsey brought from the Isle of Wight five hundred harquebusiers.

† Even so it befel, for the army of the earls melted away without a stroke given.

‡ This was probably one of the Hodgesons of the manor of Hebburn, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne. There were at the time many recusants of this name, as appears from a curious letter of Toby, bishop of Durham, among the Lansdowne MSS. Sir Robert Hodgeson, of Hebburn, was prosecuted in the time of Charles I. as a notorious papist and malignant.

§ I suppose this is Middleham, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which lay exactly in the line of the rebels march. The Castle was a place of importance during the wars of York and Lancaster, and Richard the Third's only, and short-lived son was born there. But apparently it had been dismantled for some time. The ruins are of great extent, and argue its former grandeur.

feylde, with sertayn horsmen and fowtmen, dyd mayk a manner of a followyng and heryng; my lord warden was gottne to Newcastle retornyd bak. Yf yow wold lay but vj horsmen here abowts, and lywysse betwen Rypon and Rychmond, to ryd by ij and ij together, myght tayk horsmen and footmen stragglyng from ther camp. But for hyn-dryng thys serves I cowlde easaly have horst and armed myself and my man; and a dosen moo veray well senst I came hether. I send yow heryn closed my lord of Westmorlands letter. Sir, I pray yow after yow have perused my letters, to enclose tham withyn yowr letter, and to send to my lord, and dyssyer that sir Walter Myldmay may keyp thaym, for I know hym to be sircomspect; yt towcheth meyn lyff. Thys nyght I wyll abyde with the lords, to morrow I entend to ryde home; and apon retorn of thys herer I entend to ryd to the lords agayn, and fych with me as shall serve my torn: yowr honor may boldly send me anny messedge yow wyll, or anny thyng but letter, for hys nek shalbe as far yn the halter as myn, and he shall know the perrell, such fellow must I neyds reward bowntyfully. I pray yow pardon my tedyosnes, and thus I wysshe prosperos, with mych encrease of honour. From Cattryk brygg, thys xiiij of Dyssember. The fyrst letter of my naym here wrytne shall, from hensforth, serve for my naym.

Yowr honors most humeble to command for ever,

ROBERT CONSTABLE.

No. XXIII.

Sir RAFF SADLER to the Lords of the Councell.

Please it your lordships. I am very loth to call upon your lordships for money, but knowing that there can be no expedicion without it, specyally in thes affayres, I am therefore forced to remember your lordships of our lacke thereof. Sir Tho. Gargrave hath delivered unto me iij.c.^{li} (400 l.) being all that was left of the mm.^{li} (2000 l.) whiche

he receyved before my commyng to Yorke; the residue he had leyed out by warraunt, as appereth upon his accompt. I receyved also of Chester, therault at armes, mm.ⁱⁱ (2000l.); and Peter Yorke having v.c.ⁱⁱ (500l.) to pay at London, was content for avoyding the trouble of the carrage of it thither, to pay it unto me, uppon hope to receyve somoche there, of such the quenes majesties treasure as shulde be sent hither, wherein I wrote of late to you, Mr Myldmay, and also my lord lieutenaunt; and I borrowed iiij.c.ⁱⁱ (400l.) of the honeste merchants of Hull, to be repayed at the commyng hither of the quenes majesties tresour, though as yet we have not repayed the same. Of all the which severall sommes, amounting in the hole to mmm.ccc.ⁱⁱ (3300l.) which cam to my hands, there doth remayne no more but v.c.ⁱⁱ (500l.) at this present. And we have here upon the poynt of iiij.m. (4000) fotemen, and now that Symonde Musgrave is com to us from my lord Scrope, with iiij.c. horsemen of the west marches, we be at this present above xij.c. horsemen, so that a litle money will go but a litle way among so many, considering also the charges of our caryages for this nomber, and other incydent charges; wherefore I am forced to put your lordships in remembraunce, for the spedie sending of som convenyent masse of money, for the deffraying and furnytur of these charges, whereof I trust your lordships will have such consideracione as thimportance of this service doth require. 15 Decembre, 1569.

No. XXIV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to Mr Secretary.

SIR.

I have at this present wrytten to my lords of the councell to helpe us here with money, for the defraying of these charges; and albeit I knowe your care of the quenes majesties affayres, to be suche as the

same must be the onely furtherer of the same, yet I thought it best to write to all the councell in that behalf. The rebells, understanding that we be on the way towards them, do now gather all the forces they can make, and I lerne all Clevelande, Allertonshire, Rychmondeshire, and the Bishopricke, ar all hollie gon unto them, such is their affection to the cause of religion, by meanes whereof they ar grown to the force of grete numbers, but yet confused, without order, armour, or weapon; so that, albeit, we thinke ourselves able ynough, with that force my lord lieutenaunt hathe here to deale with them, and with Godds helpe to give them the overthrowe; yet because my lord of Warwick, and my lord Admirall ar so desyrous to be at this service, we do stay for them of intent to ioynce all our forces together, whereby we may proceed with suretie. My saide lords wilbe this night at Boroughbrig, which is a dayes iourney behynd us. And notwithstanding they resolved with us, when we mette together at Tadcaster on Saterdag last, to com to us with all theyr horsemen, and to bring of fotemen m (1000) shotte of the harquebuse, and one or ij thousande armed piks, and the rest of their fotemen to marche easely after, so as they might be alwayes within a day or ij dayes iourney of us, yet now I understande they bring their hole forces with them, being to the number, as they say, of xij m. (12,000) horsemen and fotemen, which is a cause of som delay, for that they can not marche so fast after us as they might have don with a lesse nombre, and besids that I knowe not how they wilbe victualled, the people of this countrey being so hollowe harted, and so unwilling to bring victualls to the campe; albeit we use all the meanes we can, both faire and fowle, to inforce them thereunto. And yet surely, though they do all they can, I see not how they can sufficiently furnishe victualls for such a number, considering that the rebells have spo,led the countrey before us. 15 December, 1569.

No. XXV.

Sir WALTER MYLDMAY to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

According to your lettre, I have long sithens caused P. Yorke to be repaid the fyve hundreth pounds that you received of hym. wherof I thinke you may have word, but yet, to be sure, I thought good to wright you thus moche; and to let you understand further, that this day her majestie hath resolved to send six thousand pounds more to be delivered to your hands, parte wherof is to be paid in grosse to Mr Carre, by my lord Admiralls ordre and yours, for that company, and the rest to be with you for my lord of Sussex band. I trust her majestie wilbe pleased to supplie your lacke that way, wherin all my lords are ready to further the best they canne. The rather for that now that your forces be comme together, they trust in God to have a short end of theis trowbles; wherin it apereth there wanteth emongest you no care nor travaille; which I pray God prosper, and send you alwaies as well to doe as I wishe to my self. So trusting you will use me in any thing you have cause in your absence, wherin I may doe ought, I take my leave of you. From Windesor, the xvijth of Decembre, 1569.

Your assured and faithfull frend,

WA. MYLDMAY.

[Arms, three Greyhounds.]

No. XXVI.

Mr Secretary to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

This daye on Mr Egleby* is sent to London to receave of sir Tho. Gresham tenn thousand pounds, which is suerly redy, to be carryed and brought to your hands, wherof I thought it not uncomfortable to wriyte to you. 19 Decembre, 1569.

Yours, assuredly,

W. CECILL.*

[Cecill's Arms.]

I am not in helth nor ease, and I wish my self there wher I am sure my mynd quieted wold amend my unquiet boddy.

No. XXVII.

Mr Secretary to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR.

I send you herwith the quenes majesties lettres, by which you shall see how earnest she is, to have you to take care how to diminish hir charges, wherwith she semeth to be much greved,† and some of us have

* This gentleman was probably of the family of Aglionby, of Aglionby, and Drawdikes, county of Cumberland.

† Queen Elizabeth's œconomy was a remarkable feature of her character. On the present occasion, when a rebellion was raging in the bowels of her kingdom, it almost assumes the features of parsimony.

the more to doo to procure monny. And now, consideryng Mr Eg-
lonby is this daye departyng from London with x. m.^{li} (10,000l.) to be
brought to you, it wer well doone that you considered wher he might
arryve with it to mete with you, for which purpose it may please you
to advertise hym, who is directed also to wryte both to you and to
the three generals, at his comming to Grantham, to advertise you, and
to direct hym for convoye, which as shall seme good wold be sent to
Doncastre to mete hym. In my opinion, by accompt, it will cost hym
tenn dayes travell or he come to Doncastre. This daye my lord of
Sussex advertised me privatly of the intelligence he had, that the
rebells shuld be gon to Exham, with ther horsemen, and ther foote-
men. It were pitte but some of those rascalls wer hanged by
martiall lawe, but for the rycher wold be but taken and attaynted,
for otherwise it is doutfull how the quenes majestie shall have any for-
feture of ther lands or goods. And herof I pray you thynk, and tell
my lord lieutenant therof. From Wyndsor castle, the 20th of Decem-
bre, 1569.

Yours, assuredly,

W. CECILL.

Here is some cursy made to lymitt wages for the gret officers of
the feld.

No. XXVIII.

Sir RAFF SADLIER to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

I do perceyve, by your lettres of the xixth of this present, that there
is x m.^{li} (10,000l.) comyng hitherwards, to be delivered to my hands,
wherof there shalbe no more issued and diffrayed here abouts thes
charges, then must of mere necessitie, where to you may be sure my
lord lieutenant will have good regarde. Assone as his lordship under-

stode of the flight of the rebells from Duresme,* he fourthwith, to ease her majesties charges, casshed all the northern forces of fotemen, saving vij^c (700) lefte at Yorke for the garde of the citie for her majestie, and ccc. sent to Hertilpole, under the leading of sir H. Gate;† and now his lordship hathe also taken order for the discharge of all those at Yorke, leaving Hertilpole yet for a tyme in garde. And all this saide numbers of fotemen have ben discharged without pay, uppon fayre words and sure promises, to have a full pay at my lords retorne to Yorke; wherewith the capitaynes and souldours helde them selfs well satisfied, and departed very well contented. His lordship also intendeth, for the more ease of her majesties charges, to discharge, as we may with suretie, som of the bands of horsemen, keping such a convenyent nomber abouts him as is requisite, so long as we lye onn thes borders, and for the tyme that execucione is to be don uppon the offenders in our retourne. Therles rebells, and their principall conferrats, do lurke and hide themselves in the woodds and deserts of Lyddesdale,‡ but if they tary on the borders, there is good hope to have som of them or it be long. Therles have changed their names and apparell, and ryde lyke the outlawes of Lyddesdale, and we have to presume and suspect gretely, that they shall receyve som helpe and comforte of the lord Hume, and of the Carres in Tividale. The regent§ is com to

* When Sussex advanced to Northallerton the rebels retreated, or rather fled to Hexham, where their followers left them in great numbers; they themselves escaped to Naworth, and thence to Scotland; and so ended an insurrection very similar to that of which Shakespeare says,

Most shallowly did you those arms commence,
Fondly brought here, and foolishly sent hence.

† Sir Henry Gates, one of the northern council at York.

‡ There is a traditionary account that the earl of Westmoreland lay concealed for some time at his kinsman Fetherstonhaugh's house, Stanhope-park, in the wilds of Wear-dale, before he escaped to the continent. Although this is founded on mere tradition, it may be consistent enough with his after-flight to Scotland, but it was certainly returning above thirty miles S. from Hexham.

§ James earl of Murray, regent of Scotland. As the deliverance of Mary was an avowed object of the insurrection of the northern earls, the Scottish regent had hastened to the borders, to prevent their receiving succour from the queen's friends, among whom were

the borders, and Mr Cary I trust is with him, so that we loke howerly to hear from them, and there is no doubt but the regent will do all he can to gette those rebells into his hands; there is no feare but of their escape by the sea, either on the este or on the west coasts; order is given to such as have the charge here of her majesties shippes, to attende well on the este coaste, and if you have don any thing for the west coaste, it is lyke ynough they shall hardly escape by the sea. We have thought it best to remayn here for a time, because, although it be the more paynfull to us, the place being nothing pleasant to abyde in, yet we fynde it the most apte and convenyent place both to receyve spedie intelligence, and also to give specie directions and order for thes affayres.

I am sory to understande by your saide letters, that you be not in helth; I pray God sende you helth shortly; and this busyness ended, I trust you will helpe me home. From — 24 December, 1569.

No. XXIX.

Sir RALPH SADLER to my Lorde Admirall.

It may like your lordship to understande, that I receyved yesternight the quenes majesties lettres, the copie whereof your lordship shall receyve hereinclosed, by the which you shall perceyve how carefull and ernest her majestie is, to have her excessive charges dymynished, wherein her majestie hathe greate reason, and therfore wolde that your lordship and I might conferre togither for the better execucione of the same; but forasmoche as we be so farre a sonder, that we can not have any personall conference at this tyme, ne yet do I see that it is moche nedefull, I have therfore thought good to write thes few words to your

comprehended the chiefs of the names of Hume, Kerr, Scott, Maxwell, and Johnstone, all potent border clans.

lordship, to signefie unto the same, that as I doubt not you will do all that you may to dimynishe her highnes charges there, the lyke whereof my lord lieutenant hathe don, and will do here. So it may please you to advertise me what porcyon of this x.m.ⁱⁱ (10,000l.) which is now commyng, and is ordered to be brought to my hands, you thinke mete to be delyvered to Robert Carre, your treasurer of that armye, to thintent I may give order both for the delyveree of the same to him, and also for the bringing of the rest to me, for the diffrayeng of thes charges here, which I will not fail to do uppon knowlege of your pleasure in that behalf. 26 Decembre, 1569.

No. XXX.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I have this daye receaved your lettres from Exham of the 22th, for the which, I hartely thank you, and am sorry that seing your chass hath bene so long and payneful; the vermin be fledd into a forrayn covert, wher I feare theves and murderers will be the hosts and mayntenors of our rebels, until the hunters be gone, and than they will pass to the seas. And yet, in my opinion, more can not be doone, than is by my lord of Sussex, who hath here hard constructors, * and therfor his lordship is beholding to your testimony, wherin suerly you doo honourably for mayntenance of truth, which I allwise have found in hym, and beside that, suerly, I think, without prejudice of any of the nobillitie. I know none endowed with better parts for a noble man, and a paire of the realme than he is, God assisting hym with his grace

* The earl of Leicester, probably, and his faction, who would not fail to buz into the queen's ear suspicions of his rival Sussex, founded upon his relation to Norfolk.

to employ it. My knolledg of his worthynes, only maketh me affectionated to hym, and certainly nothing els.

Mr Eglenby will be at Newark to morrow at night as he wryteth, wherby you may gess at what tyme he will be at York. And as I have wrytten befor, so I now wish that you wer ther about to ordre the treasure, most for the quenes majesties proffitt in discharging of her army. And I praye you procure some estymat of the charges on both partes, that I may rove to provyde payement. I pray you, also, let me know what is to be thought of captain Rede. From Wyndsor, the 25 of Decembre, 1569.

Yours at commaund,

W. CECILL.

No. XXXI.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

I have upon Christemas day at night, receyved the quenes majesties lettres, and also yours of the xxth of this present, by the which, I do perceyve, what care her highnes hathe to dymynishe her excessive charges here, wherein her majestie hath grete reason, and we here, have no lesse care thereof, then our dueties do require; I assure you my lord lieutenant hathe not neglected, ne omytted any thing, that was to be done therein; for as I have written to you in my former lettres, his lordship, assone as the rebells fledde from Duresme with their horsemen, fynding, then, that he coulde not use the service of his fotemen, did imediately, before he had any such order by lettres, or otherwise from tne quenes majestie, discharge, at the leest, 3 m. (3000) fotemen, and sithens he hathe discharged the rest, saving iij^c (300) in * Hertilpole,

* This place was probably garrisoned, less to prevent its being again seized by the insurgents, than to intercept any foreign succours which might have been directed thither by the Spaniards.

which, we thinke, may also be discharged ; but that because you seme there to make so grete an accompte of that place, his lordship therefore doth forbere to discharge them, untill he may be advertised of the quenes majesties pleasure in that behalf. His lordship hathe also discharged some bands of horsemen, and daylie we do as we may with suretie devise to dimynishe thes excessive charges, and all this is don without money, and yet with faire words, and assured promise of pay when money cometh, they were satisfied, and departed well contented. What my lord of Warwyck, and my lord admirall do in this case, I know not, for we ar not togither, ne yet did we mete syns our first meting at Shirborn, they have alwayes ben within one or two dayes journey of us, and if the rebells wolde have taryed the fight, then wolde my lord lieutenant have stayed till they might have ioyned their forces with his, but when the rebells fledde, his lordship thought it best to pursue them without delay, having then the way open to mete with sir Jo. Forster, and the garrison of Barwick, and so strong ynough to deale with the rebells in suretie. Now where, as the quenes majesties pleasure is, that I shulde conferre with my lord admyrall, and devise with him, how her majesties charges may be dymynished, and how this ten m^{li} (10,000l.) now comyng, may be distributed to both armyes, because his lordship and I, be farre a sonder, and for that, I know not how sone he meaneth to retourne southwards, I have therfore signified to his lordship, the quenes majesties pleasure, and have desired of him to knowe what porcion of the saide money he will require to be delivered to Robert Carr the thesaurer of that armye, for the which, I will take order upon knowledge of his minde, and the rest shalbe brought to my hands, to be deffrayed by warrant of my lord lieutenant here, according to her majesties pleasure. Wherin shall be used the best husbandry we can devise, with such respect to this service as aperteyneth to our dueties. And so referring the rest to our common lettre, to my lords of the councell, I wish you health and your harts desire. From Exham, the xxvijth of December, 1569.

No. XXXII.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

I have presentlye receaved your lettre of the xxvjth of this monthe, and therwith a coppie of the quenes majesties lettre dyrected to youe, whearin yt apearethe how desyrous her majestie is to have her exces-syve charges demynished, which I thincke her majestie hathe good cause to be of that mynd. And therefore my lord of Warwick and I, havinge considered something for the easinge of her majesties greate charges, have alreadie entred into the cassinge, * and discharginge of a greate number of the bandes under us, as well horsemen as footemen, so farre as the money in my mayster Carr his hands our threasawrer will streatche unto, and with the healpe of one thowsand powndes more, which my lord of Warwycke, my lorde of Heryforde, and I have borowed amongste our freinds in this armye, to be payd agayne at the comynge of the quenes majesties treasure now upon the way hytherwards. But now for lack of money, we muste be fayne to staye from discharginge any more, untill the treasure doo come hyther. We have sent to Yorke and Hull to borowe money, but I can not perceave that we are lyke to have any of theym. And whear you requyer to be advertised, what portion of the ten thowsand pownds which is nowe comynge, and ordered to be brought to your hands, I thincke mete to be delyvered to maister Carr our threasawrer, you shall understand, that I have spoken to him, to advertise you what some will suffyce to discharge this armye, which he will doo with as muche dilligence as he can possyble. But yt will aske a tyme to peruse his bookes, what preaste money, and other payments hathe passed him, and to what som the charges of a throughe paye of the armie will growe unto, with

* i. e. reducing.

their conducte money, which I dowpte not shalbe readye to be sent unto youe to morrowe. And shoulde have ben soner dispatched unto youe, but that his clerks with his books be presentlie at Ryppon, with the muster maister, discharginge and payinge of dyvers bands. And for that, her majesties charges dothe daylie grow, for lacke of money to discharge that parte of the armie, that remaynethe here uncassed, if it may please you, for the shorteninge of the tyme, to send hyther som trustie man of yours to conferre with mayster Carr, and to see his reckonyngs, and what money shalbe thought nedeful to be leafte heare, for the discharge of this armie, and thereuppon to cause master Egloinby, by your ordres, to delyver unto maister Carr so much money as shalbe nedeful for that purpose; and so to carye unto you the rest of the threasure that shall remayne. I thincke, in myne opinyon, it were the best waye, for the spedye discharginge of this armye, which otherwyse, by sending to you, and retorninge your aunswere hyther agayne, will prolonge some tyme in contynewannce of her majesties charges, wherof I knowe you have greate care to avoyde. I perceave by a lettre which I receaved yesterday from maister secretorye, that the threasure wilbe here about Satterdaye, or Sondag next. And yf you doo send hyther, in the meane tyme, for the purpose afforewrytten, I thincke yt will forther muche the easinge of her highnes charges. And thus with my moste hartie comendacions unto you, I take my leave from Burrowbrygge, this present Wedensdaye, at fyve of the clocke in the morninge, being the xxviiijth of December, 1569.

Your assured loving freind,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XXXIII.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

I humbly thank you for your lettres of the 24. And I now wishe you about York, to gyve ordre for the defraying of the treasure, for expedition of the paye. I pray you, if ther be no further cause for my lord of Rutland to abyde in those parts, counsell his lordship to retorn, and so I know he is disposed, and will do as my lord of Sussex and you shall advise him.

I dout ther may be some interpretation of my lord of Warwyke and my lord admiralls doyngs, as though they shuld preiudice my lorde of Sussex authorite, being lyetenant; wherein, I dout not, but as you see occasion, you will help to salve thyngs if any be past, and to stey things hereafter, I think they all will receve your advice in good part.

My lord of Sussex doyngs hath bene well reported by you, and so I thinke he hath deserved, otherwise he hath had some lack of allowance here, which will, I trust, dayly amend, and it is a good dede to hold upp any noble man when he meaneth well.

We ar never well satisfyed with generall advertisements. You must lett us know what is become of * Norton, † Marcanfeld, ‡ Tempest, § sir John Novell, || and such lyke. From WyndSOR castle, the 28 of December, 1569.

Your assured at command,

W. CECILL.

* Chiefs of the insurgents.

† Richard Norton, of Norton-Conyers Co. Ebor.

‡ Markenfield of Markenfield Co. Ebor.

§ More than one Tempest was attainted for this rebellion. Michael and Robert Tempest forfeited large property in the county of Durham, consisting of the estate of Holmeside, &c. v. List. of forfeitures. Michael Tempest of Broughton was also attainted.

|| Of the Nevills, I find in the history of the Attainder, Christopher Nevill of Hippleswell, Co. Ebor. Cuthbert Nevill of Willington, Co. Pal. both uncles to the earl of Westmoreland.

I wish some good example wer at Durham, to restore the Bible and Common Prayer by some generall assembly, to confound the rebells barbaroosness.

No. XXXIV.

My Lord Warwyk and my Lord Admirall to Sir RAPHE SADLER.

SYR,

We have presently reseved a letter, wherby we perseve that Mr Eglanby at the wrytyng therof, was at Toxford with the tresor, and as it semyth by the same, menyth to be this nyght, or to morrow, at Donkester, whyther we intend to send hym som convoy for his saff comyng hyther. We send you herewith a letter, wych Mr Eglanby hath directyd to yow; we do pray yow to send soch as one you thinke mete hyther, to take order for the delyveryng of so moche money to the tresorer here, as may dyscharge the armey under our charge, apon wych we only staye, for, if we had money, we wold not have one man in charge within this ij dayes. We have aunswer from Hull and York, that ther is no money to be had, bot only at York v c^{li} (500l.) wych wyll not be here afore Saterdag, or Sondag, if it then do com. And here is amongst us none to be had, for we have lent all to the queenes majesties use, for cassying of the men that ar dyscharged. Thus hoping to here from you very shortly, we do moste hartely byd you fare well. From Borowbryg, the xxixth of December, at x a clock in the night, 1569.

Your very lovyng frends,

WARWYK,
F. CLYNTON.

No. XXXV.

Copie of my Lord Admiralls Lettre to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

After my hartie commendacions unto you. I do send yow herinclosed a note, under the thresawrer of this armie his hande, of the number of the men that are under my lord of Warwicke and me, wherein it shall appeare what charges the quenes majestie is, and must be at, for the dissolving of this army, as neare as it can be esteamed, as by the same note herinclosed, yow may better perceave; praeing yow, that yow will take order for the same, and to send answer with speede, for the easing of the quenes majesties charges. And thus I take my leave. From Burrow brigge, the xxixth of December, 1569.

SIR,—I wishe yow would send a trustie man of yours to se this money delivered to our tresorer here, for otherwise the charges of the men, they remaining yet in pay, will dayly increase, which I know yow do both consider, and are carefull of.

No. XXXVI.

Copie of Mr ROBERT CARRE his Lettre to my Lord of WARWYK and my Lord Admirall.

It maye please your good lordships. I have according to your commandments, travaled at Rippon with such skillfull auditors as I could gett, and we have perused the mustre bookes, for the number of the souldiors serving one foote, which are xj m. (11,000), as also of the number of the horsemen, which we find to be above m^{cc}. (1200.) And considered, therewith, what there wages for one moneth will amownt un-

to, the which we cannot estimate to be lesse then xiiijm. iiijc. xxx^{li}. (14430l.) and, also, besids thes we find in the said muster books, divers gentlemen, with their servaunts attending upon yow, and all other the officers of the camp, with their ministers and servaunts, that be no parcell of the aforesaid nomber; and dyvers other chardges, as conduct money for the captens and souldiors. There cariages, the cariages of hir majesties ordinance and municeons, and other ordynary charges, which of necessitie, are to be allowed, we cannot estimate that lesse then vjm. cc^{li}. (6200) will dischargd it; and yet we leave out of this estimate you lordships enterteynants, the lord marshalls, and the generalls of the horsemen. We have, with as greate diligence as possiblye cold, in so short time, made this estimate which we iudge to be with the least. The some of the hole, wherof, xxj m. xxx^{li}. (21030l.) wherof paid to my hands viijm. c. l^{li}. (8150l.) and so remayneth xijm. cccc. iiij^{xx} li. (12480l.) to be paid for the dischargd. And yet with the lytell money that remayneth with me, and the v c^{li}. (500l.) which I borrowed of my lord marshall, and the vj c^{li}. (600l.) which I likewise borrowed of yow my lord admirall, and with your lordships credit of promis of paiment. The muster master hath discharged to the nomber of vjm. (6000) and above, wherby the quenes highnes saveth cc^{li}. (200l.) a daie, wherfore your lordships must earnestly write that the money may come with spede, otherwise the chardge will growe almost to ccc^{li}. (300l.) a day, which may be staid by spedie payment, for the wages that shall growe after this day is no part of our estimate. And thus leaving all thes doings to your honors considerations, I committ yow to God. From Rippon, the xxvijth of December, 1569.

No. XXXVII.

Sir RAFE SADLER to my Lord of WARWYK and my Lord Admirall.

Please it your lordships. I have presently sent my servant this berer according to your desyre, both to receyve the quenes majesties treasure of Mr Aglionbye, and also to delyver such a porcyon thereof to Mr Carr treasurer of that armye, as your lordshipps shall thinke mete, so we may have also here a convenyent porcyon of the same, for the diffraing of the paye of suche forcis of horsemen and fotemen, as have been levied in the north parts, and suche other charges as be incydent to the same, whereof hitherto we have made no full pay, but delyvered very small prests, for albeit my lord lieutenant dyd immediately after the flight of the rebells from Durham, fourthwith casse and dischardge in maner all his fotemen, yet did he the same without monney, giving them fayre woords, with assured promise to the capteynes of a full pay at his retourne to Yorke, which must neds be perfourmed. And now his lordship hath also discharged dyvers bands of horsemen in lyke maner, keping onely cc horsemen and c harquebusiers abouts him for the tyme; that execucion of iustice is now to be don upon thoffendours within the bishopricke Richmondshire and Yorkshire; * and also we have lefte vj c (600) horsemen, and cc harque-

* This execution was uncommonly severe. According to Stow, there were executed in Durham alone, above sixty-six petty constables and others; and sir George Bowes, marshal of the queen's army, caused to be hanged some of the insurgents in every village, betwixt Newcastle and Weatherby, a district sixty miles in length, and forty miles in breadth. In this massacre, sir George Bowes probably had private, as well as public injuries to avenge. Upon occasion of hanging one Harrison in his own orchard, tradition ascribes to him a singularly savage expression of loyalty, "that the best fruit a tree could bear, was a dead traitor." Thus when the archbishop of St Andrews was hanged at Stirling, some one inscribed on the gallows,

*Cresce diu felix arbor, semperque vireto
Fronibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.*

busiers, yet lyeng in garrison along the frontiers on the est, west, and myddel marches, under my lord of Hunsdon, my lord Scrope, and sir Jo. Foster, which, albeit, it be chargeable to the quenes majestie, yet have we thought it mete to contynew the same for a tyme, for any sodeyn enterprise in Scotland, eyther for the apprehension of suche of the principall rebels as be yet untaken, or for any other service upon the sodeyn, wherefore to supporte all thes charges afore specified, and also yours for that armye; if the treasoure which is now com will not suffice for both, it must then be indifferently distributed amongst us, so that both you and we may have to serve the necessitye, whereof, I doubt not, your lordships will have consideracion, and so wishing that thes matiers well ended, your lordship and I, also, were all where we wolde be, I pray God kepe you in helth, and increase you in honour.
30 December, 1569.

No. XXXVIII.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAUF SADLER.

SIR,

I have receaved presentlie your lettre of the xxxth of this monthe, and touchinge the money brought hyther this daye, wherof you requyer to have a convenient portion, to paye suche men as are under my lord of Sussex, lord lieutenant there. I truste you have perceaved by the quenes majesties lettres, and from maister secretarye, by her highnes commandement, that I am expresslye willed, to discharge all this armie, with such money as is now sent, to be payed by your order, and the remayne to be imployde by you, towards the discharginge of the armye under my lord of Sussex. And to the end you shoulde perfectlie understand the charge which her highnes is at with this armie, and what somes must be disbursed for the cleare paymente and dys-solvinge of the same, I caused Mr Carr the treasurer here to send you

a note of the same, as neare as he could, which, I trust, you have receaved, and therby you shall fynd, that the aunsweringe of all men here for their cleare discharge, wyll amounte to more money then is now brought by Mr Egleonby. And if there shalbe reserved anye greate som to be sent to you, for the discharge of those men under my lord of Sussex, I cannot see but the quenes majestie shalbe a longe tyme at a greate charge, with a great number of men to remayne here; besides, there exclamation to be discharged, havinge ben mustred, and redye to departe uppon payment. And surely I knowe not howe to healpe yt, whearin I wold gladlye take your advice. And in myne opinion, it is more easye to satisfye the number that are all in maner of one shyre, and not farre to resort home uppon promes, then those who be of viij or x shyres, some ij^c (200) myles distante from hence, and some almost iij^c (300) as those of the Isle of Wyght and other partes, of whom we are without redye payment, lykes to heare muche exclamation, and yet shall there be, as muche as maye be don to restrayne all payments, that maye be by any meanes saved. Heare we are called on for the allowance of conducte money, and carriages for captaynes and their bandes, but suerlie there shall lacke no pollycie to abridge them, as muche as in reason maye be to save her highnes charges. But they that dwell fair of, will hardlye be satisfyed without conducte money; yet have we pleased uppon promes manye of the bands alreadye cased with some rewarde, muche lesse then there conducte money wolde have amounted unto. And therefore you knowinge hereof, who can consyder of it, as well as any man, I truste will so consent to that which shalbe meteste for her majesties honour and sarvyce. But suerlye if suche som as Parke your servaunt speakethe of, shoulde be spared here, to be sent to you, there will remayne a great charge to her majestie to contynue here till money come. Now have I layed the whole matter before you, as well as I can expresse it, I dowpte not but you will consider of it, and determyne what is meteste to be don for her highnes best service and proffett, wherof I knowe there can be no man more carefull then you. My lord of Warwycke is this daye

gon hence towards the courte, being revoked by her majesties letter, in respect of his sickness, which he latelye hadd of the gowte. I am somethinge to my gryefe, commanded by the quenes majesty to remayne in these parts, when I have dissolved and payed this armye, untill I heare forther her majesties pleasure. But I yelde to obey her pleasure, hopinge it shalbe but for a short time. And I retayne with me ij or iij bands of footemen with shott, and ij^c (200) horsemen, which I thyncke is meante to be leafte in this shyre withe my lord lyeutenant. I perceave by a lettre sent me yesterdaye from maister secretorye, that there is order sent youe by letters from the court, what shalbe payed for the dyatts of my lord of Warwycke and me, beinge lyeutenants, my lord of Heryford being lord marshall, and the reaste of the headd offycers of this armye, which yet remayne unpaid here for lacke of knowledge of her highnes pleasure therin, wherof I praye you advertise me with spede. And thus I doo moste hartelye wyshe unto youe as muche good, as I wolde to myne owne sealf. From Burrowbrygge, this laste of December, 1569, at xj of the clocke in the night.

Your assured lovyng frend,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XXXIX.

Sir RAPHE SADLER to my Lord Admirall.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have presently receyved your lettres of the last of December, and have conferred with my lord lieutenant here upon the same, who is well contented, both for the diminishing of the quenes majesties charges, and also for your lordships better contentacion, to leave unto your order asmoche of the money now brought by Mr Agleonbye as may be

spared conveniently, trusting that your lordship will consider, that the garrisons lyeng on the borders, and also such bands of horsemen as do yet attende here undischarged, which, hitherto, for the most parte of them never had a peny, can not lyve without money. And, therefore, where as we made certen accompte to have v m^{li} (5000l.) or at the least iiij m^{li}. (4000l.) of that money, if your lordship will nowe spare us three thousande, we shall make the best shifte we can till more com, assuring you, that for my own parte, I had lever be out of my lif, then be as I am cryed and called upon daylie for money. I dare assure your lordship, that vj m^{li}. (6000l.) besids that iij m^{li}. (3000l.) will not satisfie that is due to this armye. And yet if we may have to give every man somewhat, I trust we shall please them for the tyme; and besyds that we owe xiiij^s (1400l.) which we have borrowed of the towne of Hull, and of Valentyne Browne, which do call daylie for repayment. And in dede Mr Browne, of whom we have had m^{li} (1000l.) must neds be repaied, because it is money due to the garrison of Berwick, which be not a litle offended with him for lacke of payment, whereof I trust your lordship will have consyderation. I trust your lordship hathe, or this tyme, receyved my lettres with the copie of my lords of the councells lettres, conteyning the rate of wages for the lieutenants, and other principall officers of the armye, which I sent yesternight to your lordship. And so being sory that you ar stayed in this colde countrey, and yet, in some respect, not sory, because I trust we shall have your lordships companye, whereof I wolde be glad, *quia bonum est habere consortes in pena*. I commytte your good lordship to the tucyon of Almightye God. Primo Jan. 1570.

No. XL.

Lord Admiral to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I dyspatched letters upon Satterday last, to my lord of Sussex and you, for answer of his lordships letter for the plasyng of men in the garyson, and my opinion therein, wherof as I see good caus, I dyd think mete it shold be aloued of. And have, therin, written my mind to my lords of the counsell agreabyll to my lords letters and yours ; and I did wryt unto you my opinion, toching the payment of so moch money as shold make a clear dyscharge of all this armey for elevyatyng of her hynes charge. Wych, if so moch money as Park your servant declaryth shold be reservyd to be sent you, ther wold remayne a gret number of men to her majesties charge ; who, for the most part have farr hence, and unwyllyng to tarre. In this matter, I have wryten, at lengthe, on Saterdag last, loking ouarly for aunswer ; wych, as I think, by the faute of the posts, hath not soch dyspatch as it ought to have, wych I wolde wyshe were reformed by order from my lord of Sussex and you ; the lak of aunswer dothe gretly hynder her majesties sarvys. I pray you that I may here from you with all possible spede. I take my leve from Borowbrigg, the ij^d of January, 1570.

Your assured frend to command,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XLI.

Sir RALPH SADLER to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

I do conceyve of your lettres of the 26 and 28 of December, that my lord lieutenants doings here ar som tymes hardely construed amongst you there, whereof I mervaile, and am also sory for them same; for I dare boldely say, there is no noble man in Englande that, being in his place, could be able to make a more clere and better accompte of this charge then he is able to do afore indyfferent auditours; surely he deserveth not to have any matier of discomforte mynistered unto him, but rather to be cherished and moch made of, for in myn opynyon her majestie hathe such a treasure of him, as few pryncis have a greater of a subiecte. I doubt not but what soever matier shalbe misconstrued of his doings here, in thende trewth shall delyver.

What may be interpreted of my lord of Warwicks, and my lord Admiralls doings, as though they shulde prejudice his auctoryte, being lieutenant here, I can say nothing, they be all good noble men, and such as I love well, and surely I see none other but good lykyng and good agrement amongst them, orells I wolde be sorye; but this is trew, that where as my lord lieutenant here and I devised to make a grete profyte and benefite the quenes majestie, of the goods and chatells of many welthie offendours, and yet besyds to have founde meanes of rewarde to such as have well deserved in this service, there hathe ben suche an universall disorder in spoyle, aswell of the innocent as of the giltie, made by the southern armye, that we shall not be able to make so good an accompte to her majestie as we hoped to have done: and this hathe ben don whills we lay on the borders, by the disordered and unruly souldours, I dare say without the knowlege or consent of the

chiefetynes: but though the goods and chatells be gon, yet the houses and lands remayn, whereof the greatest accompt is to be made.

I have sent my man, because I can not go myself, to mete with Mr Aglionby, and to receyve the money of him, and thereof to delyver such a porcyon to Mr Carr, tresourer to that armye, as my lorde of Warwick, and my lord Admyrall, shall thinke mete, so as we here may also have a convenyent porcyon of the same, to supporte the charges of our northern bands; but as I do perceyve, all wilbe to lytle for the southern armye. I can not now sende you an estymate of the charges on both parts, because I lacke my man, whom I have sent, as before to Mr Aglionby, but I will sende it you assone as he retourneth, in the meane season you shall receyve hereinclosed so moche as I have from my lord Admyrall, touching the charges of that armye, and I thinke that half so moche, within litle, will serve for the other, whereby you may ghesse at both. Our number of horsemen was greater then theyrs, and therfore wilbe the more chargeable. I cannot tell what I may thinke of capteyn Rede, but am sory that he shulde give any cause to be suspected. I here of no matier agenst him but suspicion, other then capteyn Styrlay, who was sent to me to Yorke by my lord of Bedford, Aerned, at his being amongst the rebels, of one Christofer Norton,† which I am sure the said Styrlay hathe declared to you, if he did therein follow my dyrection; and now the same Christofer Norton is taken amongst the rest of the rebels, whom I will move my lord lieutenant to have examined afore his lordship and me, and if we can pike any matier out of him touching Rede,‡ or any other, you shalbe advertised of the same. And so prayeng you to helpe me home assone as you can, I comytte you to Godds holie tucyon. From Duresme, the first of Januarie, 1570, with the rude hand of

Your owne to commande,

R. SADLEIR.

[*Arms, a lion rampant.*]

† Son to Norton, of Norton Coniers, a principal insurgent, of whom more hereafter.

‡ One of the captains of the bands in garrison at Berwick.

You shall understande by the copies of such lettres of my lord Scrope and sir Jo. Forster as be inclosed in this paquet, asmoche as we knowe, what is becom of the principall rebels, and if we had knowen it any soner, you shulde not have ben unadvertised thereof. The number of the presoners taken and remayning in the Marshalls custodie here in the castell of Duresme, ar of the meaner sorte, som gentilmen of meane reputacion, but the number is yomen and servyng men.

No. XLII.

My Lord Admiral to Sir RAUFE SADLEYR.

SYR,

For that I see daylie lettres passe by poste from my lord of Sussex towards the courte, and woulde gladlie understand some thinge howe matters passe there with youe, speciallye suche things as is mete for me to knowe; I praye you, that from you, eather by your sealf, or by your appoyntment one of your clearks maye let me heare, by letter, some thinge of such newes as are from thence, whearin I shall thinke my sealf beholdinge to youe. And thus wishinge youe as well to doo as I wolde my sealf, I take my leave, from Weatherby, wheare I remayne tyll I heare of her majesties forther pleasure, the vth of Januarye, 1570.

Your assured frend to command,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XLIII.

Queene ELIZABETH to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

By the Queenr.

Right trusty and wellbeloved counselor we grete yow well. Wher-
as both our armies lately levyed for our service, aswell under the charge
of our cousine the erle of Sussex, our lieutenant in the northe, as under
the charge of our cousine the erle of Warwicke, and our Admirall of
England, whome we made our lieutenants for our armye levied in the
south, are, by our order, appoincted to be discharged and onely cer-
taine nombers of horsemen, and fotemen, to be reteined and distribut-
ed into garrisons in those northe parts, wherby we have no cause to
continewe our severall charges, for the interteignement in wages of any
of our lieutenants of our armyes aforesaid, or of any officers or mini-
sters, to their said offices belonging: and yet we find it convenient
that our said lieutenants shuld understande, untill what tyme we are
pleased to continewe the allowance of their wages and interteigne-
ments heretofore to them appointed for their owne persons, as our
lieutenants of our armyes. We wold that you (in whome, from the
begynnyng of your going into those parts, beside other things, we re-
posed moost truste for the order in defraying of our treasure,) shuld in
this sort following understande our pleasure for the allowance of
them.

First, that the interteignement of the erle of Sussex, as lieutenant
of the armye under him, shuld cease nowe at his returne to our city of
Yorke, or within two or three dayes after, where he is to continewe as
our president and lieutenant, without cause to be the headde of any
armye. And that the interteignement of our cousine of Warwicke
shuld cease the xijth daye after his departure awaye from Borowghbrig
hitherward, whiche severall dayes interteignement we thinke reason-

able to allowe him, for his charges of his iourney towards us. And in like maner we are pleased to allowe to our Admirall, for the like number of dayes, to be ended after he shall, upon the dischardge of our army, take his iourney to returne towards us, from the said place of Borowghbrigge, where we perceiue it hathe bene determined our army to be dissolved.

And this our pleasure we will youe to natify, as well to every of the saide partyes, our late lieutenants, as to Robert Carre, treasorer of our sowtherne army, or to any other that shall have cawse to make payments of our treasure in this behalf.

And where we perceiue, by information from thence, that our treasure alredy sent thither, besides the imprests of money, and delivery of armure and weapon out of our stoore, will not serve to make a full paye for discharge of our armyes there, we require youe, that by your good meanes, all suche as have come out of these sowthe parts, and are to be discharged, may be as farreforthe paide and discharged out of solt, as our treasure thither sent, or any money to be borrowed in those parts for our use, may extend unto: and that suche as hathe served us in any of oure saide armies, and are resiant in those northe parts, and not ordered to be kept in wages; and suche soldiors also of the sowtherne parts, as are appointed to remayne there in garrison, may be treated withall, and reasonably perswaded to forbear to demaunde the payes due unto them, so farre furth as our treasure already sent cannot serve, untill we may send our further treasure thider for that purpose, wherein we wold have youe to understand our meaning to be, as farrefurthe as you can devise, that none be contynewed in wages but suche as are specially appointed, and thought necessary to remaine in garrison. And for those numbers like as we have heretofore, both by our owne lettres and our counsellors, ordered that suche reasonable numbers shuld be limited, as might be thought convenient by a common consultacion and conference of our said lieutenants, whereunto we ment also youe shuld be made privy, so nowe we require you to take some speciall care therof, that the number be no greater then shalbe

founde nedefull, and that in the choice of the same, regard be had that such be appoincted in whom moost truste of service may be reposed, whiche (as we have already signified our opinion,) is to be reposed in the sowtherne souldiors, and captaines being not borne in those northe parts, except for the numbers that shall remaine upon the borders, it may be thought that none can be founde amongs the sowtherne bandes that can be so mete to serve there, as suche as be of the same countries: and in the choice of the captens, we have also cawsed our liking to be signified thither, whome of the said sowtherne captens we did best allowe of; and yet we did not meane to have any of the said captens to continew any greater numbers then is usually fitte to remaine in garrisons, althoughe somme of them had, as they were well worthie, greater numbers at this tyme appointed them, upon the levying and conducting of our late armye out of the sowthe, then is mete to remaine in garrisons dispersed. And thus youe may perseeve our meaning in these sundry things above expressed, whiche (because we wold presently avoid the trouble of sending many lettres,) we will that youe do impart to our said cousine of Sussex, and to our cousine of Warwicke, if he be not departed, and to our Admirall also, in suche sorte as the parts of this our lettre shall concerne any of them; wherein we doubt not but they will followe our directions, and employe themselves to the fulfilling of our pleasure and commandement.

And where we did, by our former lettres, licence our admirall to retourne from thence upon the discharge of our armye, and shortly after willed our secretary, by his private lettres, to require him in our name to staye there, after the discharge of our army, untill he might heare further of our pleasure, we wold have youe let him now understande, that upon knowledge of his desire to returne to our presence, we are well pleased that he shall returne at his best commodity, according to our pleasure signified to him by our owne former lettres. And for your owne returne, whiche we dare affirme youe do desire, we meane to let yow knowe our pleasure assone as we may be advertised from youe of the full dischargd of our armye, which we doubt not but youe

will the soner hasten, to the intent youe might be revoqued from thence, according to the olde desire we knowe youe have to be at home, if youe be not employed in our service, and so surely we wold presently satisfy your desire, if we might spare youe from thence.

After we had proceded thus farre in this lettre, we had somme conference with our counsell, concerning the numbers determined to be in garrisons, specially suche as are upon the three frontiers, not finding any cause of their contynuaunce, otherwise then we trust the wardens may answer with their owne powers, and so have we written to our cousine of Sussex, with whome we require youe to conferre, and advertise us of your reasons; and if youe shall now finde no iust cause to contynew them all, or no part thereof, so to order their discharge with spede.

We also perceive, that amongs certaine numbers of our sowtherne army lefte behind with our admirall, the mooste number are footemen, and but cc. horses, wherof one hundreth apperteyneth to himself, so as we see not that there can be any use to reteine any more of them in place of the northerne bands, but the cc. horse, and the numbers of ——— fotemen, because youe have reteined no moo fotemen, except it shalbe thought that somme part of the horsemen that shall remaine with our lieutenant for the tyme of thexecucion, may be torned into fotemen, and then they may be taken oute of the numbers which are yet remayning with our admirall, of which mater we require youe to conferre with oure lieutenante of those northe parts. Geven under our signet, at our castell of Windesore, the vjth of January, 1570, in the twelfthe yeare of our reigne.

*To our right trusty and welbeloved Counselor, sir
Rauf Sadleir, knight, Chauncellor of our Duchie
of Lancaster.*

No. XLIV.

Sir RALPH SADLIER to my Lord Admirall.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I perceyve by your lettres of the vth of this instant, that your lordship fynding the posts to passe daylie with lettres from my lord lieutenant here to the courte, wolde gladly understand how things go there with us, specially such as is mete for your lordship to knowe. For your lordships good satisfaction, wherein in dede all things which we knowe, or have to do here concerning the quenes majesties affayres, are mete for your lordship to knowe, and wolde to God you were with us here, that we might use your advise in the same. The frequent and often advertisements which of late we have sent to the courte, do partely concerne the maner of execucion of offendours, whiche is don, and to be don here, in the bishopricke, Rychmondshire and Yorkshire, by the martiall law, and of suche offendours as be of welth, cyther in lands or goods, as ar to be respited, of intent to be tryed by the lawes of the realme,* so as thexchets of lands and goods may be answered

* Agreeably to Cecil's advice, the wealthy rebel was reserved for attainder and forfeiture, while those who had no lands or chattells to lose, were executed without ceremony by martial law: The dreadful state of the country may be best conceived from the following letter of bishop Pilkington, of Durham, transcribed from the Lansdowne collection of MSS. by my friend Mr Surtees.

"JESU HELPE. Right honorable, acording to your lordships apointment, I have sent my man to know, bi your judgment, the quenes majesties pleasure for mie reparing homeward. Nowe mie lord Sussex is come, I trust some gudd order shall be taken for the cuntre; iff my person might doe anie gudd, I wold attend as your wisdom shall think mete, or apoint me. The cuntre is in grete miserie, and as the shireff writes, he can not doe justice by anie number of juries of suche as be untouched in this rebellion, until thei be either quited bi law, or pardoned by the quenes majestie. The number of offenders is so grete, that fewe inocient are left to trie the giltie; and if the forfeited landes be bestowed on suche as be strangers, and will not dwell in the cuntre, the people shall be withoute

to her majestie towards her charges, whereof we have receyved a spe-
cyall charge from her highnes, and yet there hathe ben such an uny-
versall disorder of spoyle, aswell of thinnocent as of the giltie, com-
mitted by disordered and unruly souldours, as we shall not be able to
make accomte of the xth peny of that which is due to her majestie.
And as I understand the spoyle ceaseth not yet in Yorkshire, for the
sherif of the same, being her majesties ymedyate officer in such cases,
and having warrant and commandement from my lord lieutenant here,
to make seasure of the lands and goods of thoffendours for her majestie,
hathe signefied hither, that he is so menaced and threatened, by such
as have no good auctoryte in that case, as he dare not execute his of-
fice, which in dede is farr out of order.

The rest of our saide advertisements do concerne the principall re-
bells, which be in Scotlande, as that therle of Northumberlande is in
the custodie of the regent, and therle of Westmorlande, the countesse
of Northumberlande, Norton, Markenfelde, Tempest, Egremont, Rat-
clif, and others, as we be advertised, be receyved, ayded, and mayn-
teyned, agenst the regents will, by the lord Hume, the lord of Farny-
herst, the lady of Bucleugh, and the laird of Johnston, and other bor-
derers on the est and west marches of Scotlande.

Yesternight my lord lieutenant here receyved lettres from the quenes

heades, the cuntre desert, and no number of freeholders to doe justice by juries, nor serve
in the wars. What comfort itt is to goe now into that cuntre, for ani that wold live quiet-
lie, your wisdom can easilie judge. Butt God is present with his peple, and his vocacion
is not rassy to be forsaken, nor his assistance to be dowed on—his gudd will be done.
And ill I gos downe in displeasure, mie preses (presence) shall doe more harme than gudd.
The Lord grant you the spirit of wisdom to provide peace for this afflicted realme. 4 Ja-
nuarie. (No date of the year.)

"Yours ever,

"JAMES DUNOLM."

*To the right honorabler sir William Cecyll, knight,
cheefe secretarie to oure Sovereigne Ladie, the
Quenes Majestie.*

The bishop had incurred the queen's displeasure, by contesting the forfeitures on the
rebellion, *jure Palatin*. They were adjudged to the queen, *hac vice*, to defray expences,
&c.

majestie, by the which he is directed to sende sir Henry Gates,* with her majesties lettres to the regent in Scotlande, to require therle of Northumberlande being in his custodie, and the other rebells being recepted in Scotlande, to be delyvered to her majestie, according to the ancyent treaties bytween Englande and Scotlande, for the which purpose sir H. Gates, being now at Rychmont to see execucion of justice don there, of such of the meaner sorte of thoffendors as are to be executed by the martiall law, is now sent for to prepare himselfe to that iourney, but I have som cause to doubt whether the regent can or will delyver the saide rebells, for though percase he have good will thereunto, yet I conceyve, by that I have hard, that few or none of the nobilite, or others, of that realme, will agree unto it;† and surely it is thought that the borderers will never be induced to delyver them, excepte they be forced thereunto by grete extremyte, so as if the quenes majestie will stonde upon their delyverance, it shall behove her highnes, in myn opynyon, to ley strong garrisons on the borders, to thende that if those proude Scotts, on the borders of Scotlande, will not delyver the saide rebells, which they do kepe and mayntayne in their houses, they may be persecuted by her majesties forces, and so compelled eyther to delyver them, orells, by often incursions, to have their houses, lands and goods overthrowen, wasted and destroyed by fyer and sworde, with all extremyte. Therle of Westmorlande, and the countesse of Northumberlande, ar in the lord of Farnyhersts house, as it is certainly knowen, for therle hathe ben sene and spoken with by an Englishman,‡ who tells me the same, and the rest ar kepte secretly by thother borderers above named. And som suspicion there is that therles of Huntley and Argile, and all the saide borderers and others

* Sir Henry Gates was a person of considerable influence in Yorkshire. He narrowly escaped death, for being an adherent of the Lady Jane Grey, during the preceding reign. It appears, from a letter in Lodge's Illustrations, Vol. II. p. 28, that sir William Drury was joined with him in this commission to the regent Murray.

† In this Sadler was a true prophet: the proposal of surrendering Northumberland was evaded by Murray, and that infamy was reserved for Morton.

‡ By Robert Constable doubtless, the traitorous spy of Sadler.

of the quene of Scotts faction in Scotland, will fourthwith revolte, and make som trouble to the regent, which if it com so to passe, is not, in myn opynyon, to be neglected by the quenes majestie. Thus have I signefied unto your lordship as moche as I knowe of the state of all things here, and as things shall further occurre worthy of wryting, you shalbe advertised of the same. God kepe your lordship in helth, and increase you in honour. From Duresme, the viijth of Januarie, 1569.

No. XLV.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

I have no matter to wryte, but looking for some declaration of the estymat of the debt for both these armyes in those north partes, I can not, without it first had, obteyne any ordre for tresor to be sent thyther.

Yesterdaye the quenes majestie, when Christmas was doone, bestow-
ed staves in this sorte; sir Fr. Knolls is tresorer, sir Ja. Crofts comp-
troller of houshold, but who shall be vichamberlan, or capten of the
gard, I know not. I thynk Mr Kennady shall be tresorer of the
chamber; sir Rob. Stafford is serjent porter. These thyngs was sod-
denly doone yesterday, *preter spem multorum*, because Chrismas was
ended. From Wyndsor, the 8 of Januar. 1569.

Yours, assuredly,

W. CECILL.

[*Arms.*]

No. XLVI.

Sir RAUF SADLEIR to Sir WALTER MILDMAI.

SIR,

Methinks it is long sythens I wrote unto you, but now perceyving that gret faulte is founde with lack of partycular and more specyall advertisements from hens, I am put in mynde of my slackness in wryting to you, which I have forborn because I knowe you be privie to all that hathe ben wrytten from hens; and more I can not write, being assured that whatsoever faulte is founde, nothing of any moment, or that was worthy the wryting, hathe ben here omytted, assone as it cam to our knowledge: what is wrytten by other particuler persons I can not tell, ne yet can we let men to wryte their fantasies at all adventures,* but for myn own part, I am loth to wryte any more then I eyther knowe, or am credibly infourmed to be trew. And on my faith I have not sene in my lif, any noble man occupieng this place which my lord lieutenant hathe, use more diligence, care and travaile, then he doth in thexecucion of the same; surely he is one of the most paynefull men, and in my iudgement so sufficient to execute this office, as I knowe not many lyke him in Englande. And, therefore, if his doings be misconstrued there, it is the more pitie; howbeit, as I am sure he shall not be condemned before he be harde, so shall you fynde him well able to answer to all his doings here, in such sorte as

* This again alludes to the suspicions entertained of Sussex, and more clearly expressed in a letter from the queen to the earl himself, 15 November, 1569, in which she plainly taxes him, "very privately, as a thing marked by herself," that he had neglected to prevent the rising, by securing Northumberland's person when he was at Topcliff, near York. Murdin's *State Papers*, Vol. I. p. 553. But if the earl of Northumberland's resolution to rise was as unpremeditated as is generally supposed, Sussex might well hesitate ere he took a step so likely to drive him to precipitate courses. In fact, it was the mere apprehension of arrest which determined Northumberland at last to take arms.

I trust it shall well appere that no fault can be iustly imputed to him for the same. You may do us grete pleasure here to helpe us with money, for it hathe not ben our lucke to have any good porcione of that which hathe ben sent hither. Of the last x m.^{li} (10,000l.) sent by Mr Aglionby, we here coulde have but xv. c.^{li} (1500l.), all the rest was to lytle for the southern armye; and I assure you vj. m.^{li} (6000l.) will not discharge that which is due here at this present. Whereof I trust my lords, you, and others of the councell, will have such consideracione as thimportance of the matier doth requyre. 9 Januarie, 1569.

No. XLVII.

Sir RAFE SADLER to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

. Albeit, I nede not to give advise, where I doubt not all things be well considered, and all daungiers forsene, yet my dutie and zele to the furtheraunce of this service, moveth me to have care thereof, and to wryte to you what I thinke of the same. You see that the heads of this late rebellion are in Scotlande, where they be receyved and moche made of, saving therle of Northumberlande, who is in the regents custodie,* the rest, as therle of Westmorlande, sir Jo. Nevile,† Edwarde Da-

* This unfortunate nobleman committed himself to the charge of Hector of Harlaw, an Armstrong, or, as others say, a Græme, who delivered him up to the regent. There are two ballads upon this subject, in Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, besides others in the collection of Scottish poems, published from the Maitland MS. by Mr Pinkerton; so often had the earl's fate afforded a subject for the popular muse. The Historie of James the Sext, (Edinburgh 1804,) says, that Northumberland took refuge among the clan of the Scotts, that the regent's guard of horsemen besieged the house in which he lay, which the Scotts defended stoutly, and slew one captain Borthwick, but in the end, the house was surrendered, and the earl carried to the regent Murray, who was then lying on the Borders to intercept the English fugitives.

† Sir John Neville of Leverseg.

ces,* Norton, Markenfelde,† Egremont Ratclif,‡ Swynborn, and Tempest,§ ar secretly kept and maintained by the lord Hume, the lord of Farneyherst, the lord of Buckleugh, and the lord Johnston, and other borderers, alongst the est and west marches of Scotlande. Therle of Westmerlande, and the countesse of Northumberlande, ar certenly knowen to be in Farnyhersts house, and the rest bestowed secretly amongst the other borderers afore named. And yet I harde that onely Swinborn|| was of late conveyed by one of the Armstrongs, a Scottish man, within ij myles of Donbreteyn : it is not unlike, but that they will all seke to escape by the sea. I am persuaded to thinke, that the regent shall not be able to delyver them, for that I understonde that few or none of the nobilite, or others of that realme will consent or agre unto it, and specyally the borderers will never be induced thereunto but by force ; I understonde, also, that thearles of Huntley and Argile,

* Edward Dacre of Morton, third son of William Lord Dacre of Gilsland, and uncle to George, the last lord. He was attainted, but escaped abroad, and died in the 21st of queen Elizabeth. Or perhaps his brother Francis is here referred to, for both were engaged in the rebellion ; as was their elder brother Leonard, although he did not rise in arms until the earls were suppressed.

† Thomas Markenfield of Markenfield, *co. Ebor.* who had been long an exile, on account of his religion, returned into England the year preceding the insurrection, which he greatly fomented.

‡ Egremont Ratcliff, brother to the earl of Sussex, escaped abroad, and was taken into pension by the king of Spain, who, at one time, allowed him a ducat per day. But he was at length executed by the Spaniards at Namur. See p. 43. *Murdin's State Papers*, Vol. II. p. 243.

§ Two of the name were engaged in the insurrection, Michael Tempest, and his son Robert. Their patrimony was Holmeside, an ancient manor, and the Leazures, near Durham, which fell to the bishop by their forfeiture, in virtue of an ancient grant of escheats to the see of Durham. Both these gentlemen fled abroad, and were retained in pension by the king of Spain.

Other authorities state Robert to be the father, and Michael the son. In the roll of forfeitures subjoined, we find the name of Michael Tempest of Broughton, *com. Ebor.* the present seat of a respectable Roman Catholic family of the name.

|| John Swinburne, probably of Chopwell, *co. Durham*, a Roman Catholic. He was attainted, and his manor of Chopwell fell into the hands of — Dudley, and others, by grant from the crown. The name of Swinburne, derived from the castle of Swinburne, is very ancient in Northumberland. The Swinburnes of Capheton have been possessed of that estate since 1264, and another branch was settled at Edingham castle, near Rothbury. Both families are represented by sir — Swinburne, bart.

and all others of the quene of Scotts faction ar mynded to revolte, and make som trouble to the regent, which, if they do, is not in my opynyon to be neglected by the quenes majestie, leest it brede, also, som trouble in Englande. Now, therefore, if her majestie will stande upon the delyverance of her rebells, I see not but if the same can not be obteyned by good meanes to be used with the regent, (of whose confor-myte, for his own parte, I am well persuaded,) and with thother borderers afore named, which be, in dede, the recepters ayders and mayntenors of the saide rebells, that then force must be used to compell them thereunto. And in that case, it were expedyent, in myn opynyon, that my lord lieutenant here shulde drawe to the borders, and lye at Alnewicke, and that my lord admirall, with such force as he hathe yet in pay, being, as I understande, xiiij^c (1400) harquebusers, and cc horsemen, launces, and pistolers armed, which ar more serviceable, then v^c of our light horsemen, might also repayre to Newcastle, and so to the borders as the case shall requyre, with which forces the regent may be ayded if nede be ; and specyally if those proude Scotts on the borders, shall eyther refuse to delyver the saide rebells, or convey them away by sea, they may be with those forces persecuted, and by often incursions, have their houses, lands, and goods overthrowen, wasted, and destroyed by fyer and sworde, with all extremyte. Wherein no tyme wolde be lost, for if you give them tyme, in case any foreyn ayde be intended towards them, it will brede the more daungier and trouble, which, in tyme, may be prevented. Sir Henry Gates is now upon his depeche into Scotlande, upon whose dealing with the regent, according to his commission, it will appere what may be loked for, concerning the delyverie of the saide rebells ; and, thereupon, ye may the better determyn there how to procede, but in the meane season, if her majestie mynde to stande upon their deliverie, it were good, in myne opynyon, to contynue all such forces as be yet in paye, under my lord lieutenant here, and my lord admirall, untill you may see to thende of this matter. Thus have I sayed my poure opynyon unto you, which I referre to your better consideracion.

When I had written thus moche, your lettres of the iiijth of this instant, to my lord lieutenant, arrived here, by the which I perceyve greate faulte is found with lack of particular advertisements of things as they fall out here, whereof I marvell, for I am moche deceyved if you have not ben fully advertised of all things mete to be advertised, assone as we had any knowledge of the same, and of that which wanteth I trust my lord lieutenant hathe now satisfied you at good length. 9th of Januarie, 1569.

No. XLVIII.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I have even now reseyved your letter of the viijth of this present, and do most hartely thank you for your good advertisement, and thow I was told to wryte to yow, to wryte som soch matter as was mete for me to understand, becaus I dyd daylie se letters pas this way from my lord of Sussex, yet I ment not to trouble you with dyscours of all thes matters, wych it hath plesyd you wryte. Bot szure I can not this post, my sarvant being dispatched to my lord lieutenant with letters from the cort, have presently tyme to write at length, as I gladly wold. I will fill this paper, with my earnest request to you, to forder me to my lord lefftenant, that apon the considerasyon of the letters from her majestie, that it will pleas hym to advertise me what number of men I shall leve here, to be, by his lordship, apoynted in garreson in thes parts, wherby I may the soner depart hens to the corte. Wherof I have written at length to his lordship. And toching the spoyles in thes parts that you wryt of, seurlly at the tyme that we left the greatest part of our armye behind us when we went to Deram, ther was, as I here reportyd, moch spoyle, bot, I assur you, contrary to my lord of Warwyks mynd and myne, havynge gevyn order that no spoyle shold be. Bot that soch as were insensid of the rebels, shold, to the uttermost of ther pours, se it preserved to the quenes majesties use, and, thereof,

proclamasyon was made ; bot I understand that gret spoyle ther was, contrary to my lords mynd and myne, bot none soch as in thes parts is reportyd. And for that you ar informyd by sir Thomas Gargrave,* that her is contyneall spoyle, and that he dare not exsecute his offys, this I am abyll to prove, that ther is none comytyd by the bands under me, bot it hath ben ponyshed and restyetwsion made. Bot my lord of Warwyk gave lysence to ij or iij gentylmen of good sarvys, to enter the houses of som rebells with comandment, that no wast nor spoyle shold be therof; and we doo, in dede, intend to be seuters to her highnes for the sayd gentilmen: and because apou the shereffs sendyng to thes plases to expols these men, my lord and I dyd wryt in ther favor, and I dyd, also, send since to hym in ther behalf, always mynding not to interrupt hym in the quenes sarvys; wherapon he hath largely usyd soch spech, as of a man accountyd so wise, I have not herd the lyke, bot to say that ether spoyle or other dysorder that is comytyd here, is not to be provyd. For ther is proclamasyon set forth, not only that no man shold comyt any dysorder on payne of deth, but, also, that no man shall entermedell with any rebells goods, or to take any money, or other thing of them, bot leve the order of the hole matter to the shereff, and other her majesties offecers apoynted for the purpos. Seurlly I am abyll to prove, that sir Thomas Gargrave hath as evyll usyd hymself dyvers wayes, to discredit my lord of Warwyk and me, as lay in his power; besyds, that nether he being shereff of this shire, knowing of my being here by her hyghnes comandement, nether wold he ether com, or send to me, or apoynt any justys of peas, or any other to offar assystans or help of soch things as is nedefull to be had for me and my company. For here have I ben without any one of thes shere, that ever offeryd any cortesy or favour to me; havyng ben here, and at Borowbryg, thes xiiij dayes. I have troblyd you with my evill hand, and wher you wryte of my lord lieutenant his favor to me, I do thank his lordship, and seurlly I do bear hym gret good wyll, and

* The sheriff of Yorkshire, who had complained to sir Ralph Sadler that he was menaced and interrupted in his duty, of seizing the lands and goods of the offenders for the queen's use, by the disorderly soldiers. See p. 96.

redy to do hym honour, both for his own sak, for he that is a nobyll man, and one soch for the doing of sarvys, and honor to her majestie, and his contrey, as I wyshe in my hart there were many soch : and thus being half ashamyd, that I have troubyld you with many superflews things wryteyn herein, I take my leve from Wetherby, the ixth of Janewer, 1570.

Your frend to comand,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XLIX.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SYR,

I have receyved this last nyght a lettre from my lordes of the counsell, whearin is contayned manie things, which their lordships have willed me to perticipate to my lord of Sussex. And for that his lordship shall fullie understand the effecte of that lettre, I have sent the same to his lordship to thend, he maye efter consideracyon hadd therof, aunsweare my sayd lords. And if his lordship thincke yt mete to have my opinion in anie thinge, that shall tend to the furtheraunce of the quenes majesties service, I shalbe readie to signifie the same, bothe to my lordes of the counsell, and to his lordship ; nevertheles, I have, or this tyme, written to their lordships, that I see no cause her majestie shoulde be at forther charge with garrisons, the state of things here, beinge as they are, and growinge towards quyetnes. But yt seemethe to me, that her majestie hathe a disposition to have some garrysons of the southerne bands planted in this shyer, as partlie maye appere by the lettre from the lords of the counsell, which I send, herewith, to my lord of Sussex. And towchinge the money broughte by maister Aglionby, wherof I am willed to conferre with you, I have more then v dayes paste advertised their lordships, that you demaunded by your sarvaunt

Parker, uppon good considerations, to have ben sent you fower or fyve thowsand pownds, and, yet, for that I sawe the armie here cowlde not be dissolved, yf that somme, or any thinge neare yt, shoulde have ben forborne, and therfore I dyd send but xv c^l (1500l.) and I dyd also wryte, that I hadd discharged the whole armie, saving xv^c (1500) men, which I reserved by her majesties commaundment, to be appoynted in garrysons, whear my lord of Sussex shoulde thincke mete with your opinion and myne. And towchinge the note to be sent to their lordships of the charges of the armie under my lorde Warwycke and me, I have cawsed the treasawerer here to send the same to their lordships more then twoo dayes paste, whearin their lordships maye understande what hathe ben reseaved by him, and what payed, and what remaynethe, which remayne is a vearye small somme. And thus wishynge I were rydd out of this countrey, and at Standon * in my waye homewards, I take my leave with my moste hartie commendacions unto you. From Weatherbye, the ix of Januarie, 1570.

Your assured lovinge frende,

F. CLYNTON.

No. L.

Sir RAFF SADLER to my Lord Admirall.

SYR,

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

What my lord lieutenants opynion and myne is, touching such garri-
sons as ar to contynew in these parts, your lordship shall understonde
by our common lettre now addressed herewith to your lordship, and,
therefore, I nede not to trouble you with the same in this my private

* Sir Ralph Sadler's manor-house.

lettre: indede I see no cause whie any garrisons should be layed at all; onles it be to ayde the regent of Scotlande, if he chaunce to have nede of helpe, and to chastise the prowde Scottishe borderers, in case they will nourishe and maynteyn our Englishe rebells maugre our teth, in which case we knowe not how the quenes majestie will determyn and resolve her gracious pleasure. And, therefore, have thought mete to contynue here som of your bands in pay, untill we shalbe advertised of the same from her majestie.

This morning I receyved lettres from her highnes, the copie whereof I have thought mete to sende unto your lordship herewith, prayeng you to imparte unto my lord of Warwick, and to Mr Carre your tresourer, so moche of theeffect of the same as doth concerne any of them. And so perceyving that your lordship is now upon your retourne southwards, I wishe that I might go post to stay you one day at Staundon, but syns I see that it can not be so, I must neds tary the good hour, which I pray God may come shortely. God preserve your lordship in helth, and increase you in honour. From Duresme, &c. xjth Januarie, 1570.

No. LI.

Sir RALPHE SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

I have this morning receyved the quenes majesties lettres of the vjth of this instant, by the which, I do understonde, at good lengthe, her majesties pleasure, touching the discharge of tharmyes, and the time appointed for the contynuanee of the pay of the lieutenants entertheynement, and also touching the garrisons to remayn in these parts. Theffects of whiche her majesties said lettres in as moche as concerneth the discharge of tharmyes were before the receipt of her highnes said lettres fully accomplished. And such as were of our northern bands were discharged without full pay, and yet contented with good words till

money com for their better satisfaction. All the money sent by Mr Aglionby was imploied upon the discharge of the southern armye, saving xv c^{li} (1500l.) as I have before advertised. I have now imparted the contents of her majesties saide lettres to my lord lieutenant here, and lykewise I have advertised the same to my lord admirall. My lord of Warwick being departed out of these parts x dayes past and more. And also I have signified to Mr Carre the treasurer of that armye her majesties pleasure, touching the time of contynuance of their enter-tenment as lieutenants, to thende he may folow that direction in their pay according to the pourporte of her majesties saide lettres; and touching the garrisons to remayn, you shall understonde by our common lettres to her majestie, what is don therein. And, in dede, I see no cause whie any garrisons at all shoulde remayne, and contynue here, oneles it be to ayde the regent of Scotlande, in case his adverse partie do make him any trouble. And specyally to chastise the proude Scotts borderers, in case they will nourishe and maynteyn our English rebels in contempt of her majestie, which, in my poure opynion, is not to be neglected by her highnes. And, therefore, it is thought mete here to contynue some bands in garrison, as shall appere unto you in our saide commen lettres, untill we may be advertised of her majesties resolute pleasure in that behalf. xj^{mo} Januarie, 1570.

No. LII.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

I send you herewith a long lettre which I received from one Robert Constable, servaunt as he sayeth to my lord of Leycester, as, in dede, I know by a good token that he was his servaunt, for he was one of them that helped to stele the plate. This Constable cam to me to Yorke, a litle before the armye marched from thens against the rebels,

and told me that my saide lord of Leyc. and sir Walter Myldmay had commended him unto me, but he brought me neyther lettre nor token from them; he sayed he had promised them to go amongst the rebells, and to get what intelligence he coulde of their intents and doings, wherein he sayed my saide lorde of Leyc. and Mr Mildmay had willed him to use and folowe my direction, and to advertise me from tyme to tyme of his doings. According whereunto he did, in dede, by my consent, repaire unto the saide rebells, and advertised me ones or twise of som parte of their doings, being of no great effect. * But after the rebells were fled into Scotland, he cam to me agayn, and tolde me, that if I thought so good he would go into Scotland, and doubted not but he wolde lerne certainly where the saide rebells shulde becom, and by whom they were recepted, and percase wold worke som feate to be-trap som of them in such sorte as they might be apprehended and de-lyvered into the quenes majesties hands, whereunto I did anymate him, and tolde him, that if he coulde so do, he shulde do her majestie such service, as he might be sure her majestie wolde not leave unre-warded to his comforte. Upon this he hathe, in dede, ben in Scot-lande, and hathe had some conference with therle of Westmorlande, and others of the saide rebells, as you shall perceyve by his saide long lettre, which I thought good to sende unto you, because you may the better understande all that he hath don at length. And still I do any-mate him to procede, and to do all he can to bring himself in such cre-dite with the saide rebells, as therby he may be the better able to bring his purpose to good effect, which he hath promised to do, but what thende wilbe, God knowethe, who kepe you, &c. 12 Januarie, 1570.

* See Constable's letter, Page 62. It would appear that this unworthy person was not even faithful in his base employment of a spy.

No. LIII.

ROBERT CONSTABLE to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

My humble and bounden dutie considered, may it please your honour to understande upon Thusday last, not taking any servant of my owne with me, I committed my self to the conduction of ij owtlawes, and came that night to George Pills house of the Myllhewgh * in Scotlande, neare to Jedworthe, where I was the Twesday sevennight before, as I showed your honor; I caused my ij guyds to stay at the said house all Friday last, and caused George Pyll to ride with me that morninge to Farnehurst, † where I found therle of Wesmorlande not secretly kept, but walking before the gates openly, and seven of his servants standing by, and that I sawe after in the house, these are their names, Anthony Welbery, John Welbery, ‡ Thomas Watson, Henry Bidle, John Bidle, Tryps, and Schaw. And after my lord enquired of my news, I shewed him a bill of so many persons, and names as was at Durram, almost to the nomber of xiiij^{xx} (280), I told him there was almost as many moe at Hexham, and to come furth of the west contry; he red there names, and found many, that he was sory for, he axed me how many was executed, I told him none when I came from

* George Pyle in Milheuch, appears in the list of Border riders on the middle marches made up in 1597.

† The baronial castle of the lairds of Fairnihirst, very strongly situated on the banks of the Jed, between two and three miles above Jedburgh. See a description of the storm of this castle by Surrey, and of its recapture by the French under D'Essé, in *Introduction to the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

‡ The name of Welberrie is of respectability in the county of Durham. Simon Welberrie and Christopher Moreland had a grant of Castle-Eden manor from the crown, *tempore* Edward VI. Anthony Welberrie, perhaps he of the text. died seized of this manor in 30th of Elizabeth. If, therefore, the same person, he escaped forfeiture.

home, yet I herd of ij that therle of Warwik caused to be hanged at Durram for spoiling; then he told me if I had come but vj owres sooner, I sholde have spoken with my lady of Northumberland, * for the same night before, after midnight, she rode from Farnehist to Hume castell, † which I understoode otherwise to be trew, and the lard of Farneherst rode with hir to within half a mile of Hume, that the lord Humes men resevid hir, and from thence the lard returned to Farneherst again, my lord tould me how greatly he was beholding to the lard that frendly had defended him from the regent, and kept him ever with in iij miles of the regent all that while he lay in Gedworth, ‡ how nere he was sought for, and how straitly he escaped yt was strange, and how that this day fortnight the regent had assembled to the number of viij^c (800) horsmen and footmen, and came furth of Gedworth of purpose to search the house of Ferneherst, || but so sone as he marched thetherwards, his company fled from him, by xx and xl, that ere he came within a quarter of a mile of Farnehurst, he had none left but his owne men, which were not ij^c (200,) so that he returned to Jedworth, and saide that he rode but to view the woods: the next morning, iij owres before day, he assembled his men, and rode with thearle of Northumberlande towards Edenborowg, where he left Genyns in the custody of the treasurer, and from thence he rode with thearle of Loghleven, § where he hath left him in sauf keping, and is

* This lady so often mentioned, was Anne, third daughter to Henry Somerset, second earl of Worcester. Several of her letters are in Murdin's collection, by which she seems with earnest, but unavailing piety, to have laboured for the release of her husband, by flattering the pride, and assailing the avarice of the regent Morton, and Douglas of Lochleven.

† The strong-hold and seat of the powerful earl of Home.

‡ Jedburgh, from which Fernherst is but two miles distant. The access to that castle, under the precipitous banks of the Jed, must have been exceedingly difficult, when the adjacent country was covered with wood.

|| A letter of 30th December, 1530, in the Cabala, p. 160, states, "The regent is gon from Jedworth to Edinburgh, and hath taken the earl of Northumberland and six of his men with him. Before his departure from Jedworth, he sent for the gentlemen of Twedale to come before him, where all came, saving the laird of Fernherst, and the laird of Bucklugh, whereupon the regent rode towards them, but they hearing thereof, suddenly rode away."²⁰

§ A castle upon a small islet in Loch Leven, belonging to sir William Douglas, kins-

rid to Dumbertan, and is promest that the lord Fleming upon his coming, will yeld that castell unto him. I understand the same, also, by report of others. Also my lord of Westmorland told me that my lord regent had sent a gentelman, one Nesbett, somthing aged, having ij menn with him, to the quenes majestie, and had written for ij thousand pounds, to be sent by the said Nesbett, to levie souldiers to comme against the said earle and thother rebels; but if he take not good care, he wilbe stript of that money, for he is laid for, and ame* to be given furth of England of his coming downe, but I could not learne by whome; he would have had me to have prevented the enterprise, and to have taken it in England, but I tould him if I shuld mynt at it and mis, so should I utterly undo myself, and never after be able to do him pleasure. After much other vaine talke, not materiall, nor convenient to troble yow with, hering he said that he herd that the duke of Alva had in redines all the shipps that he maid of late, and had staid all the shipps that came within his reache, only to carry men and horses into England, I tould him truly I herd no such word; he said it was trew, for there was Scotts menn comed to Lethe, that had there shipps staid, an stole away on foot and tooke shipping in other places. At the last my lord asked me if I wold be glad to se Rich. Norton† and his sonnes Francis and Sampson, I said I would very gladly se them; he called my oste, George Pyll, and

man to the earl of Morton, under whose regency the unfortunate earl was delivered up to Elizabeth, and beheaded at York. Loch Levin Castle is yet more famous, as the place where the unfortunate Mary was confined, and from which she made her escape to lose the battle of Langside, and find a yet more severe captivity in England.

* Probably "*Aim*," a term of archery which had become proverbial. "To it, and we'll cry aim." Beaumont and Fletcher. It was the cry used by the by-standers while the archer was levelling his shaft.

† Richard Norton, of Norton-Conyers. This old and reverend gentleman bore the banner of the two earls, which displayed a cross and the five wounds of our Saviour. He had several sons, all of whom, excepting one, were engaged in the insurrection: so at least says an ancient minstrel. See Percy's *Reliques*, Vol. I. p. 295. He is commonly said to have been executed at York, with his sons, Thomas and Christopher; yet this seems to be a mistake. The following pedigree, which shews the connections of the aged patriarch,

bade him hand me to Cavers, the shreif of Tevidales hous,* to speake with Mr Norton and his sonnes, and so we rode thither: Cavers is from Farneherst v myles westward. By the way, as we rode, I tould my oste that the lord of Farneherst, his master,† had taken such an entreprise in hand as not a subiect in England durst do the like, to kepe any mann openly as he did thearle of Westmorland, against the will of the chief in auctoritie; he said that his master cared not so

avers that he died beyond sea, and in that agrees with the "State of English fugitives," which mentions *old* Norton as being in the service of Spain, and one of those who were consumed by "pure poverty." But, above all, the traditional account is disproved by the indictment of the famous Dr John Story in 1571, which bears, that he conversed in Flanders with Richard Norton, Francis Norton, and other traitors, who had fled beyond seas for treason, committed in the 12th year of the Queen's reign. See "The Life of Story," in the *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. III.

Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers, Ar. at- || Susau, daughter of Rich. Nevill, lord Lati-
tainted temp. Eliz. and ob. ultra maria. || mer.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1. Francis Norton, = Aubrey,
of Norton Con- sister &
yers. coh. of
T. Wim-
bish, Ar.
Co. Line. | 2. John = Jane Morton.
3. Edmund = Cecily Boyn-
ton, left issue.
4. William.
5. Thomas.
6. George.
7. Christopher, attainted.
8. Marmad = Eliz. Killing-
hall.
9. Sampson = Bridget, daugh.
of sir — Bulmer, knt. | 1. Ann = Rob. Plomptor, of
Plomptor.
2. Mary = — Greene, of
Newby.
3. Amice = Rob. Byrmand, of
Knaresbrough.
4. Clare = Rd. Gorduck, of
Ribstone.
5. Jane = Richard, son of sir
Hen. Gascoine, knt. of
Sadbury.
6. Katharine = Fra. Bulmer,
of Twisdale, co. pal. Dur-
ham.
7. Joane = Salvin, of Crox-
dale, co. pal.
8. Eliz. = Henry Johnson,
son and h. of sir Thomas
of Walton, co. Ebor. |
|---|---|--|
- John = Bridget Stapleton, &c.

* Douglas of Cavers, descended from a son of the earl of Douglas, who fell at Otterbourne, was hereditary high sheriff of Teviotdale. Cavers is situated about three miles southward of Hawick.

† Sir Thomas Ker, of Fernihirst, was a warlike baron, whose power is here probably not much exaggerated. He was a steady adherent of queen Mary, for which he was exiled by the regent Morton, and his estate forfeited. In 1581 king James restored him to his lands, having then assumed the reins of government.

much for the regent as the regent cared for him, for he was well able to raise iij thousand men within his owne rule, beside that his first wief, by whome he had goodly children, was daughter to the lord of Grange, capitaine of Edenborowe castell,* and provost of Edenborowge. This wief, that he married lately, is sister to the lord of Buccleugh,† a man of greater power then his master; also my lord Hume, and almost all the gentlemen in Tevydale, the Marsh, and Lowdyan, were knitt together in such frendship, that they are agreed all to take one part; and that the lord of Grange was offended with the lord Hume and the lord Farneherst, because they toke not therle of Northumberland from my lord regent at Gedworthe, and sent plane word to the lord Farneherst, that if the lord regent came any more to seeke him in Tyvidale, he should louse all his bulles, both the duke, the lord Herries, the secretary and others,‡ he should sett them all at libertie that would come with all their power, with good will, to take his part; and by as much as I heare since, the Tevydale menn pretends to do thanoyances that they can to England, so sone as this storme is past, and meanes not to answer to any day of truce. I spoke with Mr Richard Norton, at Cavers; he was glad of my comming, and inquired of his sones William, Cristofer, and Marmaduke, and reioysed that they were living: he tould me all that disordered departure from Naworthe, and said that if the quenes majestie understood truly Mr Leonard Dakers§ part, from the beginning of their wofull entreprise unto thend,

* Janet, the first wife of sir Thomas Ker, daughter of the renowned Kirkcaldy, laird of Grange, bare him a son, sir Andrew Ker, and two daughters.

† Jean Scott, daughter of sir William Scott of Kirkurd, son and apparent heir of sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, and sister to sir Walter Scott, 17th baron of Buccleuch, a powerful chieftain, and steady adherent of queen Mary, in whose cause he was leagued with Fernihirst.

‡ The duke of Chatelherault, lord Herries, and secretary Lethington, had been seized at a conference by the lords of the opposite faction, and committed to Edinburgh Castle, then in the charge of Kirkcaldy of Grange. But as that gallant warrior disapproved of the persecution of queen Mary by the regent Murray, he was now understood to meditate setting at liberty those leaders of her faction, which the Borderers called "unloosing his bulls." This resolution he afterwards accomplished.

§ Leonard Dacres was the second son of William lord Dacre, and uncle of George, the last lord of that family, who being killed by an accident in early youth, the estate past to his three sisters. Leonard, who resembled Richard the Third in person and in ambition, re-

she would thanke him above all the rest, and tould me his part at large: he tould me that his coming away was so sodaine, that he brought away neither horse, aparell, nor money, but was glad to ride of a horse of his sonnes; nor his sonnes brought neither aparell nor money, so they are as bare as Joab: he desired my counsell what I thought was best for him and his sonnes; I tould him it was hard for me to give good counsell to him that had wrapt him self in so many great perills, and if ought shuld happen otherwise then well, thorow my counsell, he might blame me; he said that he would not howe ever it happened; then I tould him how great danger they were in, having nothing to abide in Scotland for being betrayed, and to go over sea into any other countrey was most dangerous of all, booth for shipwrack or hapening within the danger of the quenes shippes that kepes the narrow seas, and if ~~fortuned~~ there to arrive in a strange countrey, wantinge the language or wherwith to sustayne them, it were to grevus to thinke on; but if there case were mine, I tould him I would surely ride into Ingland, and lye secretly with somme speciall frend, that wold kepe me as his owne lif; and I would make an humble submission in writing, craving nothing but pardon for lif, and send by my wief. If it would be graunted I would present my self, and after, by promes of gifts, make frends to sue for libertie and restitution of lands; herin were some hope; or if I could get no grant of lif, I had rather submit my self and stand to the quenes

solved to dispossess these co-heiresses, and seize on the extensive estates of his nephew. With this view he entered into the schemes of the two earls, but seems to have declined to join them when he saw their disorderly retreat from Hexham to Naworth, the baronial castle of his family. Very soon after, however, he took arms, and fought a sharp skirmish with lord Hunsdon, who marched to suppress his rising. After much gallantry displayed in the action, he was forced to fly into Scotland, and escaped from thence abroad, where he died without issue in the 23d of Elizabeth. His conduct about this time was very ambiguous; for an advice from Hexham (or Lyexham, as it is there misprinted), 22d December, 1659, states, "The earl of Cumberland, lord Scroope, and Mr Leonard Dacre, have shewn themselves very honourable and diligent in their service, at the rebels entering into the west marches, and upon the scaling of the rebels, there be great numbers of them taken there." *Cabala*, p. 100.

mercy, then to be brought in perfors. He liked well of this, if he might be sure of pardon for lif, and called his son Francis,* and tould him what I said I would do if I weare in there case, and he liked it as well, and said if they could get sauf into Yorkshire, they might be kept secret, if it were for seven yeare, and not to cost them a groat; but all there doubt was wheare to get a sure guyde. I promest to get them ij guides that would not care to steale, and yet they would not bewray any man that trusts in them for all the gold in Scotland or France.† They are my guydes and outlaws, if they would betray me they might get their pardons, and cause me to be hanged, but I have tried them ere this. They asked me if I durst receipt them for viij or x daies; I tolde them if they durst venture to come my wief should receave them, and be there keper, and I would se them often every day, and if any thing chaunced otherwise than well with them, I was sure, for there being in my house, to hange cheefe by cheefe‡ with them, so that I could do no more but put my lif in perill for their pleasures: the olde man asked me howe sone I ment to retorne again; I tould him so sone as all were hanged that shuld be hanged, or that I could get any newes worthie bringing that might chance within viij dais; then he saide his son Francis and he wold occupy them selves in framing a supplicatione to the quenes majestie; I tould him it was clere best, for I tould him there was no hope of alteracion of the state in our daies, for the quene was like to over live us all, and for any conquest to be made by any forrain princes, he understode better then I how far unlikly and hard it is to compas, to any good effect: they granted it to be true; then Frances Norton

* Francis Norton, old Norton's eldest son, is in the ballad said to have advised his father against joining in the rebellion, and to have gone with him unarmed. He certainly saved some part of the family estate, so probably had been able to make his peace by some favourable circumstances in his case.

† It is surprising that while Constable gave a character of these two poor bandits, such as they probably very well deserved, the contrast between his own part and theirs did not strike him with compunction.

‡ *Chef par chef*, a Gallicism.

praid me, that I would send word to his sonn, or to his uncle William, that one of them might cause his servant, one Dowthwell, to come to my house, and to bring with him somme money, and that I would cause him to be safly conveyd to him ; I promest so to do. Old Mr Norton asked if I understood of his wief ; I said no. I asked how all the rest of the gentilmen did that escaped ; he said that Mr Egremond Ratcliff, sir John Nevell, John Swynburne, Mr Markinfield, was receaved in Branksum,* the lard of Buckleugs house ; and he herd say that Mr Cristofer Nevell, Mr Cutbert,† Robert Tempest, and George Staffurth, remains either there, or of the lord of Bucklewgs putting there abouts ; and that Robert Collingwood, Robert Carr,‡ and Rauf Swyno, remaynes at Hume, with my lady Northumberland, and that Tristram Fenwyke, Robert Schafto, Thony Ogle,§ and another whose name I cannot remember, are receaved with the lard of Bedrowell,|| at Bedrowll. Thus I tooke my leave and departed. I was benighted before I came to Farneherst : by the way, in the dark, we met with the lard of Bedrowll, and iij in his company ; my oste spake with the lard, and tolde me who it was ; the lard being of my acquaintance came to me and offred me great frendship, that I shulde use his house as his owne, thinking that I had fledd in case, as others ware ; I thanked him, and offred him any frendship that might lie in me to do, and declared that my coming was in secret manner, to se wherin I might pleasure my frends there in extremitie, and gave him thanks for his

* Branksome, or Branhholm Castle, the residence of the barons of Buccleuch, is situated about three miles above Hawick, on the banks of the Teviot.

† Christopher and Cuthbert Nevilles were uncles of the earl of Westmoreland. They are both in the list of attainer.

‡ Collingwood, Car, and Shaftoe, are all names of respectability in Northumberland ; but I have not been able, even with the assistance of Mr Surtees, to identify the individual fugitives. Robert Collingwood and Ralph Swinburn were taken in east Teviotdale, and delivered to the regent. *Cabala*, p. 160.

§ There is a Henry Ogle among the attainted persons. He may have been a younger brother of the Chapyngton family, who were nearly related to the lords Ogle.

|| The laird of Bedrule was chieftain of the powerful and once numerous clan of Turnbull. His castle of Bedrule was situated on the banks of the Rule-water, a stream which falls into the Teviot, above Ancrum.

friendship shewed to Tristrame Fenwyk;* so he told me that he was there at hand. Tristram and I spake together; he asked me of his wief, and what was becom of his goods. I told him that my lord lieutenant had granted it to Mr Care, but at the sute of my son in lawe, William Fenwyk, and Michell Fenwyke,† to my lord warden, my lord warden procured my lord lieutenants lettre to Mr Carye, promessing him a better thing, so that he might give that at my lord wardens sute to William Fenwyke and Mychell, and that my son in lawe was rydd to Durram, with my lord warden, to sue for my lord lieutenants warrant to the stay thereof, with such like talke, to no purpose to troble you any further; so I left Farneherst and went to my ostes house, where I found many gests of dyvers factions, some owtlawes of England, some of Scotland, some neighbors therabout, at cards; some for ale, some for plake and hardhedds; § and after that I had diligently learned and enquired that there was none of any surname that had me in deadly fude, nor none that knew me, I sat downe and plaid for hardheads emongs them, where I hard *vox populi* that the lord regent would not, for his owne honor, nor for thonor of his countrey, deliver thearls, if he had them bothe, unlest it were to have there Quene delivered to him, and if he wold agre to make that change, the borderers wold stert up in his contrary, and reave both the quene and the lords from him, for the like shame was never don in Scotland; and that he durst better eate his owne luggs then come

* Gerard Fenwick, sixth son of John Fenwick, (chief of the name, and common ancestor of the Fenwicks of Wallington, Bilchheld, Stanton, Kenton, Whitton, East Haddon, &c.) had a younger son, Tristram Fenwick, probably the person here mentioned. If so, he did not perish in the rebellion, but founded the family of Brinkburn, in Northumberland. His grandson, Col. George Fenwick, was a violent Parliamentarian, in the civil wars of Charles I.

† The traitor Constable, by marrying Dorothy, daughter of sir John Widderington, and relict of ——— Fenwick, was father-in-law to William Fenwick. Michael Fenwick, of Stanton, although he seems to have kept out of the rebellion, was brother to Tristram, and probably nearly connected with Constable, for in 1569 he left him and lady Fenwick his executors.

§ A small kind of coin. The description of this revel of outlaws is extremely lively.

again to seke Farneherst; if he did, he should be fought with ere he came over Sowtray edge. Hector of Tharlowes* hedd was wished to have ben eaten amongs us at supper. The next day, which was Saterdag last, I caused my oste to ride with me againe to Farneherst; my lord of Westmorland then told me that my lord of Northumberland fell clere out with him, for setting me at libertie when I was brought to him at Branspathe, and that they could never agre after. He enquired whie he desired so mucche to have me stayed, but thother wold not for pevyshnes tell him. I told him I knew no cause whie he shuld bere me grudge, except it were for complaining to the privy counsell for his wrongfull deteyning my soldiers wages and myne, after the death of Quene Mary which I did not but by his commaundment; and after I had framed my bill I desired him to peruse it as he did. I prayed him to graunt me my due, and I would not complaine, and got my lady to move him; he wold not be perswaded but prayed me to put it in; and if your honor remember, I had your lettre to the privy counsell from Berwick, I thank you, in favor of my iust sute; but although I obtayned not my desire, I proved him a manifest lyer at that time before my lords of the privy counsell to his great dishonor by his owne

* This Borderer delivered up Northumberland to the regent Murray, when he fled to him for protection. Hence his name became so infamous, that to take Hector's cloak passed into a proverb for betraying a friend. A satire against Morton and Lochlevin, who completed the work of treachery, by surrendering Northumberland to the vengeance of Elizabeth, says, that Hector of Harlow pretended he was obliged to deliver up the earl to redeem the pledge which, as a Borderer, he had given for good behaviour. See Pinkerton's Poems from the Maitland Ms. p. 232. The name of this traitor seems to have been Græme, and not Armstrong, as is generally alleged; at least he appears in a list of that surname residing upon the Debateable Land, in 1695. His treachery was universally detested by the Borderers.

The earls came first into Scotland under protection of the laird of Black Ormiston, one of the murderers of Henry Darnley. The Elliots rose against them, under their chief Martin Elliot, of the Preakin Tower, and both parties were prepared to fight, when Elliot told Ormiston he would be sorry to enter into deadly feud against him by bloodshed, but he would lodge an information against him to the regent. Thus the earls found themselves obliged to leave Liddisdale, and to separate. The earl of Westmoreland exchanged his rich armour with Jock of the Side, a noted Borderer, at whose tower they left the lady of Northumberland. See *Cabala*, p. 160.

hand writing. Since that time he asked me forgivenes, and confessed to me that he had done me wrong, and prayed me to forget and forgive it, and he wold be my frend ever after; I was content so to do, but now to see the rancour of his hert, I cannot conceave what his meaning shuld be unlest he ment to hang me* for that olde grudge. I pray God forgive him. After this the erle of Westmorland asked me if Mr Hodshon of this towne were in troble: I told him no, nor nothing said to him as far as I knew. Then I praid my lord to consider that miserable estat that he had lewdly brought him self to, and to seke out the best way howe to recover him self again, and not to run wilfully upon his utter distructione to the overthrowe of his house, which hath ben honourable and of great antiquite, and never spotted till now by this his woful fact; he looked at me, and tooke all patiently that I spoke, the teares overhaylled his cheks abundantly. I could not forbear weping to see him sodenly fall to repentance, neither of us could speak to another of a long time, at last he wyped his chekes, and praid me to follow him; he went to his chamber in the tower, and commaunded his men furth, and lockt to the dore him self, and thus he began: Cosen Robert, you are my kinsmann nere comed furth of my house, and one whome I derely love and trust. I must confess I have as lewdly overshott myself as any man could do; not the les, I pray you let me have your counsell what way you think were liklyest for me to obtaine my pardon and favor of the quenes majestie. Then he told me that my lady of Northumberland had received a favorable lettre and a frendly from my lord of Hunsden to this effect, willing her to come to him and she shuld have all the friendshipp he could shew her, and willed her not to doubt, that the quenes majestie, who never was cruell to any, would begin to shew hir crueltie upon hir, being a gentlewoman; howbeit he would not promes hir pardon, becaus he understood the quenes pleasure therin, and my lord thought great unkindnes, saying, that

* Which consummation Mr Robert Constable richly merited. It is very diverting to find this rascal assuming the language of an innocent and misused man, while he was practising the vilest treachery.

neither my lord lieutenant, nor my lord of Hunsden, nor my lord of Rutland, nor no noble man, nor friend that he hath in England, never once wrote to him, nor sent him any message yet since he came into Scotland; I told him it was no marvell, for that had ben as much as thare lives were worthe, even as is for me if it be knownen that I repaire unto him. Then he praid me to give him my advice playnly and frendly, so I tould my advice as neare as I could to the same effect, as I did to Mr Norton in every degree. In thend he consented to follow my advice, and asked me if I durst say a message from him to my lord of Hunsden: I told him it grudged me so to do, for such a toy might take my lord Hunsden, that he wold hang me for my labor; * howbeit, I would not refuse to do any thing wherin there might be any hope to escape my lif, so that my travell might save his lif, and advance again his house. Then he asked me if I durst carry him a token to my lady his wief; I promest if the lords and gentilmen were gone from Durram I durst do that; he tooke a litell ring of his finger and praied me to deliver it to hir which she knew, and to will hir to take no care nor thought for him, for all his care was for hir and his children, which greved him much more to consider the misery that he left them in, then any danger that colde happen to his own body, and that he hoped by Gods grace to recover the quenes favor again for all this, and to will my lady to send by me one of hir best iuells in a token to my lady Carr of Farneherst, and the farest gelding she could get to the lard, becaus my lord puts them to great charges, and they will take no money. Also that I shuld learne of my lady whether she thought my lord of Hunsden his friend as he was before, or not; and at my retorne though he could not well endite, as he said, yet with my advice he would either write a lettre to the quenes majestie, or to my lord Hunsden, to be a meane for him unto hir highnes; and he hath devised to send the lettre to my house, when I shall be away with a Scott that must deliver it to my weif and go his way, and when I come home, to take witnes.

* The rough character of Lord Hunsdon has already been noticed.

how it come to my hands, and so to ride in post to deliver it; and when all is quite, he saith he will come to my house, if I dare receave him, and in that I have answered as I did to Mr Norton.

Sir, althoughe this be a trayterous kind of service, that I ame wayded in, to trap them that trust in me, as Judas did Christ; yet to extinguish such inconvenience as by their libertie may rise, that so laity shewed them selves enemies both to God and to our native quene, neither kindred nor affection shall withhold me to allure them to come to submission, or otherwise to abide the quenes mercy, wherein I trust I may do bothe God, the quene, and my lord my master, faithfull, true, and acceptable service. My hope is, if God will give me grace, to bring it so to pas, that the quenes majestie wilbe mercifull to pardon their lives, otherwise if it shuld turne to the effusion of their blud, my conscience wold be trobled all the dais of my lif. Sir, if you thinke it good that I deliver my lords token to my lady, and say his message, and also send for Francis Norton's mann for keping my creditt with them, let me have your counsell therin. I pray you if you thinke it not good, I can honestly excuse myself by my lord lieutenants being at Durram. I had almost forgot another message that my lord sent after me by Thomas Watson, that my lady should send for the cyphers that is in William Lees custody, and in Cristofer Ratcliffe, two of his servants, and to send the same to my lord with me: whether it be cyphers in dede, or it hath some other meaning I know not. Sir, I came fourth of Scotland of Sondag, all night last, thextremest day for wind and snowe that ever I rode in: we were almost utterly confounded and driven furth of our way dyvers times upon the fall that we knew not where we were, and yet praised be God, at last within night, gat home all befrossen; I have spoiled my best gelding that I have refused xxxⁱⁱ. (301.) for within this half yeare, I feare he will never do me more servis. I may be ashamed of my sediciousnes and rudenes herein, whereof I crave humble pardon; but I thought it better to troble you with my long lettre, then to be sene repaire to my lord lieutenants, or you, to my discredit, or to omitt any thing that hereafter may be laid to my charge and touch me

in lif. Sir, if my lord of Westmorland and Mr Norton * be altered of their good minds at my retorne, yet it is not unpossible to overreache them and all thother rebels. The lord of Farneherst is both poore and covetus; there is one that is as covetus as he, that may perswade him to do any thing for profitt, that he will say he may do lacles; now what a golden hooke may do to a covetus man if it be right laid, possible he will bite, and it may katche him, besides that the lard will sone be very with the cost he is at, and some part thorowe the jelousie he is entred in withmy lord of Westmorland and his new wanton lady. I dare undertake nothing, becaus all such things is uncertaine, but I wold think to do more good with a thousand pound or les, to be wisely bestowed that way, then can be with v thousand, to be bestowed of my lord regent, or with x thousand mens strengthes, to hunt them furth of Tevydale. Of Monday I cam to Hexam, and spake with my lord Warden, not knowing that you were so nere; on Tuesday night I came hither, and ever sins I have ben troubled with writing this long lettre. If they shold come to my poore house, I must desier that it may be no offence for me to helpe them, and that my house may be to them to a sentuary; but in there comming and going I wilbe plaine with them, they shall take there own adventure. Sir, I pray you even for the love of God, let none se this lettre but my lord lieutenant only, whoe very discretly and honourably hath remitted his grudge of displeasure, and promest to be my good lord hereafter. Or this kind of service were knowen to any more except to the quenes majestie, whoe I should have

* It would seem that, fortunately for themselves, neither Westmoreland nor Norton trusted the hospitality of Constable, but fled abroad, and commanded a regiment of English fugitives, in the Spanish service. Camden thus mentions his death in 1584:—

“ Within the compass of this year, Charles Nevil, that traitorous rebel against his prince and country, the last earl of Westmoreland of this house, ended his life obscurely in a miserable exile. From this family, fruitful in nobility, there sprung (besides six earls of Westmoreland) two earls of Salisbury and Warwick, an earl of Kent, a marquis Montacute, a duke of Bedford, a baron Ferrors of Ousley, barons Latimers, barons Abergavenny, one queen, five duchesses; to omit countesses and baronesses, an archbishop of York, and a great number of inferior gentlemen.”

named first, or to my lord my master, or to sir Wa. Myldmay my directors, who can and will kepe my counsell according to their honourable promes, I had rather then this my doing were knowen to the world, forswear for ever not to come within this realme, or rather to be torne every joint from other. Sir, I hyred one to ride in Liddesdale to bring me true word what gentelmen is remayning there, or with whom they are receaved. I also hired my oste George Pill to ride into Tyvedale and into the marshe and Lowdyan, and to bring me knowledge, not upon report, but of so many as he can se; gyving credit to reports made trouble you with some lies in my last lettre, wherfore I humbly aske pardon. Sir, if you have not advertised my lord my master, and sir Wa. Myldmay of my proceedings, I have so farr neglected my dutie, that never writ unto them sins they commaunded me to serve, in hope of your honors advertisements. If you will have me to travell into Scotland again, I must desier your lettre to my lord warden, to grant me oversight of fixd owtlawes, such as I shall name, with his pasport for to travell with me where they like till Easter next, and to be at my commaundment if they either steale or reve; in the meane time I will undertake to deliver them to my lord warden, I trust to make their service to deserve their pardons: I dare not ride over the fells without more company, for I was in great perill meting a company of Scotts theves on Thursday at night last; as you direct me so will I do. If I nede not to ride into Scotland, I pray you procure me a commission for ij post horses, and guydd to the court, and from thens to London, for I have weightie sutes in law to be tried; my money is spent, and I cannot beg as other do. I have attempted to borow a c^{ll} (100l.) in this towne upone suerties, or upon pawne, but I think I shall get not a grote.* Your honour may credit this bearer with cariage of your lettre if you like to write to me; but I pray you send no message otherwais, because he loveth good ale; he hath served me this xx

* This broad hint, with that concerning the spoiling of his best gelding, plainly shew what sort of remuneration Mr Constable expected for "his faithful, true, and acceptable service to God, the queen, and my lord, his master."

yeres, and hath a humble sute to my lord lieutenaunt for the lif of a poore man his nere kinsman: wherefore I pray you grant him your favorable help, and thus I wish you most prosperous health, with daily increase of much honour long to continew. From Newcastell this xij of January, your honors to commaund even unto death,

ROBERT CONSTABLE.

No. LIV.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

SIR,

I hartely thank you for advertising me of the estimate of the quenes charges of her army there in the north, for lack wherof I could not soner provide to send you any money. And now esteming the certainty of that which is due to be about v m^{li}. (5000l.) I have procured to send thither the some of six thousand to this end, that vm. (5000l.) might be brought to you, and one thousand to be left with my lord admirall, or Mr Carr, if my lord be come away, to defray such charges as may happen to have growen by the continuance of certen bandes stayed there in wages by my lord admirall. And if there shall be no cause of the spending of the said wholl thowsand pound, the remayne shalbe also delivered to you.

To morrow the money shall be ordered to be delivered to Chester the herauld, who will make all the hast possible he can; and because I know not to what place you wold have him come, I have directed him towards York; and yet if you will have him come to any other place, by your lettre to be directed and left with the post at Doncaster he may be directed as you shall advise. I have moved her majestie to licence you to returne, wherwith she is content upone the payment of this treasure; and therof if I can, I meane to procure you hir highnes lettres: and yet if you be not otherwise contermanded, I dare be bold

to avow hir present contentation for your returne. I have lately at the request of Mr Elderton, your son in lawe, moved hir majestie with a sute of his wherwith you are acquaynted. And I find Mr Wiseman a competitor therof so frended for his furdurance, and your son so loth to forgoe it, as I thought good to move hir majestie to stay the wholl matter untill your returne, wherwith she is contented.

The lord Scrope had money sent from hence, wherof (as I understand by Sir Walter Mildmay) he hath made accompt that he hath somepart therof remayning undefrayed; so as there is no cause for any demand to come from him. It is thought that sir John Forsters demandes be very unreasonable, both for the wages of the horsemen serving but in Northumberland in their owne doores, and for the number of his officers not usuall in that contrey. And lastly, it is thought he had no such continuance of the nombers mentioned in his demand, wherupon I was expressly willed by hir majestie to write somewhat playnly to you to have regard therto.

As for the number of vj c. (600.) out of Barwick, it is sayd, that there never came report hither of more than of iij c. (300.) of the garrison, except the supply of them taken into the towne by the marshall may be accompted as parcell, and yet one of those nombers are to be accompted as of the garrison, and so to be out of this pay.

Thus, sir, being fully weryed, I am forced to end with my harty commendations, and compassion of your toylyng service in that cold contrey. From Wyndsor the 13. of January 1570.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

I have not long hard from my lord of Rutland, nor from my sone.

No. LV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to Mr ROBERT CONSTABLE.

I commend me herteley unto you, and have receyved your long lettre, which I have thoroughlie perused; and perceyving by the same your good will and paynefull travaile to susteyned in your comberaus iourney for the service of the quenes majestie, and your countrey, I can not but gretely praise and commende you for the same. And because it shall not be unknownen to her majestie, I do intend to send your lettres to Mr Secretarie, for that my lord your maister is not at the courte, but is now at Kenelwourth, and Mr Myldemay also is absent from the courte, so as there is none so good a meane to bring the same to her majesties knowledge, as by Mr Secretarye, who you may be sure will use the matier with no lesse secresie and closenes then you desire. In the meane season you are further proceeding with such as you have to do in this matier, you shall have myn advice, both to deleyver their tokens and messages, and to do all other things for them as they shall desyre, in such sorte as you may wyne credite with them, the rather to bring that matier to passe which is desired at your hande for the better service of the quenes majestie. And you may be sure that if you do worke it to suche effect as may be acceptable to her majestie, her highnes will so rewarde you as shalbe to the grete comforte of you and all yours. Also myne advise is, that you do conferre of this matier with my lord warden of the middell marches, who you know is, and wilbe secret; and I have wrytten to him to satisfie you in such things as you shall require of him, as he may do by virtue of his office, and as the same may tende to the best furtherance of your service. So fare you well, &c.

No. LVI.

ROBERT CONSTABLE, *hys offer and demand for kepinge of Tyndaill and Rydsdaill.* *

1. Fyrst, he to have it be pattant fee his lyf tyme, with the ordinary allowances belonginge to the same offyce.

2. Item, in tyme of peasse to have for other country allowance for xxv horsemen at xij^d per diem the peisse in thole l^{ty} (50.)

3. Item, duringe the tyme off warres betwixt England and Scotland to have iij^c (300) horsemen at his own leadinge, and placynge, as he shall thinke most meit for servyce, with the entertainment for him self, with his offycers and soldyers, as aperteneth.

4. Item, the said Robert Constable will bynd hymself beffore the quenes maiesties privay counsell, that if any robbery or stealinge can be provyd to be done be any Tyndaill or Rydsdaill man, that he shall dellyver the fellow in the faice of the lawe, onles he be fudgetyf; and if he so be, the said Robert shall satysfye the complaynant so far as the fellows goods will extend.

5. Item, the said Robert shall aunswere the warden of Scotland for any of anoyance to be any of Tyndaill or Rydsdaill during the tyme of peace.

6. Item, in the tyme of ware he shall deffend the with the said iij^c (300) men, and the force of the said two countrys for doinge any anoyance betwext Harbottell, and and with- in that compys to the se syd, or at least within xx dais after any anoy- ance done be the enmye within the said surcuiet to do so

* This offer seems to have some reference to the transactions with the fugitive earl of Westmoreland, but is probably of a later date.

great anoyance within Scotland, excepe the Scots invaycion be with a warden or a lewtenant poore. *

7. Provyded that at the intrance of the said Robert, that he be not charged with thapprencyon of any man for any offence as comytted hertoffore.

8. Item, that the said Robert may serve in the said offycys with suffycient deputies, havinge needful occacyon to be absent hym self.

9. Item, if any shuld happen within ather of the said countries, that the said Robert may have comyssyon to appreend or to kill any such as shuld rebell or reseat hym, and to have aid of the lord warden if his own partie be not suffycient.

10. Item, alwais he to have the auctoryte of a justice within boith the said countrys, and that it shall not be unlefull for him to assure, speik, or have confarrance with Skottyshe men as occacyon shall serve for the forderance of servysse.

No. LVII.

Mr Secretary to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I hartely thank you for your last lettres of the 9th which I received this daye, wherin surely I allowed well of your counsell, although I can not induce hir majestie to the same as I thynk in respect of the charges, although hir majestie semeth not to dout any forrayn attempt, nor wayeth the practise of the rebells now escaped. But I pray God, that saving cause not dooble spendyng.

Our parts is to counsell, and also to obey the commaunder. I perveve hir majestie is well content that you should come upp as soone as the paye is made; and yet if your desyre be to come upp sonar, I see

* A warden-raid, as the Scots called it, was of course an invasion of more consequence than could be compensated by the retaliation of the keeper of Tynedale.

not but you might assign some to make payment, being a matter that I have knoune you to committ to honest Raylton for a gretar portion. Nevertheless I remitt the matter to your owne better consideration doutyng that my lord of Sussex will not allow of my hastyng you away from his company. Here is almost nothyng but sutes for forfeitures, but hir majestie answereth temperatly, that she must know the forfeitures, &c. From Wyndsor castle the xiiij. of Janu. 1570.

Yours, assuredly,

W. CECILL.

I pray you remember to send some lettres to Doncastre, to be delivered to Chester the herault, to direct to what place he shall come with the trespure.

No. LVIII.

My Lords of the Counsell to Sir RAFF SADLIER.

After our right hartly commendations: uppon the receipt of the estimate lately sent unto us from you of the whole charges of the armye lately serving under the earle of Sussex, it hath byn here resolved that the some of six thowsande poundes shall bee forthwith sent thyther. And because by the computation made by you, we take it that the sune of vm^{li} (5000l.) will be sufficient to make a full discharge of the sayd armye, it is ordered that one thowsande poundes, parcell of the sayd six thowsande, shall be left with Robert Carre, to thintent that the bands remaynyng yet uncassed under the lord Admirall may be therewith fully discharged, and therein as mucche good foresight and circumspection to be used, as shall be convenient for the furtherance of the quenes majesties service, and avoyding of superfluous charges, to which ende wee pray you to confer with him by your lettres, and for that purpose also we thinke it shall be very necessary that good regarde be had, that the treasure sent at this tyme bee chiefly employed

abowt the full discharge of those bandes that are necessarylie to be fyrst cassed, so as if any shall happen to remayne unpaid for want of sufficient treasure, the same may bee of those that ar to remayne there, and maye the better tarry for theyr pay, and be the lesse burdensome to hir highnes. And if uppon the discharging of the said bandes under the lord admirall there shall remayne any treasure in the sayde Carres hands undefrayed, he shall be appointed to delyver the same unto you to hir majesties use, and so fare you right hartely well. From Wyndsor the xiiijth of January 1570.

Your assured loving frende,

PENBROKE,	W. HOWARD,
F. KWOLLYS,	JAMES CROFT,
W. CECILL,	WA. MILDMAY.

No. LIX.

A Declaracion in what order the bandes of horsemen and footemen asdoo yet serve on the Borders by thappoyntment of my Lord Lieutenant, are now lefte in, aswell for the tyme of entring into their severall payes, as also what mony hathe ben payde to any of them in prest sithens the tymes of their entring in their said payes, as folowethe.

That is to saye, fyrst one band of fyftie horsemen, under the conducte of capten Nevell, entered into paye the xiiijth of Januarie 1570.

The sayd capten hathe receyved in prest bye vertue of the lord lieutenants warrant to me directed bearing date at Yorke the xxvjth of Januarie 1570, the some of one hundrethe markes, lxxvj^{li}. xiiij^s. iiij^d. (66: : 13: 4.)

Item, one band of horsemen to the nomber of fyftie under the conducte of capten Darrington, entered into paye the sayd xiiijth of Januarie, but he sayeth he hathe wrong, for he owght to have entred into his paye the xijth of Januarie, which must be tryed by Mr Carre who payed him his last thorowgh paye.

The sayd capten hath receyved in prest by virtue of the lord lieutenant's warrant to me directed, bearing date at Yorke the xxvjth of Januarie 1570, the some of one hundrethe marks, lxvj^{li}. xiiij^s. iiij^d. (66:13:4.)

Item, one band of fyftie horsemen under the conducte of capten Dacre, have receyved thorough paye untill the xxvth of Januarie, and then to enter into paye, and hath receyved no mony in prest sythens that tyme.

Item, one other band of fyftie horsemen under the conducte of capten Warde, who ys in suche case as thother band last before ys.

Item, one band of one hundreth footemen harquebusers under the conducte of capten Pragle, have receyved their thorough paye untill the xxiii^d of Januarie, and then to enter into paye, and hathe not receyved any mony in prest sythens that tyme.

Item, one band of one hundreth footemen harquebusers under the conducte of capten Knapp, which are in suche case as capten Pragles bandys.

Item, one band of one hundreth horsemen under the conducte of Robert Bowes esquier which entred into paye the ——— day of ———

The sayd Capten hathe receyved in prest one hundreth pounds by vertue of a warrant to me directed from the lord lieutenant, bearing date at Duresme the xvth of Januarie 1570, c^{li}. (100l.)

No. LX.

Sir WALTER MILD MAY to *Sir* RAUF SADLEIR.

SIR,

Albeit I did heare often of you by advertisements hither, yet I was glad to receave so moche written from your self to me. Assuryng you that, to my knowledge, there is neither faulte found with lacke of particulars, neither any mans doings misconstrewed. Every man in his place, in myn opinion, hath served veary well, and it were greate pitie

that misreaport here, or misreaport where you are, shuld breade gelousye withoute cause. I dowbte not but such regard shalbe had to eche partie, as his travaylle hath deserved. For if in any tyme afore, in this tyme specially such are to be accompted of, nor I fynd wit here, whie any man shold stand in doubt of it.

By this tyme I am sure you have hard of fyve thowsand pounds comyng towards you by Chester the herault. The cause whie you had but xv. c.ⁱⁱ (1500 l.) of the last money was, that otherwise my lord Admirall could not have discharged so many as he did.

This day we had lettres of the nombres agreed uppon betwene my lord Admirall and you, which I thinke will take place; that is v. c. (500) fotemen and ij. c. (200) horsemen; whan those things be stablished I trust you will reatorne, wherof I wold be very glad; and if you think that I may further it, you may use me at your will. In the meane tyme I wishe the contynuaunce of your healthe: and so I commend you to Almightye God. From Windsor, the xvth of January, 1570.

Your very assured friend,

WA. MILD MAY.

No. LXI.

*Sir RALPH SADLEIR to ROBERT CONSTABLE.**

Efter my right hertie commendacions. I have receyved your lettres by this berer, and have well weyed and considered the contents of the same, whereupon I have thought good to give you myn advise, to delÿver thes tokens† which I send you agayn hereinclosed, and to do such messages as ar commytted unto you, and all other things, by your

* This is an answer to Constable's long letter, No. LIII. giving an account of the English fugitives on the Scottish border.

† The tokens which Westmoreland gave Constable to present to his countess.

good discession, in such sorte as you may best wynn credite with those persons with whom you have to do, to thende you may the better compass and bring to effecte that matier which you have taken in hande for the service of the quenes majestie; how you shall do it you knowe better then I can tell you; but hereof I dare assure you, that you can devise no way so beneficial for your self, as to worke the matier so that, as you write your self, the ball may be tourned into my lord wardens lap; for as touching submission upon promise of lif and goods, it is in vayne to go that way to worke, for that may be easily brought to passe, and no benefite cann redounde to you* by the same, for you may be sure that the quenes majestie will not accepte their submission when it is offered in that sorte with condycione; but if they will submitte themselves symplie to her majesties mercy, without any condycione or request for lif, lands, or goods, surely I thinke that is the onely way, if there be any, for them to obteyn favour and mercy at her majesties hands; and if you can induce them so to do, it is the best for them, in myn opynyone; but the most beneficiall way for your self, is to devise how to tourne the ball into my lord wardens lap, as is afforsaide, for therby your service may be such as you may be sure her majestie will not leave unrewarded. Thus have I tolde you my mynde in this matier, wherein I wolde have you to worke so as the benefite thereof may growe unto your self. And as I have before advysed you, so I thinke good that you make my lord warden pryvey to your doings, from tyme to tyme, as the case shall require. 16 of January, 1570.

* Sir Ralph Sadler at once addresses himself to the selfish and sordid feelings of the person with whom he had to do, well knowing his own predominant interest was sufficient to decide his conduct. His distinction between what would be best for the offenders, and best for Mr Robert Constable, is admirable; and shews how much he was disgusted by his affectation of interest in their fate.

No. LXII.

ROBERT CONSTABLE to *Sir RALPH SADLEIR.*

SIR,

My humble and bownden dewtye consydered. May it plesse your honor to understand, I came to Brawnspeeth* on Fryday mornynge, tared ther all that day, and mayd all the meyns I cowld to se my ladye, † but yt wold not be. I came to the stewerd, I asked yf my lady were offend with me, and he sayd he thought not, but she was and had not wyll to speak with any man. I towld hym I would do my dewty to hyr or I retorned home, or I showld tarry a month. He wyllid me to come agayn on the morro, and he shuld gett me to hyr speyche if she wold. I came agayn, and wayted tyll yester nyght, and got to her speyche. But, to be short, after I had dyssyered hyr faythfull and honorable promes to keyp secret that I had to say unto hyr, for that yt towched meyn lyff; she gave hyr hand and fayth so to doo. I kyssed my lords ryng, and gave it to hyr. She was passyng joyefull. I towld hyr how long I had wated to come to hyr speyche. She excused hyr, and not the les asked me forgyvenes dyvers tymes; and after she had enquired all thyngs of my lord, and that I had towld all my messedges, she towld me that sir John Constable ‡ had beyn with hyr from my lord levetennand, and wyllid hyr to wryte to my lord hyr

* The splendid castle of the Nevills, earls of Westmoreland, situated in the bishopric of Durham, and forfeited in consequence of this ill-fated rising. It afterwards was granted to the Vanes, and is now the seat of the earl of Darlington.

† The lady of Charles earl of Westmoreland, was Anne, daughter of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, and sister of Thomas duke of Norfolk; by whom he had four daughters, 1. Catherine, married to sir Thomas Grey, of Chillingham; 2. Eleanor, never married; 3. Margaret, wife of Nicholas Padsey; 4. Anne, married to David Engleby, brother of sir Wm. Engleby, of Ripley, in the county of York. They left a daughter, married to sir Robert Hodshen, of Hebborne, the son, or grandson, of that obstinate Papist whom the Protestants expelled from the town of Newcastle.

‡ Sir John Constable, of Dromondby, in Yorkshire, was alive about 1575; or this gentleman might have been one of the Burton Constable family.

husband, to perswayd hym to mayk hys humeble submyssion to the queyn majesty, &c. As she dorst do none other, but dellyvered yt to sir John unsealed. She dyssyered me to pray my lord not to be offended for hyr so doying, howbeyt she thoght yt hys best so to doo, both to wyn agayn the favor of God, of hys natyve prynce, and all hys land and guds agayn, which otherways were utterly lost without hope of recovery, and that before God she thoght he cowld no les doo. With sych further enstrokyons by word of mouth, for me to say to my lord, as ys to long for me to wryte, whereyn she hayth shewd hyrself to be the faythfull servand of God, a dewtyfull subject to the queyns majesty, an obedyent carfull lovyng wyff to hyr husband, and for rypeness of wytt, rydenes of memmory, and playn and pythy uttrans of her words, I have talked with manny, but never with hyr lyke. I have sent you hereyn enclosed a lytle cheyn and a ryng with a dyamond, to be dellyvered to the lard of Farnhyrst; a tablette to the laydy, and a lyttle ryng to my lord; as for a horse, I towld hyr I had consydered with my self, I durst not venter to carry any, and as for the sypers she telld me yt was syffers,* she promest to gett thaym, and to send thame to me thys mornyng by day. Hyr messenger came and towld me thone of thaym that had thaym had buryt thame yn hys kepyng, thother was from home, and wyll not retorn thes ij or iij days; but yf thay be yn place, thay must be rydy agaynst my next retorn; and my laydy prepares hyr self agaynst that tym to be rydy to ryde to London. Sir, I understand that Mr Cutbert Nevell,† ys som tymys yn Brawnspeeth lordshyp, and som tymys yn Rayby lordshyp, ressett som tymys with one, som tymys with another, but I can not tell with whom, possyble yn the parsnedge at Bransbeth, but I am not sewre therof; yf yow suffer awwhyll tyll yow be gone from Dorram, he will then be bowlder, that he may be sone spyed. Crystoffer Norton‡

* *Cyphers*, which were asked for under the name of *cyprus*, a species of crape.

† An uncle of the unfortunate earl of Westmoreland. He is in the list of attainders.

‡ This gentleman, a son of Richard Norton, seems to have been made a prisoner and suffered death. As to captain Read, nothing came of the suspicions against him, for I ob-

can tell yow of captayn Reads part; he was his soldyer, and towld me an yll favored tayll of hym, the last tyme I was at Brawnspeith before thys; but I thynk he had rather dye then accuse. Yf I towche any man for malles God confownd me, or yf I spare any for kynred or affectyon: my menyng ys to serve God, the queyn, and my lord and mayster trewlye, acordyng to the trust commytted, and accordyng to my faythfull promes. I humeble crave pardon becaus I never remembred Crystoffor Norton's words when I ether wrote or spak to you: the words were thes, yf captayn Read, my captayn, had beyn so faythfull a man of hys promes, as men iudges hym to be, he had beyn or now amongs us; but I trust yow wyll not constreyn me to prove and fend,* allthogh yt ys trewe. I towld yow of tow ways yn my last letter that I may attempt, thone ys to bryng thaym to submyssyon, thother by corroptyng of the lard, and to assay yf the ball may be torned ynto my lord warden's lapp. I beseych your honor of yowr advyce heryn. Thone may be withowt dysbursyng of munny, thother wyll not be wythowt sych a some as I ressyted. Yf my lord of Warwyk wryte, whether thynk yow yt meyt that thys letter shoul be dellyvered at my howse, as was devysed, or otherways. What yf I can perswayd my lord, by hys letter of submyssyon, to crave pardon, as my laydye wylls hyin yn hyr letter, for lyff, lands, lybertye and guds, and to ad thys, that apon that condysyon he is to procure all the resydew of the gentlemen, hys assosyatts, to ioyn yn makyng submysyon with hym, apon promes of ther lyves onely, submytyng ther land and guds to be used att the qweyns majesties plesewre. As yow wyll commawnd me therafter, I wyll doo so nere as I may.

Sir, I humble thank yow for yowr comfortable letter. I was affore yn utter dyspare that my powr serves was ather myslyked or drowned;

for I observe, that he distinguished himself in the skirmish between Leonard Dacres and sir John Foster, on the side of the latter. See Holinshed's account of that matter.

* "Prove and fend," *i. e.* become evidence, and so give offence.

but now yow have encoredged me agayn. I wyll not stop for travell, for perrell, nor for expesses, so long as I can mayk any shyft, what yntrest soever I pay, so long as I can gett ather creddeitt or pawn. I humeble thank yowr honour allso for my powr servand, God and yowr only gudnes hayth saved hys kynsmans lyff. I cannot speak with my lord warden tyll my retorn forth of Scotland. I durst not stay to wryte tyll I came hyther. I fere I can hardly gett home to morrow for wayters. God wylling, I parted apon Tewsday next, at nyght, to slepp yn the Farnhyrst. I did not let my laydy Westmoreland understand that I had perswaded my lord, and that he had yeylded to mayk submyssyon. I sent a letter with Frawnces Nortons messedge, and I here that hys eldest son ys dead.* God hayth sent me gud fortune to cowmpas all as I wold have wysshed, by lyttle and lyttle, hetherto yn thys serves, wherby I know he ys plesed therwith. All thanks and prayers be gyven to hym who preserve yow yn most prosperous heyllth, with encreyce of mych honour, long to lyve. From Newcastle, thys xv day of Jennuary, 1570.

Your honours most humebly to commawnd,
even unto deth,

ROBERT CONSTABLE.

[*Arms, an Anchor.*]

P. S. Your honour hayth pykt owwt thonly man that I wold have dyssyerred to have beyn privye to the secretes of all my serves, I men Mr Secretorye.

* Probably executed; a circumstance which may have given rise to the traditional story of old Norton's death.

No. LXIII.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

Whan I receaved your lettres with the lettre included, sent to you from Newcastle, by R. C.* who had bene in Scotland with the erle of Westmoreland, I thought good to shew the same to hir majesty, my lord of Lecestre being absent, who, in dede, was prive to his journey, and so also was I, though the sayd R. knew not so much.

And uppon consideration of the matter, hir majesty entred into sondry opinions what wer mete to be doone for apprehension of the rebells, but in the end she thus commanded me to wryte to you as followeth, remittynge nevertheless to your consideration, and the advise of my lord lieutenant, to alter the same, as you shall fynd better to the service.

Her majesty wold have R. C. secretly delt withall, to prosecute the enterprise, to trayne the rebells to his house, or otherwise to some places in England, wher they might be so apprehended as he might escape the imputation of any cryme, but rather for coveryng of the enterprise, that he also might be apprehended, and be outwardly charged with offence ageynst hir majesty, and in so doying hir majesty hath commanded me to assure you, that he shall be largely rewarded. And if this enterprise can not take effect, than hir majesty wold that he shuld attempt to make offer of money to some in Scotland, for apprehendynge of them; and therin what so ever you shall warrant hym to offer, not being above j. m. (1000 l.) it shall be performed; and thus is hir majesty, as reason willeth, very desyruss to have these noysom vermyyn taken; and of this matter hath hir majesty willed me to require you to conferr with my lord lieutenant. We fynd dayly more matter

* Robert Constable.

ageynst Lenard Dacre,* to charge hym with high treason; and therefore the more dilligence and circumspection be used in takyng of hym, the more shall hir majesty lyke it. Of which matter the quenes majesty wrote a few dayes past unto my lord lieutenant.

My lord admyrall wrote to me from Newark on the 16th of this month, being on his waye towards the court by Tatersall and Sem-pugha; and therin his lordship declared that he had payd the 300 footemen, and 100 horss, untill the 14th of this month; so that by that reckoning, if they now be discharged, the expences will not be great.

My lord of Leicester retorneth to morrow hyther, having bene at Killyngworth† 3 or 4 dayes.

I have a desyre to have sir Wm. Pykeryng vichamberlayn, but others, they saye, lyke better of an other that lately was here in custody. God send hir majesty a faythfull counsellor for her and the realme.

The regents servant, Mr Elphynston,‡ is not answered, nor now shall not be untill the next weke, at our comming to Hampton court, to which place the quenes majesty shall remove on Fryday, and ther will be a more assemblie of counsellors. And so I take my leave. From Wyndsor, the 18 of January, 1570.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

Sir, of late, whan some question did arise for the tyme of the cessyng of the lieutenants enterteynments, and some motion was made that my lord of Sussexs enterteynment ought presently to cess, because his army was discharged, and he was in his rule of presidentshipp; I alledged that it wer reson so to be, whan he was come to York, and so the warrant passed. I fynd now some offence lyke to grow towards

* Perhaps it was information of her majesty's kind intentions towards him, which drove Leonard Dacre, soon after, into open rebellion.

† Killingworth, the splendid castle of the favourite earl of Leicester.

‡ Elphinstone, an emissary of Murray, regent of Scotland.

me, for that my lords enterteynment contynueth, by coller that he contynueth from Yorke, which some here saye it is lykly he will longer contynew than is mete. I pray you sir consider herof for my respect, for I am most lyke to beare the offence. And on hir majestys behalf I wish the enterteynment shuld not contynew longer than wer mete, although I know my lord charges otherwise to excede.

No. LXIV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

I have receyved your lettres of the 13 of this instant, by the which I doo perceyve your good sollicitacion and remembraunce of sending money, which wilbe welcome to a grete many here, and I by the same shalbe ridde of moch clamour, for the which I most hertely thanke you. And touching sir Jo. Forsters demaunds, albeit you had written nothing to me thereof, I wolde have had consideracion of the same, for in dede they be unreasonable, and so I tolde him when he brought me the reckonyng, wherin he yelded, and referred the order of it to my lord lieutenaunt and me. I meant to cut of a grete dele of his demaunde, both in the wages of his horsemen, and in the numbers of his officers; and also to abridge the tyme for the which he requyreth pay, for that I thinke his hole number had not so long contynuance, so as you may be sure the quenes majestie shalbe at no further charges therein then trewth and reason shall require.

As for the number vj^c (600) out of Barwicke, Mr Browne, the treasurer there sayeth, that so many of the garrison as cam thens, for this service, were supplied into the towne for the garde of the same. And besids these, the capitaynes which cam to this service with ccc. having but L. (50) a pece, increased their bands to c. (100) a pece, by the saide treasurers apoyntement, who sayeth that my lord of Hunsdon com-

manded him so to do. So as the quenes majestie is thereby charged with a new crew of vj^c (600) for the time of this service, whereof my lord lieutenaunt and I knew nothing till they ioyned with us, and hereupon is growen a question bytween the saide treasurer and me, whether they shalbe in his pay or myne, which, when money commeth, must be decyded by my lord lieutenant.

My lord Scrope demandeth no money now at my hande, but I knew not that he had any from thens till now, upon your advertisement of the same: and yet, by warrant of my lord lieutenaunt, the saide lord Scrope, and Symon Musgrave,* have had at my hande ccc^{li} (300 l.) in prest, which by lykelihod was before he had any money sent from thens, of the which iijc.^{li} (300 l.) they ar to yelde accompte, as well as of such money as was sent to them from thens, wherof it may please you to informe Mr Mildemay. I thanke you most hertely for that you have gotten me leave to retorne, after such payments as ar to be made here, and if I be not countermanded I mynde so to do, desyring, nevertheles, that it may please you, if it may be, to procure her majesties lettres for my better warraunt. I thanke you also for my soone Elryngton,† whom you have bounde, and me also; I trust her majestie will remember, that the last tyme her highnes conferred with me of his sute, she lyked so well of it, as I thought her majestie had resolved to grante the same; and in dede if I had ben as diligent in the cause as som man wolde have ben for his sone, it had ben to farre past for Mr Wiseman to have stayed it; but as I am in dede more necligent in causes which concerne me and myne then in others, so I perceyve that my necligence hathe bredde som hinderaunce to my soone Elrington, in this his sute, trusting nevertheles, that by your good helpe, he may obteyn her majesties favour in the same. And if her majestie knew Mr Wise-

* Sir Simon Musgrave, an ancestor of the Musgraves of Edenhall, in Cumberland, was sheriff of that county in 11th queen Elizabeth, when this rebellion broke out, and of course was engaged with lord Scroope, warden of the west marches, in levying forces for the queen. *History of Cumberland and Westmoreland*, Vol. I. p. 595.

† Edward Elryngton of Borstall, county of Bucks, husband of Dorothy, sir Ralph's youngest daughter.

man so well as I do, she wolde not thinke him wourthie of any benefite at her majesties hands, ne yet mete for that rowe he hathe, for surely he is one of the greatest papistes I knowe: and here he was in the presents in very suspicious manner with therle of Northumberland, not long before the brute of this late rebellion, and as I lerne brought lettres from the duke of Norffolk, to what ende I knowe not, but surely he is a man that favoureth the pretended cause of this late rebellion, asmoche as any man in Englande, and if he were axed the question, whether he were here at that tyme, and wherefore he cam hither, you might percase understande more of the matier.

My lord of Rutlande, and Mr Cecill your soone, I thinke be with you or this tyme, for they depeched hens a good while ago. And so I ende. 18 January, 1570.

No. LXV.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

SIR,

Because I send you the quenes majesties lettre for your licenss to come towards your soone, I will forbear to wryte more unto you. This daye my lord of Rutland cam hyther, and not before, by whom I was glad to see the contynuance of your lyking of hym; and he, on his part, required me earnestly to contynew my thanks to you for the singular favour that he receaved of you. I pray God he may contynew in dutyfullnes to Almighty God, and servisable to the quenes majesty and his country. From Hampton Court, the 22 of January, 1570.

Your assured at command,

W. CECILL.

I have moved hir majesty to stay Mr Wisemans sute untill your comming hyther, and so hir majesty will doo.

No. LXVI.

QUEENE ELIZABETH to *Sir RAUF SADLEIR*.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEENE.

Trusty and right welbeloved counsellor we grete you well. Forasmuch as we understand of the desire which you have to returne to us, and specially now this Terme Time, we think it also necessary in respect of your office of chauncellorshipp of our duchy of Lancaster: we are pleased, that assone as you shall have given order for the payment and defraying of our treasures lately sent downe thither, you shall, at your best commodity, make your repayre hither to us, not dowbting but you shall be well hable to informe us of diverse things necessary to be knowen, for the reformation and better order of that contrey. Given under our signett, at our honour of Hampton Courte, the xxijth of January, 1570, in the xijth yere of our reigne.

No. LXVII.

Sir R. SADLEIR to ROB. CONSTABLE.

After my right hertie commendacions. I have yesterday receyved lettres from Mr Secretary; by the which I understand, that he hathe shewed your long lettre, which you wrote to me of late, unto the quenes majestie; and that her majestie doth take your service in very good and thankfull parte; and also, that hir highnes pleasure is, that you do procede in that you have begon. And if you can bring it so to passe as to trayne those men with whom you have to do, specially the chief and principall of them, to your house, or to any other place in Englande, where they may be apprehended, her majestie hath

commanded me to assure you, that you shalbe largely rewarded for the same by her highnes. And, for the better covering and colour of the enterprise, it is thought good that the matier be so handeled as you also may be taken with them, and be outwardely charged as an offender with them agenst her majesty: whereby they shall have no cause to thinke amysse of you. If you can worke this matier to effect, you shall wynn favour and liberall rewarde at her majesties hands. And if you can not do so, then you may attempte to make offer of money to some in Scotlande; and thereby to see what you can do with the golden hooke, which you wrote of in your saide lettre; and therein, if it may be brought to passe for any reasonable offer, I have good warraunt to see it perfourmed; prayeng you, if you do enter into any such practise, that, before you make any specyall or particular offer of any somme certen, you will advertise me what is demaunded; wherupon you shall knowe more. For the lesse the somme be, the better service shall you do, and the greter wilbe your owne rewarde; and yet it is not meant but that they also, which shall promise you to take thenterprise in hande, shalbe rewarded, if it be brought well to passe. Prayeng you, in this matier, to use my lord warden of the middell marches advise, with whom I have conferred at good length in that behalf.

One of these two waies afore said you must worke; for as touching submission, you may be sure, that her majestie will not accepte any condicionall submissionn; and therefore it is in vayne to go about it.
23 Jan. 1570.

No. LXVIII.

Quene ELIZABETH to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUENE.

Trusty and right well beloved counsellour we grete you well. This bearer shall informe you of the cause of this his iourney,* wherof we are earnestly sory, as your self can well iudge we have iust cause. And by sight of his instruction, you shall perceive our meaning for your staye presently; and as occasion may be given for your proceeding into Scotland, wherof also, both for the and for the contynuanee of you in suche troublesome iourneys, we wolde be very sory that you shuld have cause. But suche is the importaunce of this mater, and your understanding also therein, as we cannot but at this tyme make choise of youe; and therefore, upon knowledge from Randolf,† if he shall advertise you that the regent is deadde, or that by iudgement he cannot escape deathe upon his hurte, we require you to make your repayere spedely thither. And at your coming into Scotlande, where you shall finde the nobility, to resorte to all such of them as you shall thinke mete in our name; and as occasion shalbe offered to youe, upon the accidencies of the maters there, to treat with them severally or iointly, to accord faste toguider in unity amongs themselves, to the staye of that realme in quietnes and comin peaxe, and to employ their

* On the 23d of January, 1569-70, the earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, was shot in the town of Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. Five days seem to have been sufficient to carry the news of his wound, but not the event of it, to the court of queen Elizabeth.

† Randolph who was sent to Scotland immediately on the news of the regent's hurt, was probably the bearer of this letter. Sir Ralph Sadler did not receive it in time enough to prevent his coming back from the north upon his former licence, for he arrived near London unexpectedly with the earl of Sussex; and thus escaped the fatigues and dangers of another Scottish mission.—*Mission. Cabala*, p. 161.

forces iointly to guide against the disturbers therof, and to preserve the state of religion from any chaunge, and not to entre into any alterations to bring that realme, or any parcell thereof, into the bondage or authority of any forreine prince. And in all suche determinations they shalbe assured they shall have us like a freindly neighbour unto them, with no lesse care then they have had experiency we have borne towards the maintenaunce of peaxe, love, and concorde, betwixt bothe the realmes and our subjects. And, in this sorte, we wolde have youe, at the first, procede generally with them. And if they shall move youe in any other particular demands for our aide or supporting of them, youe shall answer them, that youe are comme thether soddenly ; and, upon your advertisement to us of their state and proceeding, youe will spedely procure answer to theis demaunds ; which also we doubt not but you will temper withe suche reasone and modesty, as neither they be discouraged with doubt of our favoure, nor yet boldened to more unreasonable or over hard demaunds. And, considering the suddennes of this mater, the uncertainty of the events that may followe, we cannot otherwise prescribe you, but to let you knowe, that these three pointcs be the speciall things wherunto your proceedings must tende ; to procure the stay of the state of religion in that realme ; the save-tye of the prince, that he be not conveyed awaye ; and the reteyning of the states of that realme from combination withe Fraunce or Spaine. And, as youe shall finde occasion at your coming thither, we require youe to deal for the delivery of our rebelles, or at the leaste to have them stayd in savetye. Geven under our signet, at our honour of Hamptoncourte, the xxixth of January, the xijth yeare of our reigne.

*To our trustie and right welbeloved counsellour
sir Raut Sadleir, knight, chauncellour of our
duchy of Lancaster,*

No. LXIX.

Q. ELIZABETH to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEENE.*

Trusty and right welbeloved, we grete you well. Although you take your iourney thither, and the chardg there of, the quene, by our commaundement, yet we think you will cum redely from thence without any commaundement, so you have but our licence, and that not for misliking of your usage there, which we here is very good. And therfor now, upon the retourn thither of our cousin the erle of Shrewsbury, in whom surely we fynd great cause of trust, we licence you to retourn. Not doubting but shortly to see you; and then to here of things there past under your chardg; and also to thank you for your diligence and painfulness. And so we pray you, before your departure thence, to lett our cousin the countess of Shrewsbury understand how thankfully we accept her singular good will and faithfulness, in the service which we knowe she doth unto us in that place; and that we see that she is not unmyndfull of the good will that we have bestowed upon her, and which good memorye of her we trust she shall never have cause to repent.† Geven under our signet, at our pallays of Westminster, the first day of February 1570, the xijth yere of our reigne.

* From this letter it would seem, that sir Ralph Sadler had been the provisional guardian of the queen of Scotland, during some occasional absence of the earl of Shrewsbury, her jailor in ordinary. Queen Elizabeth is pleased to be facetious upon the reluctance with which her subjects usually undertook this charge, and their joy at being released from it.

† The countess of Shrewsbury was supported by Elizabeth as a domestic spy, for which her furious and jealous temper rendered her an apt instrument. Thus, not satisfied with imposing on the earl the task of almost an ordinary jailor, she nourished dissension in his family, lest it should be too easy an abode for his captive.

No. LXX.

Q. ELIZABETH to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R. *Radcliffe* BY THE QUEENE.*

Trusty and right well beloved counsellour wee greet you well. Forasmuch as now lately upon occasion given us by reason of the rebellion moved in the north parties of our reahm, we did command our faithfull subiects in the most parte of the shires of our realm, to be armed and furnished according to their severall condicions, to serve both on horse and on foot; and therupon, being mustered and reviewed, a great part thereof were found very unhable to serve us; not for want of number, strength, good will, and hability of ther persons, but for lacke of horses and geldings, with the furniture therto belonging mete for horsemen, and also of good armour, shot, and other weapons mete for footmen, specyally as now is requisite for the warres, otherwise than in former tymes hath been; the wants whereof should moch the more have greved us, but that we were duly certified from all places of our realme, (savinge only from the very corneres, which the heads of this late rebellion did for the tyme occupy,) that our whole people of all degrees were to all purposes apparently found faithfull, loyall, and willinge, both with their bodies, lives, and goods, to serve us against the said rebelles; whereof we had manifest proffe in no small numbers, that were spedely levied, and most willingly conducted in our army into the northe; and that for ther want of horses, armour, and weapon

* This and the following letters relate to the expedition of Sussex into Scotland. The lairds of Buccleuch and Fairnyhirst, on the very night after the regent Murray had been slain at Linlithgow, broke into England with their clans, and laid waste the frontiers with unwonted ferocity. To avenge this insult, as well as to chastise these Border chieftains for the protection which they had afforded to the English fugitives, and to make them, as Cecil expresses it in a letter to sir Henry Norris, "feel the sword and firebrand," Elizabeth dispatched Sussex into Scotland, who, in the course of a week, totally wasted, burned, and destroyed the vales of Teviot, Kale, and Bowmont, levelling fifty castles and strong-holds, and above three hundred villages.

requisite to furnishe them with all, they were also willinge to provide the same with their monye, as time and oportunitye might therto serve. We having had consideracion hereof, and finding the tyme very necessary, that our subiects should, through our whole realme, be otherwise furnished, then it semeth they lately were, have thought yt most necessary, that this our pleasure were to them in everye part notified, and that some good order might be taken bothe to understand the wants therof, and to direct the meanes to repayre the same, and to see yt performed effectually; and to this ende we have founde no other means better then to commit the princypall charge hereof to you, whom we have of specyall trust (as you know) made, by our lettres patents, our lieutenant generall of that sheire of Hartford; and therefore we earnestly require you to consider well hereof, and furthwith to cause good vewes to be made in every parte of that sheire, as well in liberties as without, of all maner of persons chargable by their lands in dede, and not by the undervalews conteyned in sub books, to find horses or geldings; and to cause their horses and geldings, with their furniture, to be also seene, and made redye against some daie, to be first shewed afore yourself in severall places; and therupon to command and charge the parties whome you shall finde to make default, or to lack mete horses or geldings, or mete furniture eyther for ther horses or for the horsemen, by an other daie by you to be lymmitted, to repair the same lackes, upon pain to be sent heyther to appear personally before us or our previe counsayle, to receyve such punishment as to such a contempt shall be requisite; being an offence against the suretie of us and our realm. And after you have viewed the said horsemen, and procured as moch as in you shall be to have the same well furnished, you shall cause a muster book hereof to be made, noting therein the diversities in this or like sorte: that is, first, how many be fully serviceable, and furnished at the tyme of your view; and, next, how many horses or geldings be at that present not hable for lack of good feeding, and yet may be made hable by a reasonable tyme afore the beginning of sommer. And as for such as shal be presented,

and will not be hable nether for the launce nor the light staff, our meaning is, that you shall utterly reiect them, and charge the parties to make provision of better by a day lymmitted. And although we are desirous you should have a vew of all the foresaid horsemen yourself, to the intent the service may be the more effectually accomplished, yet if you shall find the same difficult to be done by yourself, by reason of the largeness of the shire, or any other impediment, then we require you to make good choice of such as to whom you shall commit the charge hereof, that all the horsemen within your lieutenancy may be seen, mustered, and duly registered, though in several places, yet in one day, for avoiding of deceit and fraud. And as you see by these our directions, how careful we are to have this service for horsemen to be avaunced, wherof we trust you can consider how much it importeth us and our realm : So we hertely require you to use all the care that you possibly can, to cause all manner of footmen of all sorts to be better armed and weaponed, and to increase the shot of the harquebuse to your uttermost ; foreseeing, that in the provision of the armour and the shot, such regard be had as it be good and serviceable ; for otherwise both the charges of the countries shall be in vain, and the persons of our subjects without surety in time of service ; for which purpose, we have also given order to have a new proportion to be brought from beyond the seas, that shall be well seen to be better, and of a more suertye, than we understand some hath been that cost us in deed no less money then the best that we could have chosen. The fault and error whereof we doubt not shall be assuredly in this next provision amended. And so, as you shall see occasion of any doubt to be moved by them, whom you shall order to make new provision, you may assure them that they shall be provided of sure and serviceable stuffs. In the matters our desire is, that, with all speed, upon the receyte of these our lettres, you should endeavour yourself to execut the same ; and to use all good means, by conference with such of the principall gentlemen as you know within your lieutenancy to be duly affected to the service of us and our realm ; that by their good persuasions, and

your directions, this our meaning for the increase of the strength of our realm, may be speedily, and without any unnecessary delay, well executed. Given under our signet, at our manor of Hampton court, the xvth of February 1570. In the xijth yere of our reign.

*To our trusty and right well beloved counsellor
sir Rafe Sadler, knight, chancellor of our
duchy of Lancaster, and our lieutenant ge-
neral of our county of Hertford.*

No. LXXI.

*To our trusty and right well beloved counsellor Sir RAPE SADLER, Knight,
Chancellor of our Duchy of Lancaster, and our Lieutenant General of
our County of Hertford.*

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEENE.

Trusty and right well beloved counseylour, we grete you well. For that we have occasion to increase our garrisons upon the frontiers against Scotland, where the rebells that lately fled into that relme, being assisted partly with certain of the Borderers of Scotland, being lawless men,* and partly with certain factious Scottish parsons, envying the long quietness contynued during our raigne betwexte the two relmes, doo make many incursions upon our faythfull subiects, with lykelyhood to increase more, to the danger and dishonor of our relme, if the same should be longer suffered; we have, for that purpose, thought meete, with as small trouble to our subjects, as reasonably may be, to cause certain souldiours to be sent out of the south parts of our realm, besyde the force that already is levied in the north. And

* These were the clans of Scott and Kerr, who, at this time, ravaged the borders of England with unusual cruelty. Leonard Dacres and the earl of Westmoreland are the English fugitives alluded to.

among others, therefore, require you, as our lieutenant in that our county of Hartford, to cause the number of fyfty footmen to be presently with all speed put in a readiness, with good armour and weapon, in this sort: That twenty of them may serve with corsletts and pykes; and the rest, being thyrty, as harquebuziers, with sword, dagger, and murryons. And the same number, so well chosen and armed, to be sent to our citie of York with all speed possible, under the leading of some discreet hable person; who, if he shall be disposed to serve in those parts, shall have some convenient place appointed unto him by order of our cousin of Sussex, our lieutenant general there. And for the coste, monny, and conduct of the said number of soul-diours, the same shall be at our sayde citie of York duely payde, either to the person whom you shall appoint to conduct them, or otherwise, as by our letter to our said lieutenant shall be required. And we would that you should certify our counsel of the day that this number shall depart out of the countrey towards York, and by what time they may be at York. For our desire is, that they may be there with all speed, and specially before the last day of this month. Geven under our signet, at our palass of Hampton court, the 10th of March 1569, in the 12th yere of our reign.

Hartfordshire. Sir R. Sadler.

No. LXIX.

To our trusty and right well beloved Counsaylour Sir RAPH SADLER, Knight, our Lieut. of our County of Hertford, and Chauncellour of our Duchy of Lancaster.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEENE.

Right trusty and well beloved, we grete you well. Having necessary occasion to levy and send a number of horsemen towards the bor-

ders of Scotland, we have made choice of certain in that county, whom we think able to furnish such as we have prescribed them by our letters. And therefore, we send to you our said letters severally directed, with a schedule here inclosed, containing the names of the parties, and the several natures of the horsemen ; requiring you, with the help of our sheriff, by means of his inferior bailiefes, or otherwise as you shall think most speedy, to send the same to the parties, or to their houses, with charge that the tenor thereof be accomplished. And because you shall the better know the contents of the same, we send you herewith also a copy of the form of our said letters. And for instruction on them in this furniture, you shall prescribe to them, that for the demy lance, the horse or gelding be of good strength, and able, with all the furnytüre, both to travail and do the service requisite ; and that the man that shall serve upon him, be also able in person for the purpose, and be armed with an armour having a rest for the lance. And for the light horsemen ; that the armour be at least a corslett, and the weapon a light staff, and a pistoll. And that the coats of either of the horsemen may be cloath, and the coulour blew. And if you perceive, that amongst these lettres some of the parties be not dwelling in the county, nor near wheare they may be sent to, or some of them be dead or misnamed ; in these cases, we would have you, for the first, being out of that county, (if you cannot conveniently send the same to them, which we would you should do, rather than the service should be omitted,) then you shall speedily return the same to our council, with notice where the party dwelleth. And, in the second, if the party be dead, you shall also return the letter, with notice who succeedeth the same party in the possession of his house, lands, or wealth, so as the same may be charged to supply the tack. And for the last, of misnaming ; except you see by the misnomer, that the party is also mistaken, as being not able to furnish the charge, you shall in our name require the party for that small error (being put in writing) not to slack our service. And where the christian name shall be wanting, we authorise you to supply it in the endorsement. And because it

may be that there are sundry within that shire at this time omitted, as able to serve this purpose as those which be named, considering we may have occasion to use a more number of horsemen, or at the least may have some necessary want of these numbers limited, we require you to inquire diligently thereof, and advertise our council speedily and plainly of them, their names, degrees, and the place of their dwelling. And considering it is meet that these horsemen should be seen to be serviceable before they shall depart towards service ; and that being so found, they may be ordered to pass in companies together ; we require you to have care that they may be viewed ; and being found serviceable, that they may pass out of that county. And, to that end, cause some one place to be assigned at one day certain, and meet for them, in the border of the county, being in the right way to York ; and there to be by you, or some sufficient persons for you, viewed or seen, whether they shall be able or no. And if you shall find them not able, then to reject and return them to the owners, with declaration of their defaults, and discharge them with speed to reform the same ; and of the defaults to advertise our council, in whom the same shall be, that the parties may be known and understand the same, as the cases shall require. And if you shall appoint some able persons to conduct them to York, the same shall receive for the use of the owners of the horses, such money as shall be due for their coats, and shall see the horsemen answered for their pay of their conduct ; and the same person, for his charges, shall also receive conduct money for his journey thitherward and backward. Given under our signet, at our palass of Hampton, the 11th day of March 1569, the 12th year of our reign.



ACCOMPT

RENDERED BY SIR RALPH SADLER,

TREASURER OF THE ARMY

SENT TO SUPPRESS

THE NORTHERN INSURRECTION, 1569-70.

A C C O M P T

RENDERED BY SIR RALPH SADLER.

The late Rebellion in the North.

THE duplicamente of thacompte of sir Raphe Sadleyr, knighte, one of the quenes majesties moste honorable privie counsaile, and treasurer of her highnes armie levied in the northe parties, under the ordre and leadinge of the righte honorable Thomas erle of Sussex, lorde prece-
dent of Yorke, and one of her majesties leutenaunts generall, appointed for repressinge of the rebellion lately stirred in the northe parties by Thomas, erle of Northumberland, and Charles, erle of Westmorlande, with other there confederates, as by her majesties lettres of commission under her highnes signe manuell and signet, directed to the saide sir Raphe Sadler hereafter mencioned dothe appere, viz. trustie, and righte welbeloved, we grete you well, we have presently ordered that a masse of treasurer is sente towards you by Edwarde Eglonby of Warwicke shere, and he is directed to deliver the same to your chardge, wherein our meaninge and pleasure is, that you should privatly conferre with our admirall, consideringe that you or bothe of our privie counsaill, and in that respecte understande how theis extraordinarie chardges ar of

importaunce to us, havinge in dede taken up by interest of our citizens of London all this money. And therupon devise in what sorte it shal be beste to the diminucion of our chardges to have this money or anye parte therof distributed, and so we will you shall deliver to Roberte Carre being appointed treasurer for the armye conducted by our couzen of Warwicke and our admirall such porcion as shalbe betwixte you two accorded neadefull to be payed to the armye, and for such as shalbe thoughte nedefull to the other companies serving under therle of Sussex, yourselfe shall upon a warraunte of the lieutenaunte se it paide; and as we have lately written to the three generalls to have care howe this excessive chardge maye be diminished, so we will and chardge you according to the truste we have in you to sollicit the execucion therof with all reasonable spede, and herin at the tyme of the writing herof, we thinke that our said generalls shall have good oportunitie to diminishe partlye good nombres, specially foetemen if it shall prove trewe that this daye we understande by lettres written from thence the xvijth herof, that the rebells with there horsmen were gone from Durhame towards Exhame, and there foetemen scaled. And so committing no smale truste in you herin we ende. Geven under our signet at our castell of Windesore the xxth of December 1569. That is to saye, as well of all suche somes of money as the saide accomptante, or eny his deputie or deputies hath receved and hadd in preste eny maner of waies of the quenes majesties treasure for defrey of the saide service. As also of the debaringe and paymente of the same treasure for the wages and entertaignment of the said lord lieutenaunte, officers, captens, soldiers, and otherwise by warrauntes from the saide lord lieutenaunte according to such rates of wages by the daye as was formerly lymitted and prescribed by the quenes majestie, and signified to the saide accomptaunte by lettres of her majesties privie counsaill, dated at Windesore the xxvijth of December 1569, from the xvjth daye of Novembre in the xjth yeare of the raigne of our moste gracious soveraigne ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of God, quene of Englande, France, and Ire-

lande, defender of the faithe, &c. untill the xxvjth of January, then nexte folowinge in the xijth yeare of her majesties raigne, conteyninge lxxij dayes, (bothe dayes includid,) as by one particular booke together with sondry warrauntes and acquittances exhibited upon this accompte examined and remayning doth appere, which saide accompte was taken and declared before the righte honorable William, marques of Winchester, lord highe treasurer of Englande, and sir Walter Mildemaye knighte chauncellor, and under treasurer of the exchequire, the first daye of Marche *anno duodecimo regnæ predictæ*. That is to saye, the said accomptaunte is charged with

Ready money by him received and had, viz. of the Treasurer and Chamberlans of the Exchequer.

In the terme of Sainte Michaell tharchaungell, *anno regni domine Elizabeth, regne undecimo finien. and duodecimo incipien.* by the handes of the tellours there, viz. of Richarde Stoneley, by virtue of a privie seale, dated xvijth die Novembr. *anno duodecimo regne predictæ*, - - - - - cc^{li}

Richarde Smith, m^{li} (1000l.) Richarde Candler, d^{li} the saide Richard Stoneley, d^{li} in full paymente of a privie seale, dated xxvijth Novembre, *anno xij^{mo} regne predictæ*, brought to thandes of the said accomptaunte by John Harte als Chester, - - - m. m^{li}

The saide Richarde Stoneley aswell by a dormaunte privie seale, dated xxiiijth Novembre, *anno predictæ*, as by warraunte under thandes of sixe of the quenes majesties moste honourable privie counsaill, dated vjth December 1569, delivered to thandes of the said accomptaunte by Peter Yorke, - - - D^{li}

The saide Richarde Stoneley, by thandes of Edward Eglington, by vertue of one privie seale, dated xixth die December 1569, - - - x. m^{li}

The saide Richarde Stoneley, by thandes of the afore-
 said John Harte als Chester, by privie seale, dated
 xiiijth January, *anno undecimo regne predictæ*, - vj^mli
 In all receaved as aforesaid, as by certificate under
 thande of Roberte Petre, clerk of the Peale ap-
 perithe, - - - - - xviiij^m dcc^{li}
£18,700

*Valentine Browne, Esquire, Treasurer of
 Barwicke.*

Also, the said accomptaunte chargeth himself with mo-
 ney by him receaved, and had in preste of the saide
 treasurer of Barwicke, viz. at one tyme by thandes
 of sir Thomas Gargrave, knight, m.m^{li} and at one
 other tyme by thandes of the said treasurer ccc^cxxvj^{li}
 xiiij^s ij^d towards the defraye of the chardges of the
 said armye, as by certificate of the said treasurer
 dothe appere, - - - - - m.m. ccc^c xxvj^{li} xiiij^s ij^d

Some of the receipt aforesaide, - - - - - xxj^m cxxvj^{li} xiiij^s ij^d

The said accomptaunte is allowed for, the righte ho-
 norable Thomas, erle of Sussex, lieutenaunte generall
 of the northe parties for the interteignemente after
 cs per diem, according to a rate prescribed the quenes
 majestie for the wages of the lieutenaunts and other
 principall officers of the armye, certified to the said
 accomptaunte by lettres under thandes of her ma-
 jesties moste honorable privie counsaill, dated at
 Windesor the xxvijth of December 1569, viz. for this
 said entertaingemente for lxxij dayes, begininge the
 xvjth of Novembre 1569, and ending the xxvjth of Ja-
 nuary following, as by the said warraunte and the
 acquittances doth appere, - - - - - ccccxxij^{li}

Sir George Bowes, knight, marshall of the said armye,
 his more wages at xx^s per diem, and his under mar-
 shall at vj^s viij^d per diem, for xliij dayes beg. the

xiiijth of Decembre, and ending the xxvjth of January following, by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenaunte, dated xxixth die Januarii, anno dom. Elizabeth reg. whereby the said counsaile and warraunte there was appointed x^s wages, per diem for the lorde marshall, his one persone, and provoste marshall vj^s viij^d per diem, as by the saide warraunte subscribed by Thomas Bamborough, muster master of the said army dothe appere, - - - - - lviiij^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d

The righte honorable sir Raphe Sadler, knighte, one of the quenes majesties most honorable privie counsaile, assistaunte to the lord lieutenaunte, and also having chardge of the treasure by ordre from the quenes majestie, as apperith by the counsaills warraunte aforesaid for his entertaingement after xx^s per diem, for lxxix dayes, beginning the xviiijth of Novembre, and ending the fourthe of February 1569-70. - lxxix^{li}

The righte honorable Henry, lorde Hundsdon, generall of the horsmen for his one wages at xx^s per diem, and his lieutenaunte at x^s per diem, by vertue of the counsaills warraunte aforesaid, and for the wages of xxxvj lighte horsmen at xvj^d per diem the pece, by warraunte of the said lord lieutenaunte, dated the xviiijth of January, duodecimo Elizabeth reg. for the wages aforesaid for xxxj dayes, beginninge the xxv. of Novembre, and ending the xxvth of Decembre followinge 1569, as by the saide warraunte and there acquitaunces dothe appere, - - - - - cxx^{li} xviiij^s

The righte honorable Edwarde, erle of Rutlande, coronaiill, or lywetenante of the footemen for his wages at xx^s per diem, according to the tenure of the counsaills lettre aforesaide for xxviiij dayes, beginninge the xxvth of Novembre, and ending the xxiijth of Decembre following, as by warraunte of the said lord lieutenaunte and his acquittaunce apperithe, - xxviiij^{li}

Humfrey Barwicke, master of thordinaunce for his wages at x^s per diem, accordinge to the saide counsells

warr. for xxxix dayes, begining the xxth of Novembre, and ending the xxvijth of Decembre, as by a warraunte amongst other wages and chardges directed from the lorde lyvetenante, dated the xvijth of January, *anno predictæ*, and his acquitaunce amongst other aperithe, - - - - - xix^{li} x^s

Thintertegnmente and Wages of the Lorde Lyvetenante and other hed officers of the Armye, viz. To

Thomas Bamboroughe, lieutenaunte major of tharmye, for his wages accordinge to the counsaills lettre aforesaide at v^s per diem, for xxxij dayes, begining the xxth of Novembre, and ending the xxvjth of Decembre, as by warraunte and acquittaunce doth appere, viij^{li}

Thomas Bamboroughe, mustr. Mr of the said armye, for his wages according to the counsaills lettres aforesaid, at x^s per diem, and by warraunte of the lord lyvetenaunie for the wages of one clarke at ij^s per diem, and for iiij horsmen, at xvj^d per diem the pece for lxx daies, begining the xvijth of Novembre, and ending the xxvith of January followinge, as by the said warrante and acquittance doth appeare, lx^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d

Nicholas Avington Scowte Mr for his wages, according to the counsaillies warraunte aforesaid, at iiij^s per diem, and by warraunte from the lord lieutenaunte, for wages of twoo lighte horsmen, at xj^d per diem the pece for xxxij dayes, begining the xxvjth of Novembre, and ending the xxvijth of Decembre followinge, as by warr. and acquittance doth apperith, x^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d

Willm. Cavell. surveyor of the victuells, for his wages, at vj^s viij^d per diem, according to the counsaills lettre aforesaid for xiiij dayes, which in the tyme of this accompte, as by a warraunte annexed to a booke of victuallinge hereafter apperithe, - - - - - iiij^{li} vj^s viiiij

Christofer Repton, carriage master, or comissary of the carriages for tharmye, for his wages according to the saide counsaills lettre, at iiij^s per diem for xxvij dayes, begining the vjth of Decembre, and ending the first of January followinge as by warraunte annexed to a booke of particular chardges, touching the carriages herafter mencioned doth appere, - - - cviiij^s

Leonarde Knappe, Henrye Barton, and Morgan Nugente, corporalls of the saide armye, for their severall fees, at iiij^s the pece per diem, viz. the said Knappe for xiiij dayes, begining the xxjth of Novembre, and the saide Barton and Neugente for xxvij dayes, begining the xxjst of Novembre, and ending the xxijth of Decembre 1569, as by two warraunts of the said lorde lyevenaunte and acquittance apperithe, xvli xij^s

Sir Oswalde Molstrappe, knighte, capten of ciiij^{xx} vj (186) horsmen, for his owne wages, at xij per diem, his lyvenaunte vj^s. standard bearer iiij^s. and ciiij^{xx} vj lightehorsemen, enteringe in paye at sewerall tymes, at xvj^d per diem the pece, begining the xvijth of Novembre, and ending the xxvijth of Decembre following 1569. (The broken payes defaulted and allowed,) as by one warraunt of the lorde lieutenaunte, and subscribed with the muster Mr. together with his acquittance apperithe, - - - cccxxxiij^{li} ij^s viij^d

Sir Willm. Inglebye, knighte, capten of ccxlvij horsmen, for his one wages at xij^s. lieutenante vj^s. standard bearer iiij^s. and ccxlvij lightehorsmen, entered in paye at sewerall tymes at xvj^d per diem the pece, begining the saide xvijth of Novembre, and ending the said xxvijth of Decembre followinge, (the broken paye defaulted and allowed,) as by one warraunte and acquittaunce appearithe, - - - ccccxliij^{li} v^s iiij^d

John Vaughane, esquire, capten of ccxlvij horsmen, for his one wages, at xij^s. lieutenaunte vj^s. standerd bearer iiij^s. one trompeter ij^s. and ccxlvij lighte horsmen, enteringe paye at sewerall tymes, at xvj^d the

pece per diem, begining and ending as before, as
by one warraunte and acquittaunce apperithe, (the
broken payes defaulted,) - - - - dxxijⁱⁱ

John Wilstroppe, capten of l. lightehorsmen, appoint-
ed to lye upon the borders in the middle marches,
for his one wages, at iij^s per diem, and his said hors-
men at xvj^d the pece per diem for xxj dayes, be-
gininge the xxvijth of Decembre, and ending the
xvijth of January followinge 1569-70, as by one war-
raunt, and his acquittaunce appearithe, - - lxxijⁱⁱ iij^s

Sir John Foster, knighte, lorde warden of the midle
marches, anempste Scotlande for thinterteignement of
captens, officers, and such nombre of lightehorsmen
as followethe with power; levied by vertue of the
quenes majeties warraunte to him directed, dated at
Windesore castell the xxvjth of Novembre 1569, viz.
for the wages of tenne captens, at vj^s per diem the
pece, x lieutenants at iij^s per diem the pece, iijj
standerd bearers at xvij^d per diem the pece, one
trompeter at xvj^d per diem, and m.clxxij lighte hors-
men at xij^d per diem the pece for xv dayes, begininge
the xth of Decembre 1569, and ending the the xxiiijth
of the same, by warraunte of the lorde lyeutenaunte,
dated xxvijth Januarii, anno predictae, together with
his acquittaunce, - - - - - dcccclijⁱⁱ xv^s

The saide sir John Foster, knighte, capten of c lighte-
horsmen, his one wages vj^s. lyeutenante iij^s. standerd
bearer xvij^d. one trompeter xvj^d. and one hundreth
lightehorsmen at xij^d per diem the pece for xvij
dayes, begininge the xxiiijth of Decembre, and end-
inge the xjth of January 1569-70, and then dischargd
as by one warraunte, and his acquittance apperithe, cⁱⁱ xiiij^s

Thomas Cecill, esquire, capten of ccclxxij lighthors-
men, beinge of the bande attending upon the lieu-
tenaunte his persone, for his wages at xvij^s per diem,
his lieutenante at ix^s per diem, standerd bearer iijj^s
vj^d. trompeters iij^s. and vj^d. of his servaunts at xvi^d

per diem the pece for xxv dayes, begininge the
xxvth of Novembre, and ending the xxixth of De-
cembre 1569, and for the wages of his said lighthors-
men at xvj^d per diem the pece, entring into service
at sewerall dayes, and ending the said xxixth of De-
cembre, as by one warraunte, and sewerall acquit-
aunces dothe appere, - - - - - dcccclxx^{li} vj^s ij^d

Sir John Constable, knighte, for service of himself and
xl lightehorsmen, from the xvijth of Novembre, un-
til the viijth of Decembre, contaning xix dayes for the
which he demaundeth, - - - - - ij^{li}

Wages of Lighthorsmen, To

The lorde Darcy, for service of himself and xv lighte-
horsmen, from the vijth of Decembre 1569, untill the
xxixth of the same, containinge xxj dayes, for the
which he demaundethe in allowance, - - - ij^{li}

John Leighton, esquire, havinge the chardge of ciij^{xx}
lightehorsmen attending upon the said lorde lieuten-
aunte, his persone, after the going awaye of the saide
—— Thomas Cecill, esquire, formerly havinge the
chardge of the said bande, for there wages at xvj^d
per diem the pece, begininge the xxxth of Decembre,
and endinge the xxvith of January followinge 1569-70.
as by one warraunte and acquittaunce appearithe, iiij^{xx} xix^{li} xij^s viij^d

John Ward, capten of fiftie lighthorsmen, for his one
wages at iij^s. one guidon at xvij^d, and his saide hors-
men at xvj^d the pece per diem for the side xxvij
dayes, begininge and ending as before, as by one
warraunte and acquittaunce appearithe, - - - iiij^{xx} xix^{li} xij^s viij^d

Sir George Bowes, knighte, capten at one tyme of cccxi
lightehorsmen, and afterwarde havinge the chardge
but of ccvij lightehorsmen, his one wages xij^s. lieu-
tenaunte vj^s. guidon iij^s. and horsmen at xvj^d per
diem the pece for xxix dayes, begininge the xiiith of

Decembre, and ending the xjth of January followinge
 1569-70. (the broken payes defalted and allowed,) as
 by one warraunte and acquittaunce apperithe, cccciij^{xx} xij^{li} xj^s .

The same sir George Bowes, knighte, capten of lx lighte-
 horsmen, for the wages of the same lightehorsmen at
 xvj^d per diem the pece for ten dayes, begon the xijth
 of January, and ending the xxjth of the same, as by
 one warraunte and acquittaunce apperith, - xli^{li}

Reginalde Warroppe, for money by him receaved of
 sir Tomas Gargrave, knighte, to be by him delivered
 over to thandes of the lorde Scrope, warden of the
 weste marches, for preste money for v^c horsmen, to
 come presently from thence to the said lorde lieu-
 tenaunte by warraunte, dated iij^{tio} die Decembr. 1569,
 together with his acquittaunce, - - - c^{li}

Symonde Musgrave, capten of the said v^c horsmen, for
 like money by him receaved in preste by warraunte,
 dated the xiiith of Decembre, to be defaulted upon
 his further paye of his saide bande, as by the same
 warraunte and his acquittaunce doth appeare, cc^{li}

Robte Bowes, esquire, capten of v^c horsmen towards
 the frontiere of him and his bande in preste, to be
 defaulted upon his full paye, by vertue of twoo war-
 raunts, the one dated the xvth of January, and the
 other the xxixth of the same 1569-70, as by the same
 and his acquittaunce apperithe, - - - cc^{li}

Capten Neavell and capten Darington, havinge either
 of them the chardge of fitie horsmen, for the fur-
 nishinge of themselves and their bandes, to be de-
 faulted upon their farther payes by warraunte and
 there acquittaunce, - - - - - cxxxiiij^{li} vi^s viij^d

*Monny by him issued, paide, defrayed,
for wages and other chardges touch-
ing the said Armye; that is to say,
Wages of Footemen,*

Willm. Lerde Ewrye, capten of iiij^{xx} xix soldiers, himself serving without enter-teignement, his lieutenaunte at vj^s. ensign bearer xij^d. one grome, three ser-vaunts, and one surgeon at xij^d per diem the pece, and the said soldiers at viij^d the pece per diem for xxxij days, be-gininge the xxjst of Novembre, and endid the xxij^d of Decembre, and for the like wages of ciiij^{xx} iiij soldiers, at like rate for xij dayes, begininge the xjth of Decembre, and ending as before; and for xvij soldiers at like rate for x dayes, begininge the xxjst of Novembre, and endid the laste of the same, as by one warraunte, signed by the lorde lieutenaunte, dated the xxvjth of January, together with his acquitaunce apperithe, cciiij^{li} xvj^d

Sir Henrye Gate, knight, capten of foote-men, his wages at xij^s. lieutenaunte vj^s. vj officers at xij^d per diem the pece, and cij soldiers at viij^d per diem the pece for xxxvj dayes, begining the xxvth of Novembre, and ending the xxxth of Decembre followinge; and for clxxj soldiers at viij^d the pece for xxxv dayes, begininge the xxvth of Novembre, and ending as before; and for xij soldiers at like rate for ix dayes, begining the xxvjth of Novembre, and endid the iiijth of De-

cembre 1569, as by one warraunte and
acquittaunce doth appere, - - - ccclxviij^{li} xiiij^s

Sir William Babthorpe, knighte, capten of
footemen, his one wages xij^s. lieutenante
vj^s. vj officers at xij^d the pece; and
clxxvij soldiers at viij^d the pece per diem
for xxxij dayes, begining the xxjst of
Novembre, and ending the xxijth of
Decembre; for c soldiers at like rate
for xij dayes, begining the xjth of De-
cembre, and ending the xxijth of the
same; for xiiij soldiers dischardged at
like rate for xiiij dayes, begining the
xxjst of Novembre, and ending the iijth
of Decembre; for ij soldiers for xxij
dayes, ending the xijth of Decembre;
and for vj soldiers at like rate for xix
dayes, ending the ixth of Decembre 1569,
as by one warraunt and acquitaunce ap-
perithe, - - - - - cclxxviij^{li} x^s viij^d

William Hungate, esquire, capten of foote-
men, his one wages at xij^s. his lieuten-
aunte vj^s. fyve officers at xij^d the pece;
and for ciiij^{xx} xij soldiers at viij^d per
diem the pece for xxxiiij dayes, begin-
ing the xxth of Novembre, and endid
the xxiiijth of Decembre for xiiij soldiers
for xiiij dayes, begining the xxjst of No-
vembre; and for iiiij^{xx} xv soldiers for xiiij
dayes, begining the xjth of Decembre,
and endid the xxiiij^d of the same, as by
one warraunt and acquitaunce dothe
appere, - - - - - cciiij^{xx} xvj^{li} vij^s viij^d

John Herbert, capten of footemen, his one
wages viij^s. his lieutenaunte iij^s. ensinge-
bearer ij^s. sirjaunts and one grome at
xij^d per diem the pece, and for clxx

soldiors at viij^d per diem the pece, for xxxv dayes, beg. the xixth of November, and endid the xxij^d of Decembre: for lxxij soldiors, at like rate, for xv dayes, beg. the ixth of December, and endid the xxij^d of the same: for viij soldiors discharged, for xvj dayes, beg. the xixth of November; for iiij soldiors discharged, beg. as before, for xij dayes; and for xxij soldiors, for xiiij dayes, beg. the xixth of Novembre, and endid the second of Decembre, 1569, as by one warraunt acquittaunce aperith, - - - cclxxviij^{li} xvii viij^d

Thomas Farefaxe, esquire, capten of c. footemen, his one wages iiij^s. lieutenants ij^s. his ensingbearer, sirjente, and grome, at xij^d per diem the pece, for xxxij dayes, beg. the xxth of Novembre, and endid xxij^d of Decembre; and for c. soldiors at viij^d the pece, for xij dayes, beg. the xith of Dec. and endid the xxij^d of the same, as by warraunt and his acquittaunce dothe appere - - - liiiij^{li} viij^s

Richarde Tempeste, esquire, capten of footemen, his one wages viij^s. lieutenante iiij^s. and fyve officers at xij^d the pece, and xij soldiors at viij^d the pece per diem, for xix dayes, beg. the iiijth of Decembre, and endid the xxij^d of the same; and ciiij^{xx}viij soldiors for xij dayes, beg. the xjth of Dec. and endid the xxij^d of the same, 1569, by warraunt and acquittaunce - - - iiij^{xx}viij^{li} xix^s

John Constable, esquire, capten of footemen, his one wages xij^s. his lieutenaunte vj^s. vj officers at xij^d the pece, and xlj soldiors at viij^d the pece per diem, for

xxxij dayes, beg. the xxjth of Novembre,
and endid the xxij of Decembre; and
for cccxxxix soldiors for xij^d dayes, beg.
the xjth of Dec. and endid the xxij^d of
the same, 1569, as by warraunte and
acquittaunce apperithe, - - clxxvij^{li} xiiij^s viij^d

Edwarde Ellerker, esquire, capten of foote-
men, his one wages viij^s. lieutenaunt iiij^s.
v officers at xij^d the pece, and xij sol-
diors at viij^d the pece per diem, for xxxij
dayes, beg. the xxj of Novembre, and
endid the xxijth of Decembre, and for
ciiiij^{xxix} (189) soldiors for xij dayes, beg.
the xjth of Decembre, and ending the
xxij^d of the same, as by warraunte and
acquittaunce aperithe - - - cxv^{li} xij^s

Cotton Gargrave, esquire, capten, his wages
xij^s. lieutenaunte vj^s. v officers at xij^d
the pece, and for xliij soldiors at viij^d
per diem the pece, for xxxij dayes, beg.
the xxj of Novembre, and ending the
xxij of Decembre, and for ccxlv soldiors
at like rate, for xij dayes, beg. the xjth
of Decembre, and endid the xxij^d of the
same, by warraunt and acquittaunce ciiiij^{xxxi} iiij^s iiij^d

Michael Thompson, capten, for his wages
iiij^s. lieutenaunt ij^s. iiij officers at xij^d the
pece, and for lxiiij soldiors at viij^d per
diem the pece, for xxvj dayes, beg. the
xxvijth of Novembre, and end. the xxij^d
of Decembre: for xlj soldiors for xxv
dayes, beg. the xxvijth of Novembre,
and endid the xxij^d of Decembre: for
x soldiors xxij dayes, beg. the firste of
Decembre, and endid as before: for viij
soldiors for xvij dayes, beg. the vth of
Decembre; and for xxix soldiors for xij

dayes, beg. the xjth of Decembre, and
 endid as before, as by warraunt and ac-
 quittaunce apperithe - - - cxxv^{li} x^s

John Ingleby, esquire, capten, his wages
 viij^s. lieutenaunt iiij^s. iiij officers at xij^d
 the pece, and cxlv soldiors at viij^d the
 pece per diem, for xxxiiij dayes, beg.
 the xixth of Novembre, and endid the
 xxij^d of Decembre : for xxx soldiors dis-
 charged, at like rate, for xiiij dayes, endid
 the firste of Decembre ; and for iiij^sxv
 soldiors, at like rate, for xiiij dayes, beg.
 the ixth of Decembre, and endid the xxij^d
 of the same, by warraunt and acquit-
 taunce - - - ccxlviiij^{li} xvij^s iiij^d

Sir William Farefaxe, knighte, capten, for
 his wages viij^s. lieutenaunte iiij^s. v offi-
 cers at xij^d the pece, and lxij soldiors at
 viij^d the pece per diem, for xxxiiij dayes,
 beg. the xxth of Novembre, and endid
 the xxij^d of Decembre : for lxx soldiors
 for xxxij dayes, endid as before : for
 lxxviiij soldiors for vj dayes, endid as be-
 fore : for xlix soldiors for vj dayes, endid
 the xxvjth of the same : for v soldiors for
 xiiij dayes, endid the iiijth of Decembre ;
 and for twoe soldiors for xviiij dayes, beg.
 the xxj of Novembre, and endid the viij
 of Decembre, by one warraunte and ac-
 quittaunce, - - - ccxv^{li} ix^s

Sir Richarde Chalmeley, knight, capten,
 for his wages iiij^s. lieutenaunte ii^s. fyve
 officers at xij^d the pece per diem, and
 for iiij^sxij soldiors at viij^d per diem the
 pece, for viij dayes, beg. the xxist of
 Novembre, and endid the xxviiij of the

same : to him more for his wages, at xij^s.
 lieutenaunte vj^s. v officers at xij^d the
 pece ; and for ccxlv soldiors, at viij^d the
 pece per diem, for xxv dayes, beg. the
 xxixth of Novembre, and endid the xxij
 of Dec.; for xvi soldiors for xiii dayes,
 endid the xxij^d of Decembre ; and
 for xvij soldiors discharged for vj
 dayes, beg. the xxixth of November, and
 endid the iiijth of Decembre, by war-
 raunte and acquittaunce, - - cclxxij^{li} iij^s viij^d

Sir Henry Gate, knight, capten of Scar-
 borowe Castell, for the wages of xl foote-
 men, soldiors servinge there, for xxv dayes
 after, viij^d the pece per diem, beg. the
 vth of Decembre, and endid the xxixth
 of the same, by warraunte and acquit-
 taunce - - - xxxiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d

Anthony Digbye, esquire, capten, for his
 one wages xij^s. his lieutenaunte vj^s. v
 officers at xij^d the pece, and for cciiij^{xx}xj
 soldiors, at viij^d the pece per diem, for
 xxij dayes, beg. the firste of Decembre,
 and endid the xxij^d of the same ; and for
 twoe deade soldiors for xiiij dayes, endid
 the xiiijth of Decembre, by warraunte
 and acquittaunce, - - - ccxxxix^{li} xij^s viij^d

Fraunces Slingsby, esquire, capten, his
 one wages viij^s. lieutenaunte iiij^s. iiij of-
 ficers at xij^d the pece, and for cxxviij
 soldiors, at viij^d per diem the pece, for
 xxxij dayes, beg. the xxjst of Novembre,
 and endid the xxij^d of Decembre ; and
 for the wages of lxv soldiors, at viij^d the
 pece per diem, for xij dayes, beg. the
 xjth of Decembre, and endid as afore, by
 warraunte and acquittaunce - ciiij^{xx}viiij^{li} ij^s viij^d

Sir George Bowes, knight, for the wages
of a lieutenaunte at ij^s per diem, and c.
footemen at vij^d per diem the pece, for
garde of the prisoners, for xxiiij dayes,
beg. the xvijth of Dec. and endid the xth
of January, by warraunte and acquit-
taunce, - - - $iiij^{xxij} li viij^s$

Sir Thomas Gargrave, knight, by warraunt
of the lorde lieutenaunte, dated the laste
of Novembre, 1569, for the chardges of
him self and c. soldiours, appointed for
the safe keapinge of Pontefrake Castell,
and the passages at bridges at Ferrybrige,
Castelforthe brigge, Swillington brigge,
and Leedes brigge, extendinge over the
ryver of Ayre, as by the saide warraunt,
together with his acquittaunce apperithe $cxij li x^s$

Leonarde Knappe, capten of c. harquebut-
zers, his owne wages $iiij^s$. lieutenaunte
 ij^s . $iiij$ officers at xij^d the pece, and for
 $iiij^{xx} xvj$ soldiours at vij^d the pece per diem,
for xlix dayes, beg. the vth of Decembre,
and endid the xxij^d of January; and for
 $iiij$ soldiours for xxxj dayes, beg. the
xxiiij^d of Dec. and endid as before, by
warraunte and acquittaunce, - $ciiij^{xx} vi li viij^s viij^d$

John Pragell, capten of c. footemen har-
quebuzers, his one wages $iiij^s$. lieute-
naunte ij^s . one ensinge, one seriaunte, one
grome, and one surgeon, at xij^d per diem
the pece; and for lxx soldiours at vij^d
per diem the pece, for xlix dayes, beg.
the vth of Decembre, and endid the xxij^d
of January, 1569; for ij soldiours for
xxxvj dayes, beg. the xvijth of Decem-
ber; and for xxviij soldiours for xxxj
dayes, beg. the xxiiij^d of Decembre, and

endid the same xxij^d of January, as by
warraunt and acquittaunce apperithe, clxx^{li} iij^s iij^d
Nicholas Aldaie, Thomas Muffet and Tho.

Greslinge, captene every of them of c.
men, for there severall enterteignements,
at iij^s the pece, there lieutenauntes at
ij^s the pece, there ensings, seriaunts,
gromes, and surgens, every of them at
xij^d; and the saide ccc. footemen at viij^d
per diem the pece, for xj dayes, beg. the
xiiijth of January, and endid the xxiiijth
of the same, and then dischargd, cxxvj^{li}
x^s. and for the conducte monye of the
said soldiors, at xx^d the pece, xxv^{li}. as
by one warraunte and acquittaunce dothe
appere, - - - - -

clj^{li} x^s

iiijm.lxxixⁿ xvj^d

*Wages of Horsmen and Footemen, which
came from Barwicke and Theste
Marches.*

Also the saide accomptaunte is allowed, by vertue of the
lyeutenaunte, his warraunte, dated at Yorke, the xxixth
of January, 1569, the somm of m.lxxvij^{li} xiiij^s ij^d for so-
muche money by him defrayed and payed to Valentyne
Browne, esquier, treasurer of Barwicke, for wages by
him payed to horsmen and footemen, which came to
Barwicke and the Marches, for there service in the saide
armye, by the space of one monithe, begininge the xxixth
of Novembre, 1569, and endid the xxvjth of Decembre
following, viz. To

Thomas Claveringe, in preste for c. lighte
horsmen, broughte oute of theste marches,
xxv^{li}; William Hilton, likewise, in preste
for c. horsmen, x^{li}, and to William Sel-
bye, also in preste for c. horsmen, x^{li} xlv

Raphe Ellerker, capten of pistolats, and
 harquebzares with pistolates one hors-
 backe, him self at vj^s. his lieutenaunt
 iij^s. one trompeter and one guidon at ij^s
 the pece, lxj pistolatts and harquebzars
 at xvj^d the pece, and xx lighte horsmen
 at xij^d the pece per diem, for the saide
 monithe, and for xxxij of the saide pis-
 tolats, entred at Yorke for vij dayes more,
 at xvj^d the pece per diem, in all - clxv^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d

John Case, capten of lightehorsmen, his
 owne wages at vj^s. lieutenaunt iij^s. trom-
 petor and guidon at ij^s the pece, and c.
 lightehorsmen at xvj^d per diem the pece
 for the said monithe, - - cciiij^{li} xvij^s iiij^d

Capten Brickewell, capten of c. & l. sol-
 diors, his owne wages vj^s. lieutenaunte
 iii^s. ensinge, seriente, and grome at xvij^d
 the pece; and c. & l. soldiors at viij^d per
 diem the pece, for the saide monithe, clvij^{li} xvij^s

Capten Carewe, for himself, his officers,
 and c. soldiors, at like rate and tyme, cv^{li} xvij^s viij^d

Capten Vaxley, for himself, his officers,
 and c. soldiors, at like rate and tyme, cv^{li} xvij^s viij^d

Capten Barwicke, for himself, his officers,
 and iiij^{xx} soldiors, at like rate and tyme, iiij^{xx}viij^{li} v^s iiij^d

Capten Carvill, for c. soldiors at like rate,
 cv^{li} xvij^s viij^d. and for wages of the
 saide capten, his officers, and l. soldiors,
 for ix dayes more then the residewe of
 the bandes, xvij^{li} vj^s - - - cxxij^{li} xix^s ij^d

One master gonner at xx^d per diem, and
 xij other at severall rates and tymes, xxj^{li}

The clerke of thordinance and xvj limm
 and carte horses with twoe fielde peces,
 (and carts for carriage of armore and
 municion - - - - - xlix^{li} xv^s viij^d

To the lord Hunsdons man for postinge

chardges - - - - - vij^{li} vij^s vj^d

And to thtreasurer of Barwicke, for re-

wardes gyven for carriage of letters - - - - - lix^s vj^d

m.lxxvij^{li} xiiij^s ij^d

In all, paide by vertue of the saide warraunte, vouched in particularits as aforesaide, under thande of the saide Valentyne Browne.

Wages for keaping of the Towne of Newcastle.

To Thomas Gower, esquire, serving in New-

castell, his owne enterteignmente at iiij^s

per diem, and twoe lightehorsmen at

xvj^d per diem the pece, for lxj dayes, be-

ginning the laste of Octobre, and endid

the xxixth of Decembre, 1569; and for

twoe lightehorsmen at xvj^d per diem the

pece, and fowre footemen at viij^d per

diem the pece, for lvj dayes, beg. the vth

of Novembre, and endid as before, by

warraunte of the said lorde lieutenaunte,

geven at Durisme, the xijth of January.

Ann^o duodecimo dom. Elizabeth reg.

together with his acquittaunce, - - - - -

xxxvj^{li} v^s iiij^d

Sea victuellinge.

Also allowed for money paid to the mayor of

Kingston upon Hull, by warraunte of the

saide lorde lieutenaunte, dated at Yorke

xxixth January, 1569, (70) for chardges

of one shippe called the George, a Hulle,

of the burthen of c. tonnes, with l. mar-

riners and soldiors, for there wages, vic-

tuells, and other necessaries, for one

monithe, beg. the iiijth of Dec. and endid
theij of January, appointed to serve upon
the seas, by ordre of the saide lorde lieu-
tenaunte, lxxj^{li} v^s vij^d. ob. and for the
fraighte of armore and municion from
Newcastell to the saide towne, cvj^s. viij^d
as by the saide warraunte and acquit-
taunce doth appere, - - - lxxvj^{li} xij^s iij^d ob.

And also allowed for money paid to sir
Henry Gate, knight, by warraunte of the
lorde lieutenaunte, dated at Yorke xxix^o
January, 1569, (70) for so moche money by
him deburced, for victuelling, wages, and
other chardges of a smale barke of warre,
called the Ellinor, of Saltash, apointed
for service on the seas againste the rebels
in the northe, by the space of fyve weks
within the tyme of this accompte, viz.
for victuells xx^{li} ix^s ij^d. reparacion of
the saide barke, xxxij^s ix^d. for gonne
powder, x^{li} xij^s iij^d. and for the wages
of the said shippe, xxxij men and iij
boyes, which servid in the same for the
said tyme, xxiiij^{li} xij^s. as by a bill of the
particularities therof, and his acquit-
taunce apperithe, - - - lviij^{li} vij^s iij^d.
----- cxxxiiij^{li} xix^s vj^d ob.

Coate and conducte Money.

Also allowed for money paide to diverse persons for coate
and conducte money, by vertue of sondrye warrauntes
directed to the saide treasurer from the saide lorde lieu-
tenaunt, viz. to

William lorde Ewrye, for coate money of
cj. soldiors, at iij^s iij^d the pece, xvj^{li} xvj^s.

vij^d; to sir William Babthorpe, knight, for the like coate money of cc. soldiors, at like rate, xxxij^{li} vj^s vij^d; to sir Wm. Farefaxe, knt. for coate money of clxxv soldiors, at like rate, xxix^{li} iij^s iij^d; to Cotton Gargrave, for the like for x soldiors, xxxij^s iij^d; to John Constable, for xl soldiors, at like rate, vj^{li} xij^s iij^d; to Edwarde Ellerker, for xij soldiors, at the like rate, xl^s; to Frauncis Slingsbye, for coate money of cxxxv soldiors, at like rate, xxij^{li} x^s; to William Hungate, for ciij^{xx} vj soldiars at like rate, xxxi^{li}; and to John Inglebye, the like coate money of clxiiij soldiors, at like rate of iij^s iij^d the pece, xxvii^{li} vj^s vij^d; in all, by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenant, dated xxvj^o Novembre, anno xij^{mo} dom. Elizabeth reg. together with there severall acquittaunces, - -

clxx^{li} x^s

Sir Henrye Gate, K. for coate money of cth soldiers (xvj^{li} xij^s iij^d), and to John Herberte for the like for cciiij^{or} soldiers, at iij^s iij^d the pece (xxxiiij^{li}), by warraunte of the lord lieutenant, dated 28^o November, anno xij^{mo} dom. Elizabeth reg. as by the same and acquit, apperithe - -

l^{li} xij^s iij^d

Sir Richarde Cholmelye, K. for the coate money of ciij^{xx} iii soldiers at iij^s iij^d the pece, by warraunte, dated v^o December, anno xij^{mo} reg. pred. and his acquit, - -

xxx^{li} x^s

Sir John Constable, K. for money by him deburcid for the wages of cccth soldiers for thre meales conducte to Yorke out of

Holdernes, by warr. datid iijth Decem-
 ber 1569, and acquittaunce, xvth
 In all, as by the saide warraunte and ac- }
 quittaunces, apperithe - cclxvjth xiiijth iij^d

Chardges touching the great Ordinaunce,
viz. to

Humfrey Barwicke, master of thordi-
 naunce for the feilde, for his one enter-
 teignemente at x^s per diem, allowed be-
 fore in the tytle of thofficers, thre lighte
 horsmen attendinge upon the ordi-
 naunce at xvj^d per diem the pece for
 xxxix dayes, beg. the xxth of Novem-
 ber, and end. the xxviijth of Decembre;
 thre footemen attending upon the car-
 riages, at viij^d the pece per diem, and
 one clerke at ij^s per diem for xxxiij
 dayes, beg. the xx of Novembre, and
 end the xxijth of Decembre; for one
 master gonner, at ij^s per diem, for xxxj
 dayes, beg. the xxviijth of Novembre;
 one master gonners mate at xij^d per
 diem, for xxxviij dayes, endid the
 xxviijth of Decembre; twoe other gon-
 ners at viij^d per diem the pece, for xxiiij
 dayes, beg. the xxviijth of Novembre;
 for one master capenter and his man, at
 xx^d per diem, for xxviijth dayes, beg.
 the xxviijth of November; for one mas-
 ter smithe, one whealer, at xij^d per diem
 the pece, and twoe men at viij^d per diem
 the pece, for xxiiij dayes, beg. as before;
 for iij carpenters, at x^d the pece, and

viiij other carpenters at viij^d the pece,
for xij dayes, beg. the xth of Decem-
bre; and to the said Humfrey Bar-
wicke, capten of pyones, himselfe at
iiij^s per diem, and one hundrithe py-
ones, at vj^d per diem the pece, for xij
dayes, beg. the xth of Decembre, and
endid the xxjth of the same, by war-
raunte, dated xviij^o Januar. anno xij^o
dom. Elizabeth reg. - - - - - lxxiiij^o xvij^o

To the said Humfrey Barwicke for sondrye
chardges touching the saide greate or-
dinaunce, as by a book of the parcell
doth appere, paide by warraunte of the
saide lorde lieutenant, dated xxix^o Ja-
nuar. 1569 (70), annexed to the saide
booke, together with his acquit. - - - - - lxxiiij^o xvij^o

The same Humfrey Barwicke, by war-
raunte, dated iij^{to} Decembre 1569, for
conveaunce by water of armore and
munition from Kingston-upon-Hull to
Yorke, viz. to the master of the keale
lxxij^s, and to the marrynors for there
chardges iij^{li} xj^s iij^d - - - - - lxxiiij^o xvij^o

John Wildinge, master boweyer of ordi-
naunce in the northe partes, for the
chardges of bringinge by shippe of cer-
ten armore and municion from Newcas-
tell unto Kingstone-upon-Hull, and re-
torninge backe, by warrante, dated iij^{to}
Decembre 1569, - - - - - lxxiiij^o xvij^o

Chardges touching Carriages. To

Christofer Rupton, comissarye of the carriages for tharmye in the northe partes, under thordre of the saide lorde lieutenant, as well for conducte and hier of carts from sondrye places, as for wages of carters and others attending upon the same, and for wages of clerks and servaunts of the saide commissarye from the begin. of the same; carriages beg. the vjth of Decembre 1569, and endid the firste of Januarye followinge; which carriages were employed as well for carriage of armore and municion, as also for carriage of victuells and otherwise for the saide armye, as by one booke of particularities dothe appere, paide by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenant, datid at Yorke xxix^o Januar. 1569 (70), as by the same and his acquit. annexed to the said booke doth appere, over and besides cvij^s for his fee, at iiij^s per diem, for the said tyme allowed before in the tytle of cheif officers, *1077 -* ccxliij^{li} xj^s vj^d

Chardges touching Victuellinge. To

William Davill, purveyor of the victuells for the saide armye, viz. for empceion of bredde xliij^{li}, beare xviii^{li}, close cartes ix^{li} iiij^s iiij^d, lockes for the same xxij^s, and hoopes for caskes xiiij^s iiij^d—cxj^{li} xvij^s viij^d. For wastes and losses in the same empceion, viz. in bredde x^{li} viij^s, and beare xxij^{li}—xxxij^{li} viij^s. And for wages, viz. to bakers xxiiij^s, whelewrights xxvj^s, coupers xxj^s viij^d, labourers xvj^s viij^d, and twoe men attending the percons and carriages for xiiij dayes, at ij^s viii^d per diem xxxiiij^s viij^d—viiij^{li} x^s viij^d, in all, over and besides iiij^{li} vj^s viij^d, allowed to him before in the tytle of officer for his fee for the saide xiiij dayes, at vj^s viij^d per diem, cliij^{li} xvij^s iiij^d; wherof defalked for money by the said Davill rec. of the captens for part of the percons aforesaid, lxxviiij^{li} xij^s; and so loste and allowed by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenant, dated xxix^o Decembre 1569, iiij^{xx} iiij^{li} v^s iiij^d

Conducte of Treasoure, To

Sir Thomas Gargrave, knighte, for the wages of chardges of the lorde Darcy and himself, with iiij^{xx} iiij^{or} horsmen, for the safe conducting of the quenes majesties treasure from Doncaster to Yorke, by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenant, dated xj^e Decembre 1569, together with his acquit, xxvj^{li}

Matthew Usher, servaunte to the saide sir Thom. Gargrave, for the chardges of xxix horsmen and there horses, appointed for the safe conveyance of the quenes majesties treasure from Yorke to Newcastle, by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenant, dated xxix^e Januarij anno 1569 (70), and his acquit. xxij^{li} xiiij^s viij^d

Roberte Parke, servaunte to sir Raphe Sadler, knight, thresorer of tharmye, for the chardges of himself and certen horsmen, sente by ordre of the saide treasurer from Durisme to Borowebrigge, for receving of the quenes treasure broughte thether by Edwarde Aglionbye, esquire; wherof viij^m d^{li} was delivered by the saide Roberte Parke to thandes of Roberte Carre, esquire, thresorer of tharmye, levied in the southe, and xvc^{li}, the reasidewe of the saide treasure broughte from Borowebrigge aforesaide to Durisme, x^{li} vj^s viij^d

 lix^{li} xvj^d

*Postinge and ridinge Chardges with others,
by warrauntes, viz.*

- To Thomas Baylis, for carriage of lettres
from Yorke to Hull, by warraunte of the
lorde lieutenante, dated v^{to} Decembre
1569, - - - - - iiij^s vj^d
- Reginalde Warrope, for his chardges in
goinge and cominge poste with lettres to
and from the lorde Scrope, cxvj^s; and
to William Maddockes, for his chard-
ges to Hull and Ferrybrigge, and his re-
torne in post, xxvij^s iiij^d, by warraunte
of the saide lorde lieutenante, dated at
Yorke, viij^o Decembre 1569, - - - - - vij^{ll} iij^s iiij^d
- John Skaife, pursyvaunte, for his costs and
chardges for carriage and conveyenge,
as well certen poste lettres as other let-
tres, by comaundmente of the lorde
lieutenante, by warraunte, dated at
Yorke, viij^o Decembre 1569, together
with a booke of particularities, mencion-
inge his several iournies and services,
signed with thandes of Matthew Hut-
ton, deane of Yorke, and Thomas Eyn-
nes, esquire, and with his acquit, - - - - - xij^{ll} xvij^s viij^d
- Nicholas Arrington depeached with lettres
to the regente of Scotlande, for his
chardges to and from, by warraunte,
dated at Newcastle, xix^o Decembre
1569, and his acquit, - - - - - vj^{ll} xiiij^s iiij^d
- Capten Stirley, for his chardges ridinge in
poste, with lettres by ordre of the saide
thresorer, from Yorke to the courte, in
Decembre 1569, - - - - - e^s

Sir George Bowes, K. marshall of the saide armye, for the chardges of horses and men that kepte the same for the settinge of the garrysons of Barwicke one horsbacke in her majesties service in this jorney, by warraunte, dated at Durisme, v^{to} Januar. 1569, together with his acquit. - -

xij^{li} xiiij^s vj^d

Sir Henry Gate, K. in preste towards his jorney sente into Scotlande by the quenes majesties one appointment to be defaulked upon suche enterteigment as shall be allowed him by her majestie for that jorney, by warraunte, dated at Durisme, x^{mo} Januar. 1569, and his acquit. - - -

Pⁱ

Gregory Burgoyes, surgeon, and his twoe men, attendinge upon all the horsmen, for there wages, at v^s per diem, for xl dayes, beg. the xijth of Decembre 1569, and ending the xxth of January followinge, by warraunte, dated at Durisme, xxj^o die Januar. and his acquittance, -

xⁱⁱ

George Frevell, gent. servaunte to the lorde lieutenant, for his sondrye chardges, viz. sente by the saide lorde lieutenant in poste, with lettres to the quenes majestie, and diverse tymes in message totherles of Northumberlande and Westmorelande, upon receipte of lettres from her highnes; and to the bushoppe of Durisme, for conferaunce of matters touching her majesties service, and sondrye tymes with lettres and messages to the erle of Warwicke and the lorde admirall, for supplye of men to have ben sente to Yorke; and also, for conveyinge of certen dagges and pistolatts,

wherin he hath defrayed, for his post-
 inge chardges in theise several jorneyes,
 the some of xl^{li}, paid unto him by war-
 raunte of the said lorde lieutenante, da-
 ted at Yorke, the xxviiijth of January
 1569, as by the saide warraunte, toge-
 ther with his acquittance, mencioninge
 receipte of the saide some, apperithe xl^{li}

 clxxiiij^{li} xiiij^s .iiij^d

Moneye delivered in preste.

And also, the saide accomptaunte is allowed forsomuche
 money of the quenes majesties treasure, being parcell
 of his saide chardge, as the same, by ordre from her
 majestie, hath delivered in preste by thandes of Ro-
 berte Parke, his clerke, to thandes of Roberte Carre,
 esquire, treasurer of her majesties armye, levied in
 the southe, for defraye and paymente of the saide ar-
 mye, as by thacquit. of the said Roberte Carre, dated
 at Burrowebrigge, tertio die Januarij 1569, and anno
 xij^{mo} dom. Elizabeth reg. mencioninge the receipte of
 eighte thousande and fyve hundrethe poundes here,
 upon being seen and examined, dothe appere - viij^m d^{li}

Some of all the saide payments and allowances, xx^m dccl^{li} viij^s vij^d ob.

And so remayneth in thandes of the said accom-
 taunte, - - - ccclxxvj^{li} iiij^s vj^d ob.

Wherof, allowed to the saide accomptaunte, by ordre of the lorde thresorer and chauncellor, upon the declaracion of this accompte, viz. for the wages of fortye horsmen of his owne servautes, at xvj^d per diem the pece, for lxxix dayes, begone the xvijth of November, and end. the iiijth of February 1569, ccxlⁱⁱ xiiij^s iiij^d; for iiij horses and twoe men, for cariage of treasoure from Newcastle to Exhame and backe againe to Newcastle for ix dayes, xxxvj^s; for twoe carriages from Durhame to Yorke, for iiij dayes after discharge of the comissarye of the carriages, xxxij^s; for the wages of x partizens, attendinge upon the treasurer, at viij^d per diem the pece, for lxiiij dayes, begininge the xxiiijth of Novembre 1569, and ending the xxvjth of Januarye followinge, which was the daye of his retorne to Yorke, xxjⁱⁱ vj^s viij^d; for wages of twoe clerkes, for the saide lxxix dayes, at ij^s the pece per diem, xvⁱⁱ xvj^s; for chests, bagges, and other necessities occupied in the saide treasurer's office for the saide tyme, xⁱⁱ; and for the chardges of his clerks and servautes, attending the makinge, declaracion, and ingrossinge of this accompte, xiiijⁱⁱ vj^s viij^d; amountinge in all to cclxxiiijⁱⁱ x^s viij^d. And so yet remaynith in thandes of the saide accomptaunte cjⁱⁱ xiiij^s x^d ob.; which some of one hundrethe one pounce thirtene shillings tenne pence and one haulte pennye, the said accomptaunte hath paid into the receipte of theschequire the thirde daye of Marche anno duodecimo dom. Elizabeth reg. as by one tallye therof dothe appere.

And so then the saide accomptaunte from this his saide accompte is clerely dischargd and quyte.

WHINCHESTER,
WA. MILDMAVE.

Ex. per JOHEN HAMBY, Auditorem.

APPENDIX
TO
SADLER'S LETTERS
CONCERNING THE
NORTHERN INSURRECTION.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

ROLL of ATTAINDERS of such REBELS as were forfeited
for the Northern Insurrection, 1569-70.

In a Booke in the custody of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, conteyning the Survey of the Lands of such Rebels as tooke parte with therles of Northumberland and Westmerland.--(Dodsworth, Vol. 49, f. 55. Bodleian Lib^y. Oxon.)

TERRÆ Caroli Nevill Comitis Westmerl.

Castrum et Ma. de Sherife Hoton Co. Ebor.

Terræ H. Percy Comitis Northumbrie.

Terræ Leonardi Dacre.

Maner de West Herlesay Co. Ebor.

Summa Antiq. Valor, xxviii*l.* viiis. iii ob.

Maner de East Herlesay. summa. vi solid. et ii obol.

Maner de Dalston, viii*l.* xix*s.* viii ob. concess. inter alia per literas pat. Henrico Dno. Hunsdon.

Reddit in East Runc-ton, iii*l.* 0*s.* iii obol. in reversione p. mort.

Elize Brandon modo ux: Christoferi Nevell ar: confiscat. ut infra dict.

Reddit. in Middleton, *iiii℥ viis. vii obol.* de claro in revert. p. mort. Elize Brandon prædicte.

Maneriam de Kirby Knowle.

Reddit. annual. ex Castro de Upsall de antiquo, *xxvis. viii obol.*

Reddit. ad voluntat. in Appelby, *viii sol. concess. H. Dno. Hunsdon.*

Northumb. Maner de Newsham in Huntloe redd *viii℥. iiiis. viii ob.*

Maner de Howick et Wollore, *viii℥.* in reversione p. mort. Elize Brandon. p. indran. Jac. Straungways, ar. dat. 6 Jul. 2 A^o Ed. 6.

Ebor. Terræ Nicholai Norton attinct.

Maner de Norton Conyers et Maner de Norton Salley in Co. Ebor. val. *ix℥. iiis. viii ob.*

Maner de Cr...ston redd. *xii℥. vs. viiid.* concess. Thome et Wilhelmo Norton pro vitis. (idem Thomas attinct. pro alta prodicione,) ut patet carta. 20 Octi. 36, H. 8.

Christofer Stott fil. Will. Stott attincti. ten. un. maner. in Rippon.

Terræ Ricardi Norton Ar. attincti.

Maner de Rilston, val. *lxxiiii℥. xvs. vii ob.* in dominio et reddit.

Maner de Hitton (vel Hiltone) *iiii℥. iiis.*

Maner de Threshfield, *xxxiiii℥. xixs. v ob.*

Maner de Lynton, *xxiii℥. viis. ob.* et reddit ilm *xliiis. iii ob.*

Reddit Terr. in Snitall, *iiii℥. vid.*

Maner de Hertford. *xlvi℥. xivs. iv obol.*

Reddit in Westhall in Appleton, *xiii℥. vis. viiid.*

Medictas Maner. de Westhall prædicte concess. Wilto Norton pr. cartam Johis Norton patris prædicte Ries Norton, dat. 30. H. 8.

Terræ Henrici Johnson.

Tenent. in Walton. med. maner. de Leathley, *xxiii℥. iiis.*

Maner. de Farnley, *viii℥.*

Terræ Johis Fulthorpe.

Maner. de Thurkleby, val. *xxiii℥. xs. viiid.*

Cap. maner et tree dnical. Willi. Fulthorpe pris. prædicte Johis
in reversione.

Terræ Walter Pasleur An.

Maner de Harden in Bingley, val. xlvi*l.* v*s.* viii*d.*

Terr. Simonis Digby attinet.

Bedole Man. Scilt mediet. lxx*l.* ix*s.* iiiii*d.*

Aiscough Kipling et Melsanbye membra maner prædicte.

Terr. Johis Gower Ar.

Reddit in Lounwath infr. vel. de Richmond, xx*l.* vi*s.* 0*d.*

Reddit. tenen. in Huddeswell, xlix*l.* iiiii*d.*

Reddit in Bardon, vi*l.* viii*s.* iiiii*d.*

Scitus Monaster. Scæ. Agathæ val. xl*l.*

Reddit tenen. in Darlington in Epal. Dunolm xx*l.*

Terr. Thome Markinfield, attinet.

Tenen. Maner de Romanby, val. xlii*l.* xvii*s.* viii*d.*

Maner de Eriholme, xli*l.* vii*s.* viii*d.*

Reddit in Unthanke infra Parochiam de Romalldkirke, Com.

Ebor. xxvi*l.* viii*d.*

Terr. in Ellerton et Bolton, x*s.* v*d.*

Maner de Carleton Numjot, xi*s.* vi*d.*

Reddit in Sand holon. xx*s.* ii*d.*

Redd. in Holme, lxx*l.* iiiii*d.*

Scitus Monaster. de Markington ten. p. Willm Markinfield, xiii*l.*
iiii*s.*

Item Robt. Markinfield ten. 1 tentum in Dalbanke, p. cart.

Thome Markenfield sen. dat 3 Aug. 30 H. 8.

Reddit in Bp. Munkton, iiiii solid.

in Wallingthwayt, lxxii*l.* xi*d.*

in Thorpe (sed quere ita) xvi*s.* viii*d.*

in Bondgate, infra Rippon, iii*l.* xx*d.*; in Westgate, ibm.

xx*s.* viii*d.*; in foro equor. ibm. Suma reddit in Rip-

pon, vi*l.* xiv*s.* i*d.*

in Winkesley, vi*l.* vii*d.*

Reddit in Grantley, lii solid.

in Scruton, xiiii*l.* viis. viii*d.*

Scitus Manem. de Markenfield, xviii*l.* xiiis.

N. B. Markenfield is near Rippon. I believe at present the property of Norton, Lord Grantley.

Terræ Thome Bishop, atineti.

Redd. liberor. tenen. in Pocklington cum membres clar. per ann.

xxxx. v. vi.

Terr. Leonardi Metcalfe.

Redd. Maner de Kirby, Mallom dale, vi*l.* iiis. ii*d.*

Redd. Maner de Hanlethe, viis. ix*d.*

Redd. in Gargrave, xviiis.

Redd. Customar Tenen. in Oulcotes, lxxs.

Redd. in Howkenuke in Littondale, lxxviii*s.*

Redd. in Arncliffe, lxvi*s.*

Redd. tenen. in Bers Parke in Paroch. de ... *ar.* by

Redd. terr. in ... arrgby, liis. viii*d.*

Terr. Johis Cooper.

Redd. ten. in ... lkswicke infra Paroch. de Harwood, ita l*lg.* vid.

Redd. tenen. in Woodhall in Flemingbrough Cli....]

Terr. Johis Saltmersh jure ux. Scilt firma et arum ptium scitus mansional de. Redness in tres dions.

Terr. Robt. Hughington.

Redd. vi solid. ita.

Terr. Christoferi Nevill, ar. jure ux. ut dos sua redd. tenen. ad volunt. in Hippleswell, xvi*l.* vs. vid.

Tuma ten. dnical. et al tenen. ibm. xix*l.* iiis. vid.

Redd. in Langmires et Walwith ubi Elgidius Fulthorpe, sen. ten. totam firm ad tum, xxx annos. p. cart. Joh. Fulthorpe, etat 21, die Apr. 1 et 2, Ph. et Mar. xxvi*l.* xiiis. iii*d.*

Summa tuam de Langmires et Hippleswell, lxiii*l.* iiis. iii*d.* de quibz in annuit. Christoferi et Simonis Fulthorpe sibi con-

cess. p. termino vite p' ult. voluntat. Johis Fulthorp prius sui excun. de turis in Walwith, vi l. viii s. iiiid.

Item in annuit. Jacobi et Francisca Fulthorpe, sibi concess. p. lumino vite ex certa piella las et ten. in Hipperwell, p. ult. voluntat. Johis Fulthorpe pris sui pr. ann. ii l.

Reddit Maner de Huddeswell Com Ebor pertin. Christofero Nevil dur. vita, Annæ ux suæ quondam, ux. Franci Wandisforth ar. xviii l. ix s. viii d.

Redd. in Barton, xxxix s.

Redd. in Heaber in Com. Westmorel. vii l. xv s. iiiid.

Redd. Maner de L....tans in Hippleswell, Co. Ebor respond. annuatim psato Christofero Nevell. *ita.*

Christopheri Nevil, tenet tot maner de Es Haslerton ut doten, Anne modo ux. sue per Francum Wandesforth nuper mantum suum val. xxix l. de claro.

Deam anna ten maner de East Hutton ad valor, *ita.*

Terr. Thomæ Hussey qui indictat fuit at non attinet.

Maner de Siggistone, xxxi l. vis. viii d. Rectuis Falkingham.

Thomas Walkingham, ten. præmiss. ad vitan reddend. Thome Hussey, fil. Dnæ Janæ ux is pdci. Thome Walkingham.

Maner de Carleton Mynigot, val. xix s. vid.

Thomas Burnet, ten. un tent. p. xxv. annis p. Indram.

Fn. Nevill et Eliz. ux. dat. 5 Aug. 4 Regine Elize.

Maner de Northall, in Leedes, xx l.

Maner de Sandhutton, val. xxxviii s.

Redd. in Thormanby, lxvi s.

Redd. in Egilby, xxviii s.

Terr. Christoferi Danby, jun. in jure ux. Margte.

3^a p^a ma. de Beeston, vii l. viii s. vid.

Redd. ten. in Whorwell, iii l. xiii s. viiid.

Terr. Cuthbt. Wytham.

Redd. tenen in Brettonby in Parvel de Barton, et cap. mess.

voc. Brettonbyhall, in tenura Dorothee ux. Cuthbt. Wythan,
xxxiii *l.* iii *s.* viii *d.*

Terr. Anthonie Wellerby, in jure ux. un filiar. et cohered. Anne, matres
ejus un. fil. et cohered. Thome Tempese imtites.

Redd. tenen in Tunston, ix *l.* vii *s.* ix *d.*

Terr. Christoferi Lockwood.

Redd. maner de East Newsam, xlii *s.* ii *d.*

Terr. Michaelis Tempest, attinet.

Redd. in Broughton, viii *l.* iii *s.*

Tuma cap. ma. de Broughton, q. Wills Dns. Eure ten. vo. Great
Broughton et Grenehow, in Cleveland reddend, xx *l.*

Redd. in Kirkby, xls. Dorothea ux dei Michaelis, 7 Eliz. *ita.*

Redd. in Carleton, xls.

Terræ Johis Swinburne, ar. attineti.

Dunolm.

Maner et cap. mess. de Chopwell in Essat Dunolm, lv *l.* xiii *s.* iii *d.*

Redd. in Bameton peell mansi pdie. xliiii. iii. *ita*, no *l.* or *s.*

Redd. in Oggle Barbye, (Uggil Barnaby,) Co. Ebor. nuper deo
Johi Swinburn in revert. concess. p. mort. Christoferi Ebring-
ton, xlv *l.* xvii *s.* iii *d.*

Northumbr.

Redd. in Corbrigg, infr. Baromani de Bywell, xlix *s.* viii *d.*

Redd. in Newton, infra Baromani, p. dean, xxii *s.*

Redd. in Wolly, infra Baromani, p. dean, xlvi *s.* viii *d.*

Redd. in Steddall, infra Baromani, p. dean, lii *l.* ix *s.* iv *d.*

Redd. in Aperley et Elmley, infra Baromani, p. dean, lxx *s.*

Redd. in Duxfield, infra Baromani, p. dean, xv *s.* viii *d.*

Redd. in Black Hedley, infra Baromani, p. dean, lx *s.*

Redd. in Exham, (Uxham,) x *s.*

Maner de Ellingham, Com. Northumb. xxxvii *l.* vi *s.*

Terr. Robt. Claxton, attinet in Essat. Dunolm.

Redd. in Knycheley, vi *l.*

Redd. in Preston, supra Skerne, vii *l.* ii *s.*

Redd. in Heworthe, *xxs.*

Redd. in Westhall, p. mort. Elize Claxton, p. indrain. dat. C.
Eliz. *ixs. iiii d.*

Redd. in Old Durham, *lxiii l. iiii d.*

Johes Robson ten. duo ten. infra Essat. in West Morton Paroch.
de Seggefield p. tum *xxi. annor. p. indrar. Elize Claxton, 25*
Nov. 5 Elize.

Redd. in Castle Eden, *lxx l. iiiis. viii d.*

Redd. in Quicham, (Whickham,) *iiiis.*

Redd. ten. dnical. in Auckland Sci. Andreae, *xx l. xs.*

Ma. et dniun. de le Oulde Parke. *ita.*

N. B. Old Park (Parish of St Andr^e. Aukl.) was Claxton's residence.

Terræ Cuthbti. Nevill.

Reddit in Willington in Essat, *xv l. vis. viii d.*

N. B. Willington, an old manorial possession of the Nevills. Lady Adeline Nevill left property there, after the forfeiture of the earl, to the Manners' family.

Terr. Anthonii Hebborne, attineti.

Tum. cap. maner de Herdwyk, in paroch. de Segefield in Essat.
xl l. ix s. iiii d.

[Hardwick was granted to Sir George Frevile, knight, of Staffordshire, for his services in suppressing the rebellion. The old estate is now worth 800*l.* a-year.]

Redd. in Hurworth, *xi l. vis. viii d.*

Redd. tenen. in Shotton, *xi l. de quibus in anmulat. Willi et Robt. Hebborne, sibi concess. p. ult. voluntat. Rici Hebborne p. ris. sui exeun. de oils tris suis in Herdwyke, Maynse forth, Huton et Middleham, v l. vi s. viii d.*

Redd. in Huton, *vis.*

Redd. in Midlam——per mans. Ballie Epi ibm. *ita.*

Redd. in Maynesforthe, *xiv l. xs viii d. de antiquo.*

Terræ Willi Smith, fil. Cuthberti Smith in jure Margarete ux. ejus infra
Essat.

Maner de Nun Slainton de claro, *xlix l.* (650*l.* a-year, 1807.)

Redd. in Walworth, *xvii l. vii s. iii d.*

Redd. in Woodham, *xl.*

Redd. in Burdon in Essat, *vi l. vii s. vi d.*

Redd. in Ushwash (Ushaw) in Essat, *iiii l. ii s. ii d.*

Redd. in Hugh Ash in Essat, *xviii s. viii d.*

Redd. in Harrington et Offerton, *vl. vs. viii d.* de quibus in annuitat. Elize Norton vid. annis fil. et hered. Anthonie Ashe. *lxvs. viii d.* imppuum. Item pro annuitat Oliveri Ashe fatui p. vita p. ult. voluntat. Anthonie Ashe p. ris sui *xl s.*

The Smiths property was probably only forfeited during the life of William Smith. George, son of Margaret, had livery, temp. Jac.; and most of the estates here recorded have descended to Sir Edward Smythe, now of Eshe or Ashe, Co. Pal. and of Acton Burnell, Co. Salop, baronet.

The lands of Lambert, Trollop, and Conyers, also appear to have been restored, since the heirs were all seized of them even in the time of Elizabeth.

Terr. Robt. Lambert in Essat, attinet.

Ten. in Stockton in Essat, *lx l. ii s. iii d.*

Redd. in Seton Carrowe, *liii s. iii d.*

Redd. tēn. in SOSETT, *xxiiii l. ii s. iii d.*

Redd. in Pva Benton, Com. Northumbr. *xix s. viii d.*

Redd. Joh. Headlam et Elize ux. in Leventhorpe, Com. Ebor. p. *xxi. ann. xls.*

Redd. in Marshe, *xxx s.*

Redd. in Lasingby, *xl s.*

Terræ Johis Trollop in Essat.

Maner de Thornley, *xl.* (now 700*l.* a-year.)

Pva Eden, *xiii l. vi s. viii d.* manum. (500*l.* a-year, 1807.)

Redd. in Mooreden, (hodie Mordon,) *vii l. iii s. iii d.*

Joh. Trollop, jun. ten. un tentu et vi lovat. concess. p. Johen.
prem.

Terr. Radi Conyers, in Layton in Essat.

N. B. S^r Cuthbert, son of this Ralph, was sheriff of Durham many years under Elizabeth.

Tuma cap. mansion ac ten. dnical. in Layton, iiiil.

Maner de Elleton, vi l. xiiis. iiiid.

Redd. in Seggefield, xs.

Layton is now 700 a-year; Elton, Conyers's share, 600 l. a-year.

Terr. Briam Palmes, gen. attinet.

Dunolm.

Redd. tenen. in Huntley in Esset, iiiil. viii s. vd. (Yorkshire.)

Redd. tenen. in Sutton supra Deuvent in Essat, xiiis. viii d.

N. B. Sutton is in Yorkshire.

Terr. pdei Briani juxe ux infra. Essat.

Dunolm. Redd. ten. in Nether Croston, vi s. viii d. (no such place.

Query, Throston.)

in Norton, lxvi s. viii d.

in Tunstall, vis. viii d.

in Morelaston, (Morleston,) xi l.

in Thorpthewles, xii s. vd.

Terr. Radi Conyers de Cotham (Cotham Conyers le Pal.)

Tum scitus maner cum tui dnical. de lotham, xxviii l. viii s. iiiid.

Redd. in Lang Newton, iiiil. xviii s.

Redd. annuat. solut. dne regine ten. ut de manie de Barnerds

Castell nuper in tenur. Car. Com. Westm. iv l. iiiis. viii d.

Redd. in Ayleton (Elton,) unde in ammutat. Edri et Johis Conyers p. tum vite p. ult. voluntat. Roth Conyers pris Radi Conyers, iiiil. iiiis. viii d.

In annuitat. Will. Conyers per ult. voluntat. Roth. pdei, vi l. xiiis. iiiid.

It does not appear that Cotham Conyers, or any of the other lands,

were long retained by the crown, if at all. The titled deeds (*qu. in-spexi*) afford no proof of any forfeiture or restitution.

Terr. Cuthberti Storey attinet.

Redd. tenen in Darneton, (*Darlington*), *xl l. vis.*

Redd. liber tenen in Gatesyde, *viii l. vis. x d.*

Remained to the heir, as appears,—*Fras.* Storey appears seized, *temp. Jac.*

Terr. Edri Darne. In Dacre.

Redd. tenen. in Byars Parke in Essat, *vis. iiid.*

in *Hartleyborne*.

Cumbrie redd. in Kirk Oswald et Croglyn, *xi l. xs.*

Terr. Edri Dacre adhuc.

Ebor. ma. de Haughton Magna, *xxxviii l. ii obol.*

Ten. in Moorton sup. Swale, *xxvis. viii d.*

Redd. tenen. de Pollington in Barwyke, *lxxiii s. iiid. de quibs.*

in ammutat. *Briani Hodgshon p. vita de tris in ita Pollerton*

et Mooreton pr. *Eras pat ejusd. Edri, 26 Mar. 4 Eliz.*

Terr. Johis Carnaby, ar.

Northumb.

Maner de Toggesden, *xi l. viis.*

Terr. Robt. Tempest, ar. atteneti.

Dunolm.

Maner de Holmeset, *xi l.*

Ten. in Lanchestre.

Redd. in Dunolm, *xis. iiid.*

Redd. in Kyor———(*near Lanchester.*)

Terr. Anthonii Ogle.

Northumb.

Reddit annuat. ex tris in Chapyngton ex concep. *Gr e* (*Gregory, I suppose,*) *Ogle p. cart. . . . vi l. viii d.*

William Collingwood, gent. of Bp. Auckl. held Chappyngton by demise from the Bp. of Durham, (*13 Car.*) which fell to the see, as

appears, by forfeiture of Gregory Ogle, gent. of *murder and felony attainted*. This Gregory was living about 1570-1. Notwithstanding this, his son Cuthbt. Ogle was also of Chappyngton, 11 Jac.

Gregory Ogle was seized of Chappyngton Tower not long before. Chappyngton is properly in that district which forms part of the bishopric of Durham; *vulgo*, the North Bishopric.

I do not find any of the Fenwicks mentioned; nor Sir John Neville of Seversedge; nor Musgrave; nor many others; Collingwood, &c. whose names occur in the course of the Insurrection.

It seems uncertain how far all the above were attainted, or whether only those so marked are to be considered in that light; but many of the families certainly retained their property.

Humfridiis Blakiston de Fulthorpe, is said to be attainted in the family pedigree, 1570-1. (Co. Durham.)

In a list of Justices of the Peace, et Liberi Tenentes infra Co. Ebor. 1584. 6 Aug. taken by authority, 1487, Harl. MSS. occurs,

Jac. Fulthorpe, gen. attinctur.—The only person so noted in the list.

No. II.

LETTERS

CONCERNING

THE FAMILY OF CHARLES NEVILLE,

THE FORFEITED EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

*[These interesting Letters were obligingly transcribed from the Lansdowne MS. by
Richard Surtees, Esq. of Mainsforth.]*

Dr MATTHEW HUTTON, Bishop of Durham, to Lord BURLEIGH.*

My humble dutie remembered. I understand, by a letter sent in a parcel to Mr Deane of Duresme, from the right honorable the lord chamberlaine, that her majestie hath sett downe a full resolution to remove me to Yorke; a thinge, I assure your good lordshipp, I did not desire, being verie well placed here; and also, so aged and decaied,

* Dr Matthew Hutton, "a famous and worthie prelate," as sir John Harrington calls him, was translated from Durham to York shortly after this letter was written. He died, aged eighty, in 1605. He was remarkable for venturing to preach in the Queen's Chapel on the subject of the succession; shewing, from the vision of Daniel, that the expectations of all men went northwards; "which," said he, "if it prove an error, it will be found a learned error." The queen heard this trying discussion without apparent emotion, but failed not privately to send the prelate a rebuke for his boldness.

that it is more fitt for me to thinke of my grave than anie honors in this world. Yet, because it hath pleased God to incline her majesties hart towards me, as allwaies heretofore, espetially I doubt not by your lordshipps means: I do committ myself wholly to Gods good providence, to be wholly in his disposition. I have written to sir Robert Cecyll to know your lordshipps direction, when to send up for that matter; bicause I wold be lothe either to seem to forward in haistie sending, or in protracting the time, to be thought unduetifully careles of so gracious a resolution.

I sent up, in the beginning of the terme, to sue for the pardon of the ladie *Margaret Nevill*, taken in company with Boast, the seminary priest. She lamenteth, with teares, that she hathe offended God and hir soveraigne. She is wholly reclaimed from poperie. Doctor Aubrey hathe had hir pardon drawne since the beginning of the tearme. If it come not quickly, I feare she will dye wyth sorrow. It were verie honorable for your good lordshipp to take the case of a most distressed mayden, descended, as your lordshipp knowith, of greate nobility, the house of Norfolke, the house of Westmoreland, and the house of Rutland, in memorie of man, and was but a child of five yeres ould when hir unfortunate father did enter into the rebellion; and now shee is a condemned person, having not one penny by yere to live upon since the deathe of her mother, who gave her xxxiiij^{li} vj^s viii^d a yere, forth of that ccc^{li} which her majestie did allow hir. It were well that her majestie were informed of her miserable state; she is vertuously given, humble, modest, and of verie good behaviour. Thus committing her poor estate to your lordshipps honorable and charitable consideration, I humbly take my leave. From Awkland, the xith of December 1594.

Your lordshipps bounde in Christe,

MATTH. DUNELM.

*To the right honorable my espetiall good lorde
the lord Burghley, lord treasurer of Eng-
lande.*

TOBIE MATTHEWS,* *Bishop of Durham, to Lord BURLEIGH.*

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Maie it please your good lordshipp to be advertised, that I have lately caused the lady Katherine Gray, widdow, one of Westmorelands daughters, to be apprehended by Mr John Conyers, the sheriff of this countrie, and Mr Robert Tailbois, one of the justices of peace, and have admitted her to the safe custodie of Christopher Glover, gaoler of Duresm castle, to be kept forthcoming in his privat house nighe the gaole. This ladie was many yeares sought by the late earle of Huntingdon; was detected for the receaving and releiving of sundry seminarie priests, as Stafferton, with the flesh mark in his face, (with whose too much familiaritie she hathe been "judged"† in London,) Bost, who since was executed, Mushe, and Patteson, besydes some othirs, whose names come not presently to mynde. She hath alwaies illudid the processes and messengers of the ecclesiasticall high commission, by eloyning and withdrawing herselfe hitherto from all appearance. Of late tyme, somewhat synce Martimas last, she took to farme a house and land, called Grenecroft, ‡ nighe Lanchester, in this countie, 8 myles hence, northe and by west, letten unto her by Mris Hall, a widowe conformable, and sister to Nicholas Tempests§ wife of Stella,

* Tobias Matthews was, like his predecessor, translated from Durham to York. Harrington applies to him More's commendation of Cuthbert Tunstal, his predecessor, that, "as there was no man more adorned with knowledge and good literature, no man of greater integrity for his life and manners, so there was no man a more sweet and pleasant companion." Yet the prelate's constructions, in this letter, argue a narrow spirit and want of charity.

† So Mr Surtees reads the word. It implies *censured* in reputation; as in scripture, "Judge not, lest ye be judged."

‡ Grenecroft has been, for near two centuries, the property and occasional residence of the Claverings of Axwell, county of Durham.

§ This branch of the Tempests always continued to profess the old religion. The heiress intermarried with the titular lord Widdrington; and both families are now represented by

that great recusant, where the ladie hath been coming and going ever since, and sometimes made good chere to twentie of her frendes at once, especially at Christmas : and where, if I be truly informed, there was bad rule kept, both spiritually and carnally. Within halfe a mile of that house, on this syde Lanchester, dwelleth at the manor house, one William Hodgson, an olde servant and follower of the earle, whose sonne, called John, is a speciall recusant, and is reported (but how certainly, I know not) to have married this ladie. This William Hodgson is a perilous fellow, conformable to all her majesties proceedings, and fermor to her highnes of the whole deanery of Lanchester dissolved, worth, as it is saide, some cc merkes, or better, above the yerely rent. In Lanchester towne dwellith Lancelott Hodgeson, when he is at home, but he is now in prison for recusancie ; a dangerous person, and not unlerned ; who the last yere was married, as himselfe confesseth, by an olde popish priest, but no seminarist, nor at a masse, as he allegeth, to Marie Lee, daughter to another of therles chefe old servants and officers at Brancepath, in those daies. The manor of Lanchester belonging to me, and Brancepath lordship to her majestie, by therles attaynder, doe adjoin together, and therefore, I thinke, the lady Graye did there meane, for the tyme, to sett up her rest soe nighe her fathers olde tenants ; the house itself also (standinge towards the fells, and nighe a pretty wodde) strongly built of newe, with many shifting contrivances, may yelde good opportunitie to lodge and interteyne, not only other ill guests, but, percase, thearle himselfe, *si et quatenus*. Nowe, that she is in handes, I would, from your lordship, be directed, with some expedicion, how she shall be dealte with and used ; 1. whether detayned in durance, or bayled upon good bond for her appearance from tyme to tyme ; 2. whether she shall be touched only for recusancie, or charged with any other matters that may occurre ; 3. whether, if any thinge amountinge to felonye shall arise against her, she

— Eyre of Hassop, county of Derby, the present proprietor of Stella. Nicholas Tempest, of Stella, was imprisoned for recusancy, temp. Jac.

shall be tried thereof at the next assises here, or in Northumberland, as her sister the lady Margaret was anno 1593, and by her majestie most graciously pardoned in hope of the continuance of her pretended conformitie (from which I heare she is relapsed since); 4. whether she shall be suffered to kepe house of herselfe, with some of her owne servants about her, and other friends sometymes resorting to her, as she desyreth earnestly, or lyve, as her keper shall provide for her, in a more private and close maner; 5. whether she shall be permitted to ryde abroad and take the aire, or continue within her lodging; with such other particulars as your lordship, in your wisdom, shall think fitt to impart unto me. My healthe will not yet serve me either to sende for her, or goe unto her; but at the tyme of my visitacion, about a fortnight hence, or xviii dayes, I shall take occasion to speak with her, and examine her, if your lordship, before that tyme, shall so advise me, and if God will geve me leave. The whyle, with humble thanks to your good lordship for the allowance of my impost, I betake your lordship to the grace of God. At B. Auckland, 27th Maii 1598.

Your lordships most humble in Christ,

TOBIE DURESME.

I suppose Mr Topcliff could saie much touching this ladie, if your lordship would require him earnestly.

*To the right honorable my singular good lord
the lord Burghley, lord high thresorer of
England.*

NOTE BY MR SURTEES.

"The house at Greencroft has been modernized since the above period; and I do not know that it is now remarkable for any shifting contrivances; of which, however, there are several in the county of Durham; at Binchester, which was an estate of the Nevills, is a private staircase for escape, concealed as part of the chimney, &c. The country between Lanchester and Brancepath is still comparatively wild and moorish. The manor-house, where William Hodgson lived, is probably the chief residence belonging to the impropriate deanery of Lanchester. John Hodgson is denominated, Of Manor-house, 1615; but a confusion arises between this and Welborne manor-house, near Newcastle, both held by this family; one of whom certainly was the Mr Hodgson, who is mentioned as having been turned out of Newcastle, in Robert Constable's letter, No. XXII. p. 64. Though I know nothing of the scandal between lady Catharine (who seems, by the bye, not to have been quite so modest and discreet as poor lady Margaret,) and Hodgson; the representative of the Hodgson family, sir Robert Hodgson, knight, a violent recusant, about 1630 intermarried with the lineal heiress of the earls of Westmoreland, Frances, daughter and co-heiress of David Ingleby, by Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Charles, last earl of Westmoreland."

No. III.

THE
ESTATE OF ENGLISH FUGITIVES
UNDER
THE KING OF SPAINE AND HIS MINISTERS.

CONTAINING BESIDES,
A DISCOURSE OF THE SAYD KINGS MANNER
OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE INJUSTICE OF MANY LATE DISHONORABLE
PRACTISES BY HIM CONTRIVED.

TO THE READER.

BEING some five or sixe yeres since in those partes of Flanders, which are subject to the Spanish king, and seeing a miserable troupe of my unhappie countriemen, (some of which were gentlemen of good houses in England) wandering in poore habites and afflicted gestures, heavily groning under the burthen of an extreeme and calamitous necessitie: on the one side, by their heedlesse demeanure there, debarred from returne into their countrie; and on the other, daily overlooked with

the proud eyes of disdainfull Spaniards, and for want of due regarde in that comfortlesse service, perishing without either pity or reliefe. Seeing, as I say, these things, and entring into a consideration of them, with an unpartiall iudgement, knowing some of my good friendes and acquaintance in England possessed with the like humor as that which moved the foresaid gentlemen to forsake their countrie, and to settle themselves in the service and dominions of the king of Spaine, I thought good to advertise them of that which my poore experience had gathered, touching the small regard, distresse, povertie, scorne, calamitie, and affliction, befallen to such as had already entred the course, that, to their unexperienced judgement, yealded such shew of contentment, therby, if it were possible, to dissuade them from attempting the like; the same being, in regard of the offence to their soveraigne, so treacherous; of the reproche to their family and parentage, so infamous; and, lastly, in so deepe a degree to themselves dangerous, that being once thereinto entered, it should not bee in their power, upon their afterchange of humor and appetite, thence to withdraw themselves, the error being such as admitteth not any repentance or excuse. Having to that effect written from thence privatly to some of my acquaintance, the coppies of my letters (contrarie to my intention) were, since my returne, by some of them given abroad, and lastly, not long since, a discourse printed in Paules Church-yarde, containing some parte of the substance thereof, but manye thinges that I had written left out, and manye thinges inserted that I never ment; and finally, in the whole so falsified and chaunged, as well in matter as words, and ignorantly entermixed with fictions of the publisher, that howsoever the vulgar sorte bee therewith pleased, those that are of farther reach and insight, cannot but condemne it as a thing fabulous, grossely handled, and full of absurdities. Besides, the time and occasion to which that discourse was fitting, is now altogether past, and therefore the same altogether impertinent. In regard of which, and other inconveniences, I thoughte it not unfitte to publish the true

copy of my owne letter, which though after so many yeares cannot but seeme stale, yet the occasions that moved me thereunto considered, I trust I shall not otherwise be censured of, then the sinceritie of my meaning deserveth, which is to dedicate the fruicts of my poore experience to the benefit of my countrie, and withall to satisfie the world as touching the former treatise, (for though they are suppressed, yet there are greate numbers of them extant,) the which was by a fellow, that had stolne a copy thereof, foysted to the print, in hope of benefit, and now when the matter comes to examination, slips his head out of the coller, and will not bee found. Withall, I shall perchance, seeing I have so good an occasion offered, touch by the way some occurrents of later time. And whereas my meaning was at the first onley to satisfie a few private friendes, now seeing it is my chauce to publish it, I shall entreate the reader, whosoever he be, and howsoever in religion affected, neverthelesse laying aside all prejudicate opinion, not to condemne any thing (seeme the same never so strange) heerein mentioned, unlesse hee shall himselfe be able to disprove it, which I hope for trewnesse of matter it shal not lie in any mans power to do. For my meaning is not to speak of sophisticall devices, projected driftes, or matters forged in the ayre, but plainly and simply, of things actually and really doone in publike view of the world, and confirmed with the witnesse of thousandes.

The Coppie of a Letter, written by a Gentleman that had sometimes served the King of Spaine, to a Catholike Gentleman, his Kinseman and Friend.

SIR,

Understanding as well by your letters, as also by the message lately done unto mee by the mouth of R. B., of the great longing and desire you have to come into these partes, and to imploy your selfe heere in

service of the Spanish king ; and perceiving also, not onley by your sayde letters, but by the gentleman that brought the same, and by the report of sundrie others, that many young gentlemen of our countrie are of your minde in that point ; some thereunto (as I gesse) moved of a youthfull and vaine tickling humor, to be wandering abroad in strange and forrein countries ; others in hope there to grow to great preferment, advancement, imployment, and wealth ; other some pretending matter of conscience, seeme to have sure confidence that there they may live with more liberty and ease of minde, than that which within our countrie they injoy ;—I have thought good, for the particular love which I beare, and always have borne towards you, unto whom I wish as to my self (but chiefly in respect of that due humble regard, and zealous reverent affection which I beare to the service and sacred person of our most gracious and princely soveraigne, the queenes most excellent majestie, and to my most dearly loved native countrie and countrymen,) to set downe some notes and observations, which, by a long and dangerous experience in this place, I have heedfully gathered. By which (I hope) I shall make manifest, as well to you as likewise to all other my countrymen, (howsoever in humor disposed) by apparent examples, and undeniable truthes, how greatlie you and they (that desire to repaire hether, by anie of the motions before expressed, are in anie hope of good to be received from the sayd king of Spaine or his ministers,) do erre and are deceived. I hertely and most earnestly desire you, and all other that shall reade this treatise, deeply to judge and consider of these pointes, which I shall heerein set downe, which (God willing) I will doo with such fidelitie, true meaning, and sinceritie, as that no parte of the same shall be truly to be gainsaid or refelled, and my selfe by the persons, times, and places, and other circumstances, shall make most manifest and plaine, to anie that shall doubt of the truth of the same, or anie part thereof. And I shal take great joy and comfort, if my self having undertaken an untowardly and dangerous course, though with better successe than hath happen-

ed to many hundreds, may be as a caveat to all the young gentlemen of our nation, how they hazard themselves so daungerously; and that my painfull experience may be to them as a looking glasse, wherein they may behold the spots and errors of their conceived fansies, or as a marke set up for them, whereby they may avoid the perills and most dangerous rockes and shelves, to them yet unknowen, and lying hidden under the smooth, faire, and delightful conceived, and fantisied pleasures, suggested unto them by their owne imagination, the same being unexperienced, and therefore without mistrust. And surely I cannot too much commend the saying of that excellent Roman orator, who placed in the first degree of wisdom, those that were of themselves best able to give good advise, and in the next, those that were willing and inclinable to follow it.

But some man may here perchance ask me, whence I have such an assurance of my wit, that I will take upon me to advise others, who are perchance better able to counsell me? To this I answer, that if anie man, how meane so ever, will for my profite and good go about to instruct mee in anie thing, wherein himselfe hath made so long experience, and will confirme the same with so many substantiall proofes and examples as I will doo this, he shall finde me easie to be perswaded, without straining himselfe to the search of anie high points of wit, or subtiltie of well couloured speech; for so manifest a truth needs no disguising, but rather is by a plain and simple nakednesse the more commended. But as for those that, with fore-possessed mindes, regarde not what daunger so ever they throwe themselves into, greedily with a new-faugled appetite swallowing downe anie licour that presents it selfe unto them in a glistering cuppe, I thinke neither wit nor truth will bee of much availe, though those that are of greater discretion and more temperately disposed, will (I doubt not) reade it wyth indifferent eyes, and conceive of it as it deserveth. For if they were to sail along the perillous rockes of Circe or the Syrenes, I thinke they would not refuse to heare Ulysses speake, but gladly give attention to

his counsels, seeing among many that perished, it was his onely hap to heare the alluring songs of the one, and to see the enchanting cruelties of the other, and yet to escape the danger of them both.

I will entertaine you no longer with circumstance, but, for the confirmation of my speech, refer you to the following Discourse.

THE

BEGINNING OF THE DISCOURSE.

BEING forced by the fore remembred occasions, to make of a private letter a publik discourse, I am at the verie first troubled, not knowing what method to observe in a matter so abrupt and full of confusion; which I feare mee is likely to prove to the true English and well minded reader as delightlesse, as it is to me that write it altogether comfortles, in regard of the numbers of our nation wherof I must intreate, and among the rest, of some of good parentage, that have with full draught swallowed into their intrailes the loathsome dregges of this Spanish infection; being to our nation a thing as fatall and deadly as ever was the gold of Tholouse, or the horse of Seian to the unfortunate possessors therof. Whose course and actions (thogh the lawe of God, the law of nations, the duetie to our soveraigne, and the love to our countrie, bindeth us to detest and hate, because they followe an opposite armed enemie that seeketh our subversion,) yet in regard they are of the same nation and language which we are of, charitie and kindnes wisheth us to take compassion of their abused conceits, and to wish them yet now at length to open their eies, and to beholde the dangerous estate wherein they have plunged themselves, the infamie and

scorne wherein they live, yea, under those whom they serve as hirelings, and lastly the reprochful blot that they have given to the noblenes of our heretofore unblemished nation, which in former ages, howsoever laboring in intestine broiles, yet never was detected of such base and wicked trecheries, as to sell themselves to a forreine prince, to be by him imploied to the overthrow of their countrie, and the taking awaie of their soveraignes life.

This is the displeasing subject I must intreat of, drawing forcibly unto it the recitall of so many conspiracies, murthers, violences, practises, and treasons, that for the strangenesse thereof, it will rather beare the resemblance of a tragical fiction, then of a true discourse.

I will first direct my speeches to such unexperienced gentlemen, as are in desire addicted to the Spanish service, shewing them in what point of their hope and expectation they doo faile and are deceived, laying unto them before their eies, the fall, miserie, and calamitie of as many as have before them entered within the compass of this enchanted circle.

Secondly, to our credulous catholiks at home, upon whose ignorance and driftles search into these matters, our practising traitors abroad do build their chefest foundations of al their vilanies, (whom while they entertain with vaine expectations, in the meane time, with traitors and spies which they daily send over,) they abuse with over-reaching subtilties, to the irreparable ruine and overthrow of them and theirs.

They have also at their devotion certain ambo-dexter felowes, who upon fained colours and pretenses passe to and fro, feeding either side with newes, who in regard of some few bad inteligences, which now and then they bring into England, would faine be accounted honest, serviceable men; but they must pardon me a litle, in respect of some experience that I have had of them, if I conceive otherwise, thinking them to be indeed farre more dangerous than either the secret spie or the discovered traitor; and in place where when I shall be askt, I will yeelde my reason. For since I was a scholler, I remember a verse in Seneca, "*Pretio parata vincitur pretio fides.*" I speake this, because

the prince whom they serve, howsoever otherwise, with these fellowes will not sticke to deale most liberally.

Thirdly, because many of our countrymen living in great happines at home, yet (like those that cannot take good rest when they lie soft) doo in their conceit mislike (surfeiting with to much ease) the quiet estate they live in, and the maner of her majesties most gracious and mercifull government, I have thought it my dutie somewhat to expresse these few thinges which have come to my knowledge, touching the benefites and blessings which it hath pleased God so plentifully to poure downe upon her majesty and her people; together with the flourishing estate of that fortunate realme, since this the time of her majesties government, so plentiful in peace, so victorious in warres, so industrious in artes, and so excelling in all sciences, that the verie Spanish enemye himselfe will not stick many times to breake out into admiration thereat, and sometimes in his scoffing, or rather blasphemous humour, sweare that he thinkes Jesu Christ is become a protestant: withall, I will briefly make a short comparison betweene this and the government of the adversarie, I meane the king of Spaine, his cruell and inhumane usage of his miserable subjects, his violent abolition and taking awaie of their priviledges, and, in fine, the unspeakable bondage, constrained servitude, and pitiful desolation in which they live, or rather despairfully do languish. A matter though farre unfit for mee to handle, but worthie of graver wits, and men of the highest wisdom and experience, yet considering I shall not presume to treat of matters of great estate and secrets, but such as every well affected subject may finde and picke out of the heroicall actions of the one, and the tyrannicall insolencies of the other, both done in the apparance of the world, I hope, and so with all lowlynes most humbly desire her most gracious and benigne majestie to pardon mee, if undertaking such a taske, I chance to come far short of that, which men fitter for the handling thereof could saie or intreat, and so likewise most earnestly beseech that I may therein be censured according to the loy-

all zeale I beare to her majesties service and my countrie, and not to the basenes and simplicitie of my stile, or the handling thereof.

But to come to my discourse, to the end that you and the rest of your opinion, may cleerely and plainly discern those things, which hetherto your eies blinded with the vaile of partialitie, or perchance misled with a contrarietie of affection, have not bin able to view ; I will begin with the good usage, honor, and advancement, that you and other gentlemen addicted to the Spanish service are to expect, bringing you for example sundrie brave and worthie gentlemen, captains, and souldiers, that have taken the like cause before you ; whereby you shall perceive that all is not golde that glistereth faire, but that whatsoever shew the Spaniard make unto us, yet in his heart hee mortally abhorreth us, and by all meanes possible seeketh our destruction, ruine, and subversion, as it evidently appeareth by his usage of such troupes and companies of our nations as have served him.

I will not speak of the crueltie of the commendador upon certaine English gentlemen that had done notable services both to him and the duke of Alva, of whom neverthelesse, for a meer trifling occasion, he caused eight to be hanged up after the sacke of Antwarpe on the Mere brigge.

Neither will I trouble you with the tragicall discourse of M. Aegrimont Ratcliffe, and M. Grey, who were, as the world knoweth, both gentlemen of noble houses, and most faithfully affected both in religion and service to the Spanish king ; nevertheles, upon I know not what suspicion, that they should have practised the death of Don Joan, they were both apprehended, and though there never was, nor ever could bee anie thing proved against them, and they at their deathes protested themselves to be most innocent of that wherwith they were charged, yet theyr heads were stricken off in the market place of Namures. I touch these things the more sparingly, because they happened before my time of being there, and in matters delivered by heresaie I might erre, which (undertaking to write no thing but that which is

true and unrefutable) I wold be loth to doo, and therefore I will come to things of later time, and such as I doo certainly know.

At the siege of Audenarde, where the duke of Parma laie encamped, there came, rendering themselves unto his service, under the conduct of Norris, Barney, Cornish, and Gibson, whome they had chosen to be theyr captaines, a troupe of sixe hundred, the tallest and best appointed souldiers that I remember ever to have seene in all my life; theyr comming beeing the onlie cause that the towne (a matter of great importance, and on the land side, as it were, the verie key of the province of Flanders,) was so soon delivered unto him as it was. For whereas the duke of Anjou and the prince of Orenge laie under the walls of Gaunt, with sufficient force and most deliberate resolution to succour the sayd towne of Audenarde, upon this mutinie of the English, they marched awaie with their whole armie, leaving the enemy now battering the towne; which, seeing itself frustrated of the expected succours, presently rendered it self unto the duke of Parma. Thence they were drawn to Wynochbergen to serve against the French and English that lay there incamped, where they behaved themselves with such desperate resolution that day, that monsieur de Balanson, brother to the marquesse of Warambon, was taken prisoner; that besides the losse of many of their lives, they were a wonder to the whole armie; which praise of theirs the pride of the Spaniards not induring, dyd upbraide them, that they had served rather like giddie headed dronkards, than men wisely valiant. Sir Roger Williams well remembreth this daies worke, for hee was there in service of the states; and unless I am deceived, lost a brother in that service. Shortly after, uppon the remove of the duke of Alanson's armie towards Gaunt, they were likewise brought thether, where also they gave exceeding testimonie of their valor and courage, namely, the verie daie that sir John Norris made that famous and memorable retreat before Gaunt, who, when the French men fled with a disordered amazement, did with a present courage and excellent direction, maintaine the place with such regiments of English as were under his charge; and withstanding the

duke of Parma in the teeth with all his puissance, who furiously charged him, nevertheles' withdrew his men still holding their pikes in the bosomes of the enemy, safely under the wals of Gaunt, not without exceeding damage to the enemy; insomuch, that the duke of Parma would ever after saie, that hee onely had that daie barred him from crying quittance with the duke of Alanson, for the retreate which hee had caused him to make from Cambray; which still did sticke in his stomacke even to his dying day.

But now to my new come English that had done those notable services to the Spaniard, let us see howe they were recompensed: within one yeere they were suffered all in a manner to famish; which miserie some of them seeking to relieve by foraging out upon the countrie, foure and twentie of them were taken by the Spanish provost, and carried to Audenarde, (of the rendering whereof they had bin the chiefest meanes) and openly hanged in the market-place. Another troupe of them, being thirty in number, and lying in a village neere Poppering in Flanders, a companie of Spaniards hearing of them, came into the village where they were, and after a friendly and souldierly salutation of each side, as they were all making mery together, on a sodain the Spaniards toke them at advantage unarmed, and most trecherously and inhumanely murdered them every one, rifling them of their clothes, and such other things as they had pilled abroad in the countrie. Sundrie complaintes were made to the duke by the friends of those that were thus murthered, and by the captaines of the regiment, but Spaniards being the doers thereof, there could neither bee remedie nor justice obtained. But to make amends, because they woulde bee the cleanlyr rid of the residue of this poure miserable troupe, the camp being then before Wynochbergen, wherein laie a mightie strong garrison of Frenchmen, they made them two little fortes of purpose, in which they willingly placed them in the utmost quarter of the whole campe, and neerest confining to the towne, to the end they might have all their throates cut, as in deede they had verie fewe nightes after, at which time the enemy assaulting them with great furie, and they defending

themselves most manfully above the space of an houre, in such sort as the allarum passed through the whole camp, yet they were never releevd with anie succour at all, insomuch as the greatest part of them being slaine in the defence, the enemie at last entered, and put the residue to the sword.

To rehearse unto you the sundrie and severall calamities that these poore men, as well captaines as souldiers, indured, during the time of that their unfortunate service, especially at Gausbecke, Aske, and Gauer, would seeme (I am sure) unto you, for the unspeakable strangenes thereof, scarcely credible; for they never received in all the time of their service, anie one moneths paie. I have seen lieutenants and ensignes of them go up and downe sickly and famished, begging their bread, covered onely with poore blankets and tikes of featherbeds, that they had rifled in the villages abroad, and have my selfe releevd some of them. Neither were the ends of their captaines lesse tragical; which I thought good to set downe, to the ende you may perceive, that such and so great calamities as these, could never have happened without the apparent hand of God; whose revengful justice never ceased to pursue the infidelitie of these miserable men, til he had taken them from the face of the earth.

First, Norris, chiefe captaine and ringleader of the rest, after hee had leasure to bethinke himselfe of the foulness of his fault, and withall sawe the scorne and contempt wherein hee lived under the Spaniard, conceived thereof so deep an impression, that he fell dangerously sicke, and into a kind of lunasie; of which, before hee was well recovered, hee stole secretly out of the campe lying then at Varnaton, with intention to convey himselfe into England, but by the way was taken prisoner and carried to Flushing, whereby dying in prison, or as some saie, by laying violent hands on him selfe, hee prevented those torments, that, according to the qualitie of his offence, were prepared for him. Gibson, at such time as the campe laie before Mening, lying one night with his wife in his cabine, a Spanish horseman comming upon occasion into his quarter, chanced to tie his horse to the stake

whereunto Gibson's cabbin was fastned, who, what with stamping and shaking the cabbin, did so disquiet him, that he arose, thinking to untie the horse, giving withall some harde wordes to the owner, who in requittal thereof ranne him through the bodie with his rapier, so that hee fell downe in the place starke dead. I saw his wife many times afterwardes weeping and falling downe upon her knees before the duke of Parma for justice. But English blood was there of so vile a price, especially being shed by a Spaniard, that the matter was not thought worthie the inquiring after.

Cornish was in the one of the litle forts before mentioned, at such time as they were surprised by the French men, within the which both himselfe, his lieutenant, ensigne, and whole companie, were miserable slaine and mangled. Barnies companie was with the other likewise defeated, and put to the sword, but he himselfe was by his good happe sicke and absent at Saint Homars. Neverthelesse hee escaped not altogether his part and portion of these afflictions; for presently uppon his returne to the campe, as hee stood beholding the march of a companie of footmen that passed by, hee was shot at by an unknown man with an harquebuz, which by chaunce though it missed his bodie, yet it lighted uppon his right arme, in such sorte, as it shevered all the principall bones thereof to peeces, so that hee hath utterly lost the use thereof. Shortly after hee was taken prisoner by the English souldyers of Ostend, where he was everie daie in daunger of the gallows; but uppon promises of great services hee was at length set at libertie by sir John Conway, and suffered to returne from whence hee came; whereas yet hee liveth, but maymed and verie miserable, and in exceeding great distresse, needinesse, and povertie.

Two or three yeeres after this forerembred storie, came one William Pigot, who beeing of a meane man raysed to the degree of a capitaine by sir John Norris, and in his absence lefte as commander in Alost, over the rest of the companies, trecherously deceiving him to whome hee was so infinitely beholding, rendered the towne, himselfe, and the whole regiment, (beeing well neere a thousand as tall and well

apjoynted men as were in Europe) to the service and devotion of the Spanish king ; which service, howe meritorious and beneficiall it was unto the Spaniard, I leave to theyr judgements that knowe the countrey. For by this rendition of the towne of Alost, they were the occasion that hee got Dermounde, the Sasse, the fortes of Leifkinshooke, Saint Anthonies, and Saint Margarets the dole, the best parte of the lande of Wast, and in manner Gaunt itself, as the sequele verie apparently shewed ; notwithstanding all which service, they were within two yeeres space, what wyth hunger, the gallowes, and rigorous dealing, quite consumed and brought to nothing. And lastly at Stalbrooke, even against the yeelding up of Anwarpe, when all other nations whatsoever were to receive theyr count and reckoning, they onely were infamouslye cashierde without anie one monethes paie, receiving onelie every one a ducket.

And which of all others is most monstrous and scarcely credible, whereas some of the captaines not long before, had made them of their own purses new and faire ensignes, those ensignes were by a Spanish commissarie called Spinosa (who came with order to dissolve the regiment) taken violently from those that bare them, in presence of the earle of Westmerland, who was coronell of the regiment ; and for a greater disgrace both to him and the rest, though both hee, captaine Tresham, and the other captaines complained to the duke for redres, which they could not obtaine, the Spaniard afterwards made his brags, that he turned the English ensignes into Spanish fieldbeds.

Somewhat before this time, when the whole camp received at the siege of Dermounde two moneths pay, they onely, though of all others most travelled in the trenches, wading everie night from their quarter to the place where they kept their gard, which was upon a dike or caussey, through waters up to the bosome, and having had more men slaine in that siege than anie other regiment in the whole campe, could not receive one penie, notwithstanding that they had passed musters with the rest, yea, and some of the captaines had bribed the commissaries to passe them many places, thinking thereby to make a great

hand; but in sted of monie when they made sute to the duke, were scornfully by him poasted off to the contadores of the armie, of whom they receved the most base and opprobrious speeches that were ever given unto souldiers, and that can lieutenant Butlar well testifie; for he being then lieutenant unto Pigot, was one of the number unto whom they were used; he is now in her majesties service, and was lately lieutenant of sir John Poolies horsemen, and as I heare, hath done her majestie many good services. The conclusion is, they were absolutely rejected, without ever receiving one halfepenie. And lastly, upon casting of the regiment, whereas the paie of a reformed capitaine, (for so they call them whose companies are cashierd or taken awaie) of what nation soever he bee amongst them, is fortie crownes a moneth, they gave only to our English captains but five and twentie; neither that but in paper onely, for I thinke some of them never received anie pennie at all in mony, and if they did, I am sure it was verie little.

Thus much as touching the usage which they received from the Spaniard; but now keeping the course I beganne, I will acquaint you with the punishment which it pleased God to laie upon the leaders and first seducers of this miserable forenamed troupe.

Upon their arrivall in the Spanish campe, they were divided into seven companies, the one of which was given to the earle of Westmerland, who, upon their humble request and sute, was made coronell and commander of them all, and one Contraras, a Spaniard, joyned with him as his assistant, or rather as a master and commander both over him and the regiment; another was given to Pigot, with the title of lieutenant coronell; the third to Dalton, with the office of sergeant major; the names of the other four upon whom the residue of the companies were bestowed, were Tailor, Vincent, Smith, and Walsh. I will begin with Pigot, because hee onely was the first and chiefe actor and instrument in this trecherie, abusing with the subtiltie of his fair speech the rest of his countrymen that were by him drawn into this action. Pigot after hee had stayed a while in the campe, as hee was

wilie and full of crafte, so hee quickly perceived howe the worlde was likely to go with him and his fellowes, and therefore leaving the rest to weare themselves out in povertie and travell, hee, while he had monie in his purse, got him into Spaine, thinking surely with himself, that in regard his service had been so important, hee should there have bene received with crosse and candle, and besides bee mightly recompensed. He would not admit anie other of the captaines for companion in the journey, fearing least partnership might have made the merite of his service (which to himselfe hee attributed alone) seeme the lesse, and so consequentlie his reward.

With this craftie intention hee arrived at Madride, where after hee had a while wandered up and downe unregarded, at length by meanes of sir Frances Englefield, to whom he was in that behalfe an earnest suter, hee was brought by an interpreter (for hee had no other language but plain English) to the speech of Don Joan de Ydeaques, being then the kings secretorie, from whom (after he had declared his service and cause of comming) hee received this answere, that the king had appointed the duke of Parma to be his lieutenant, and captaine generall in the Lowe Conntries, to whose direction and discretion hee referred the consideration of all such lyke services as shoulde there fall out; wishing him therefore with all speede to returne unto the duke, who, no doubt, woulde take notice of his services; offering him his letter unto the duke in that behalfe.

This answere was cold, and contrarie to Pigots expectations; but backe hee must, there was no remedye: no repleye of his coulde alter the secretories resolution. Somewhat before his undertaking this journey, hee had married a handsome young woeman of those countries, whome hee left at Tourney in a citizens house, and with her in charge, all whatsoever hee was woorth. Shee, in the time of his absence, being verye fearefull to lye alone, had entertayned into her bedde a younge man of the towne of her olde acquaintance, with whome (hearing of her husbands returne) she ranne away, selling first whatsoever of her husbandes that was not portable, and the rest of the things that

remained, beeing of anie value, shee took with her. And with this companion of hers shee got her selfe into England, knowing that her husbände durst not make pursute thither after her; but comming to London, shee mette with certayne Flaunders souldyers that knewe her and her husbände, who, under coulour of yeelding her assistance in a straunge place, coosened her of the greatest parte of such thinges as shee had lefte, (beeing of good woorth) as shee had so deceived her husband of; the rest shee spent in dissolutenesse, and so by degrees, according to the fortune of such courses, fell into extreamest miserie and beggerie that might bee. In the meane time, Pygots heart beeing striken dead with the coldnesse of the entertainment he had in Spayne, and now returning homewardes, on the one side quite frustrated of all his expectations and hopes, and on the other syde pursued wyth the stynges and terrors of a guilty conscience, yet cheered up him self with thinking on the comfort of his wives youth and affections, and withall of the money that he had lefte in her keeping; for you must consider that hee had not given but sold the town of Alost for thirtie thousand French crownes, for payment of which they had hostages; and the same was fully paid before hee delivered up the towne. Out of this monie sixe moneths paie was deducted for the souldiers, the rest hee divided among the captaines, retaining a great share to himselfe; which, as you heare, hee had left in keeping with his wife, as a certaine remedy in store against whatsoever hardnesse of fortune should afterwardes happen. But beeing upon his returne to Torney incoun-tered with the newes of his wives disloialtie, and withall, which grieved him most, finding his lodgings ransackt, his coffers emptie, and himselfe at once overwhelmed with such a heape of scorne and miserie, I leave you to imagine the patience and quietnesse wherewith his minde entertained these tidings, being (as before I told you) one that meerely for money (as for religion hee knew not what it meant) had solde his loialty to his prince and countrie, his faith to his coronell, (to whome in so many duties he was tied) and finally his owne person, as likewise he would have done his soule, if hee coulde have found a chapman.

Sure I am, that if by the bodies jestures a man may judge of the minds unquiet perturbations, there was never anie wretch more violently overthrowen with the extremity of an inward affliction and despaire; yet did he not for all this wholly forsake and abandon himselfe, but rather determined to turne, as the proverbe is, everie stone, and to attempt fortune once anew, thereby either to redresse the miseries of his estate, or at the least, if the worst shoulde fall, to end his lyfe, for finding himselfe already above the shooes, he made no reckoning of being above the boots, and therefore following the saying of the poet, *Per scelera sceleribus tutum esse itur*, he resolved himselfe by a new trecherie to amend his olde, and withall his fortune, if it were possible, and therefore fell presently a tampering with some of his friendes in Holland and Zealand, and lastly with my lord of Leycester himselfe, being then newly come over to the government of the United Provinces, to whom he offered, so he might have his pardon, and withall be rewarded, to betraie the duke of Parma in some notable sorte, besides sundrie other lyttle services (of which none could be performed without notable perjury and infidelitie) to performe which he made prodigall offers of his best indevors; which neverthelesse truly I thinke hee had not bene able to performe, though hee had never beene hindered in the course of his practises, yet from time to time hee sent my lord over such poore intelligences, as the smalnes of his credit wherein he lived could attaine unto. The carrier of his letters and the returner of his answeres was a brokerly felow, an Englishman, that then dwelt in the English house at Antwarpe, called J. G. one that in intelligence desired to correspond with either side, but with whether he dealt faithfully God knoweth, I will speake the lesse of him, because though his wife remaine still in Antwarpe, yet he himselfe is withdrawn to Middleborough, where some saie he liveth now honestly and well. This fellow, whether by carelesse conveyance, or by worse practise, as some suspected, (though truly I thinke him thereof innocent, as Rowland York afterwards assured me, with whome Pigot had at that time intelligence, who had used him before in such like practises for himselfe,

and by him received his pardon and pasport, uppon his first being with the duke of Parma from my lord of Leycester,) yet in conclusion hee handled his matters so ill, that Mondragon, chiefe captaine and lieutenant of the castles of Antwarpe and Gaunt, came to have intèlligence thereof, who presently thereupon caused Pigot to be apprehended and conveied prisoner to the castle of Gaunt, where hee had beene presently laide upon the torture, but that Hugh Owen, who for some causes especially affected him, laboured to the contrarie; and in fine so much prevailed, that after halfe a yeres imprisonment, he got him to be delivered. Thence poore and penillesse he traveled to Burges, where the duke of Parma then remained, with intention to sue for somewhat wherewith to relieve himselfe. But whether soever he went, still Nemesis followed him *in tergo*; for by the way he was taken by certaine English souldiers that laye in ambush on the way, and by them caried prisoner to Ostend, where, with the smoothnesse of his tongue, and the protestation of many great services by him intended, hee so enchanted sir John Conway, then being governour of the towne, that hee forbare to hang him, as he was once determined; and presently by letters advertised the counsel of his taking, and withall such services, of which he to shift the halter from his necke, had given such confidence and assurance, so he might be suffred to escape; al which notwithstanding, by the counsels commaundement, he was sent for into England, and committed prisoner to the Marshalsie; where having remained some space of time, being one day wel overnight, he fell into strange and extream accidents of his body, and was found the next morning dead. Such, after this goodly service, was his fortune, and such his end; and such bee the like of all other trecherous ill affected Englishmen. But now let us come to speake of master Dalton, beeing next in the rowe, and see how hee spedde.

This gentleman, to the end you should the better know him, was one of the craftiest conicatchers that ever lived, and had all his life time shifted it out with coosening sleighes and practises of vilanie, as all the olde Flaunders souldiers that knewe hym can well testifie; now

by reason of his good experience hee was growne verie weather wise, and did by manye conjectures foresee the stormes and tempestes that were comming towards him and hys followers; and therefore thinking it a great madnesse to lye still at anker in so daungerous and unsafe a roade, hoysed upp his sayles, and shewed them a fayre payre of heeles, running away from them at Torney, where the duke of Parma then kept his courte, into Fraunce; yet because hee woulde not bee in hys absence unremembred, hee first tooke up uppon his credite as much wares, as by all his utmost devises hee could procure, eyther of mercers, goldsmithes, or anye other sorte of artificers. Thence hee conveyed himselfe into the north partes of England, where, as hee had gotten his goods wickedly, so he spent them as riotously; afterwards changing his name, hee betooke him to sea, and became a pirate; for which, and sundry other such honest parts as hee had plaid, he was afterwards apprehended, and tied up to the gallowes there in the north, in the yere 1586.

Tailor of all the rest was most to be pittied, for he was a man of very comely personage, fine qualities, and verie gentlemanly behavior. His father had long served her majestie, as likewise himself had done in some office, as I take it, pertaining to the provisions of her stable; it was my chance to converse much with him, both because we were of acquaintance in England, as also that I liked exceedingly his conversation, and the manner of his carriage; and truly thus much I must saie of him beeing now dead, that I did never know anie man that was stricken with a greater apprehension of his owne fault, and that did more everie waie beat his braines and seeke all occasions how to amend it. The cause that had drawen him into this matter, as sundry times he told me, and sometimes not without teares, were the many debts with which (being very youthfully given) he had intangled himselfe in England, and withal his marriage, which was most unfortunate. To rid himself of both which inconveniences at once, he had throwen himself into this headlong action; which surely if God had lent him life, he would have indeavored to amend. For I remember once, the camp

lying then at a place called Evergham, that coronel Morgan sent him a secret letter, wrapped in the long haire of an Irish lacky that brought it, who not handling his matters with that warines as was requisite, the letter was discovered, and captaine Tailor apprehended ; nevertheless by the helpe of his owne wit, and the assistance of his friends, he was soone set at libertie againe, though with an exceeding suspition, that ever after overlooked his doings, insomuch, that in great grieve of minde he complained unto me, that the only jealousy held of him in regard of this letter, would be a great hinderance to that satisfaction which hee had in his minde resolved, which was at least to have drawn back awaie with him all such English souldiers as served the king in that regiment, which, in regard of their love unto him, he might easily have done. But it pleased the Almightye in his judgements to prevent him, and to take him awaie in the midst of his imaginations ; for he and my lord of Westmerland having bin one daie in the quarter of the Wallons, banqueted by a captaine of the count of Egmonts, where, according to the use of that nation, either of them had bin constrained to drinke liberally ; as they returned backe together, they two in companie alone towards Evergham, they fel into contention about a frivolous matter, concerning one Davies an Irishman, that served the earle, and that so far, that the earle reviling him in many opprobrious names, lighted down his horse, and drew his sword, willing him to doo the like ; but Tailor knowing howe extreamly there the law determines of him that should draw his sword against his coronell, put spurs to his horse, and galloped home before to his lodging ; which scorne of his, as the earle did interpret it, moved him to so great cholar, that getting up on his horse he pursued him, and drew upon him againe afore the very doore of his lodging, which indignity Tailor not being able any further to indure, drawing his rapier, likewise encountered him, and after some thrusts betweene them, ranne the earle verie daungerously into the brest, at which instant Contraras the Spaniard, accompanied with many souldiers of the earles companie, the most parte of the which had halbertes, came running in, and invironing Tailor of all sides, most

cruelly murthered him with above twentie woundes ; for which cause the earle was, upon the complaintes and earnest pursuite of the other captaines and souldiers, by the duke of Parma for a time bannished the regiment, and the government thereof given to one Mana Cardonni, an Italian.

Shortly after, another of these captains, called Edward Vincent, was sent out of the lande of Wast, where the Spanish armie laie then incamped, with two hundred English souldiers, in companie of an Italian captaine with as many more Italians, towards the forte of Terneuse, where by a sallie made from out the forte, they were all overthrown, sundrie slaine, and among the rest captaine Vincent taken prisoner; where neverthelesse, in regard of former acquaintance with coronell Michael, who was there commaunder for the States, hee found such favour at his handes, that hee was not presently delivered over to the States, (as hee mortally feared) but set at raunsome at an hundred and fiftie poundes, provided that the same should bee sent with speed, for otherwise when the matter should bee once knowen to the States in Holland, it coude not bee in his power possible anie longer to withhold him; of which desperate estate Vincent did with all speed advertise his father, being then a poore olde man, well neere seventie yeeres of age, who having by present sale of such thinges as his son had lefte wyth him, raised some part of the money, fell downe upon his knees before the duke, weeping and imploring his helpe for the rest, telling him in the Spanish tongue (in the which language he was verie perfect) the great daunger and extremitie of the case his sonne then stode in, if so bee his raunsome were not presently sent. But in stead of yeelding him releefe, the duke badde take awaie the importunate dotard; but when neverthelesse hee persisted (overcome with a fathers affection) to use many loude and passionate speeches, the Spaniardes by violence thrust him awaie, calling him foole and dronkarde. The grieve whereof strake the olde man so inwardly to the heart, that hee went home to his lodging, and died within sixe dayes after. And his sonne, when his raunsome came not in time, was by the States

commandement sent to Bargesopsome, and there hanged in chaines, where his carcasce remaineth yet waving in the winde.

Smith held yet somewhat longer out, though drinking as deeply in the cup of misery, or rather deeplier than anie of the rest; for hee fell thorough sicknesse and povertie into such extremitie of wantes, that of a captaine hee was faine to become a victualler, and to buy butter and cheese, and by making sale thereof againe to helpe and releve his poore estate. Withall, he fell into so strange and extreme a dropsie, that I scarcely beleve the like was ever heard of; neither truly doo I speak this to amplifie the matter, for all those that have seen him beyond sea will approve my speeches; either of his legs was swollen to that bignes of a mans middle, his face onely was bare of flesh and miserable, and his eies sunke into his head, in such sorte, that I never remember to have beheld a more pittifull spectacle: in which miserie, after he had languished well neere a yeere and a halfe, he died finally in extreame calamitie, as it is tolde me since, at Gaunt, in the yeere 1588.

Walsh onely had this good hap, that he survived all the rest; of whom I will speake the lesse, because there is scarcely anie one in England that professeth armes, but knew both him and his fortunes. After the breaking of the regiment, from a captaine he was faine to become a private soldier, and yet not thereunto without great sute accepted, under Canullo de Mounts companie of horsemen in the garrison of Breda, which issuing one daie forth of the towne, was upon the plaines neere adjoyning encountered and defeated by sir Philip Sidney's companie of English lances, and among the rest captaine Walsh in two places grievously wounded and taken prisoner, and brought into Holland, where my lord of Leicester gave commandement presently to hang him. Sir Philip Sidney (being full of true honor) earnestly intreated my lord for his pardon, and obtayned it, in respect that he knew him to bee valiant, and withall, that howsoever in this action transported, yet he had ever borne a dutifull regard towards her majestie. Whereupon beeing recovered of his hurts, hee served some-

while in the armie under my lord of Leicester as a private soldier. Afterwards comming into England, he went with my lord Willoughbie as ensigne to one of his companies to the siege of Paris. Lastly, hee followed my lord of Essex into France as a private souldier, where his fortune was to be slaine under the wals of Roane: and with his death finished the last act of this tragedie. Of which truly I knowe not what you wyll judge that reade, but sure I am that I who write it am full of wonder and amazement, when with my selfe I consider in so short a space the fal of so many men of great courage and valour, all taken awaie by violent death. Which undoubtedly maketh me assure my self that God doth mightily protect the cause of her majestie, and wil not suffer the disloialties of her unfaithful subjects to escape unpunished, as by these most miraculous foreremembred examples most evidentlie appeareth.

But now to proceed with my discourse. Shortly after came sir William Stanley and Rowland Yorke, either of them being a man of great courage, well approved valor, and long experience in the warres, the one rendering unto the king the towne of Deventer, and the other betraying the forte of Zutphen; the one being coronel over a regiment of foote, and the other captain of a companie of lances. Let us see the one and the others prosperitie, and the sequell of their usage under their new chosen master the Spanish king. First, sir William Stanley was confirmed governor of the towne which hee rendred, and his regiment left there in garison, with the receit of two moneths pay. For a while he lived in the greatest applause that might be; cardinal Allen was written unto to Rome, to send down priests to instruct this religious regiment. He informed the pope thereof, who both wrote joyntly unto the king, to be good and gracious unto this regiment, which being well and liberally intreated, as they had already at Rheimes and Rome a seminarie of students and schollers, to praie and write for the catholike cause of our countrie, so this being conducted by so worthy and catholike a gentleman as Sir William Stanley, might bee a contynuall nurserie and seminarie of souldyers to fight for the

same. Withall, cardinall Allen wrote a booke unto the captaines and souldiers of this regiment, indevoring therein to satisfie theyr consciences as touching the justice of this action, and likewise animating them constantly to persever in this goodly course into the which they were now entered. Besides, downe came priestes thicke and threefolde from France and Italie, catechizing these newe souldyers with many masses and continuall sermons. Gentlemen that for their conscience laye dispearsed in other partes, all drewe downe thether in hope of this good payment and golden world that there was talked of. In the meane time, while the matters were thus in handling, there chaunced to arise a great and deadly contention betweene sir William Stanley and Rowland Yorke, which, as you shall heare, yeelded a verie good and easie occasion to overthrowe them both; which to the ende you may the better understande, I thinke it not amisse to fetch the matter somewhat farther from the beginning.

Deventer, whereof sir William Stanley was made governour by my lorde of Leicester, is a fayre citie, chiefe and metropolitane of the province called Overisel, which confineth on Frizeland, situated upon the inside of the river Isel; not farre thence upon the same river and the same side, standeth a great towne called Zutphen, wherein there was for the king of Spaine a governour called Tassos, a Germane borne, and of obscure parents, but himselfe of notable courage, and by degrees and deserts was growen unto these partes to great reputation and commandement, next in authority to Verdugo, who was generall of Frizeland, Overisel, Zutphen, and the bordering places; he had first trained Tassos up to the warres, and given him from time to time such charges and preferments, as at length he had brought him to bee in a manner equal with himselfe in dignitie, insomuch that at last hee began to suspect his greatnes, and would have clipt his wings, but could not, for the other was passing ambitious, full of courage, and by name and many deserts knowen unto the king, so that in no sort he would let himself be touched in the lest jot of his greatnes and reputation, wherupon each of them bare a secret grudge and rancor to the other, which

came by this meanes to bee more inflamed : For sir William Stanley having in his mind fully determined the rendition of Deventer, entred into secret practise with Tassos for the perfourming thereof ; who with al gladnes and secrecy intertained his offer til such time as the town was rendered into the hands of Tassos, upon such agreements and conditions as between them were concluded. Tassos exceedingly rejoyced at the honour of his enterprise ; and received both from the king and the duke of Parma many thankes and promises of reward, for his diligence and discreet behaviour therein. Than the which nothing could be more displeasing and bitter to Verdugo, who beeing governor of the province, and having the forces in his hand, tooke it as an exceeding disgrace and scorne done unto him, that an inferior person, such as he reckned Tassos to be, shuld underhand accomplish so great an exploit, and go away with the honor therof, and he in the mean time remain stale and neglected, as a man utterly accounted unworthie so much as once to bee acquainted therewith ; so that from that time forward he nourished in his heart a deadly hatred against Tassos and sir William Stanley. In the meane time Rowland Yorke's companie of horsemen was confirmed unto him by the duke of Parma, and both hee and they sent downe to lie in garison at Deventer ; where of the one side hee taking upon him more commandement than sir William Stanley thought to be convenient, and on the other side scorning to live as a private captaine in a towne of garison, (especially under the commaundement of one of his nation, to whom he judged himselfe no way inferior in worthines,) they began to enter into a great mislike one of the other, and by degrees into deadly quarrels and challenges, as some nowe in England can well testifie, who were mediatours betweene them. Neverthelesse by meane of friends they grew againe to reconciliation, though the same was but from the teeth outward, and continued not long. For Yorke in the meane time having discovered Verdugo's humor, fell secretly to practise with him, a meane whereby to thrust sir William and his companies out of the towne, hoping, (and therein being by Verdugo comforted and confidently as-

sured) that upon the remove of sir William, the government of the towne should remaine wholly in himself; wherupon he ceased not to beat into Verdugo's eares (that were of nothing more desirous than of these newes) the wavering inconstant humours of sir William Stanley, the offers made unto him by my lord of Leicester, and his other friends in England; especially of the small affection his souldiers had to the service of the Spanish king, who desired nothing more than an occasion to recover the favour of their countrie, which by no meanes they should so soone procure, as by redelivering the towne: assuring him, that there were to this end great practises in hand, which could not but turne to a dangerous issue if they should not be in time prevented. Presently thereupon Verdugo wrote unto the duke of Parma, aggravating the matter with so many additions of his own, that the duke counted the town as half lost already, though in truth I thinke there was never anie such matter pretended, and presently sent downe a straight commission to Verdugo, to draw three of the sixe companies, over which sir William Stanley was governor, out of the towne, under colour of succouring monsieur de Haultpen, brother to the earle of Barlamont, who was in the fieldes with some few forces, taking in certaine places of Gelderland. Verdugo was nothing slow to execute this commission, but caused it to be accomplished with all speed, thrusting in theyr place certaine companies of his owne into the town; and within a while after he so practised, that sir William Stanley with his other three companies, were under the like colour of service commanded also to come forth, being told that he should presently returne into it againe; which as yet to this day he never did: But by this fine devise was eased of his government; and such goods as he and his soldiers left, were spoiled and made bootie of, even as though they had pertained to publike enemies; since which time this regiment of seminarie soldiers with all their religion, were never trusted in anie towne, nor, as I beleieve, ever shall be. Being now joyned with the troupes of Haultpenne, they chanced to incounter the enemye harde by Balduke, where the Italians and Burgonians, over which capitaine Haultpenne

had charge, playing exceedingly the cowardes, they onely behaved themselves, though with losse of many of their lives, so manfully, and with such courage, that they grewe over the whole countrie into a marvellous reputation of good souldiers. But leaving here Haultpenne their general wounded to death, they marched downe into Brabant, where for recompence of their late good service, they were wintered in the field, without monie, and in such great miserie, nakednesse, and povertie, that tenne weekes together theyr chieftest food and sustenance in Turnot was dried akornes that they found in sellers; which diet the priests not liking of, came to their coronell to Antwarpe, who to avoid the lamentations and complaints of his souldiers had gotten him thether before, where one Oliver Eustace, an Irish gentleman, told him to his face that he was the author of these poore mens miserie, and therefore bound in conscience to procure them some releefe. Sir William bit his lip, knowing well that hee had told him truth, and their calamitie went to his very heart, but how to remedie it he knew not, and therefore absented himselfe in Antwarpe, where you should never have founde his table without foure or five priests; some of the which were in their behaviour and wordes farre more insolent and sausie than the meeknesse of their vocation required; insomuch that the captaines and gentlemen tooke such grieffe and scandall at their controlling humour, that they left sir William Stanley wholye abandoned and unfrequented. Some did much wonder howe a gentleman of his worthinesse and courage could indure these indignities, as to suffer himselfe to be directed and governed by them, especially in such matters as concerned not their vocation. I wil not touch for some respects herein anie particulars, but if you speake with captaine Hart, who was then sir Williams lieutenant, or wyth captaine Salsburie, who are nowe both in England, they will satisfie you farther in this matter; none can better speake it than they, especially the last named, because hee opposed himselfe, and had sure sunke under the burthen, if that his wit and courage had not carryed him thorough. Once sir William Stanley began to looke it, and to avoide both that and other inconve-

niences, tooke (some yeres since) his journey into Spaine, partly to secure unto himselfe some estate of living, of which hee nowe (considering this dealing) beganne to doubt, partly by the invitation of the Jesuites, wyth which order hee is exceedingly enchanted, and to them wholye subjected, who dealte for him in such sorte wyth the cardinall, that hee presently sent Parsons away into Spaine, to infourme the king of his worthynesse and virtue, and wythall, of his experience of the sea coastes of England, but especially of his intelligence about Ireland, which in truth he presumeth to be verie great. Parsons plaid his parte in such sorte, that sir William Stanley was presently sent for, who uppon his arrivall dyd what hee coulde to perswade the king to sende forces for Ireland; but belyke there was not such greate credite given him as he expected there should be, insomuch that hee wrote letters to Holte the Jesuite, beeing in Brussels, (which is his countriman, and one uppon whom he chietly relieth,) of great discontentment, signifying that his intertainment was far colder than hee expected. Within short space after he was sent downe to the kings navie, lying at Coronia, where a while hee remained with the Adelantado. In the meane time his regiment began to drop and droup away, in such sorte, that what for lack of sustenance, and through ill usage, the number of them was so melted, that they were not in all above an hundred and fiftie: and for the chifest captaines, leaders, and gentlemen, they did both so much mislike the base handling of matters, and also the practises there dayly set abroch against their countrie, that they made (by means) intercession to her majestie for their pardon, which of her mercifull and roiall benignitie she granted; so that such of them as remain alive, do enjoy their countrie, and can testifie this which I have sayd to be true. But now to returne to Yorke, whom I lefte in Daventre, assured both by Verdugo's promises and his owne hopes, of the towns government, when he saw Grave Harman make his entrie as new created governour by the dukes appointment, you must imagine that it grieved him to the verie gall; but forced he was to dissemble it with his best patience. Nevertheles having in the towne a gallant companie of lances,

in despite of them he florished and bare his head aloft, ranging and scouring over the whole countrie, bringing in dayly great booties, and growing rich. This prosperitie of his was a great blemish in their eie, for they knew him to be discontented and of a dangerous humour, so that they did not greatly trust him; him therefore fairely one daie at dinner they caused to bee poisoned, where likewise were poisoned with him yong Richard Souch, and Robert Fenne priest; but he belike having swallowed the chiefe substance, they onely met with the drams, so that he died miserably, and they fel sicke and brake out into many pustules and biles, yet afterwards recovered, and did give this testimonie. His breath was no sooner out of his body, but Trias, a Spanish captaine, and Grave Harman, the newe governor, rusht into his lodging to break up his coffers; in which being withstood by Yorkes lieutenant, John Bowcer, and by Edward Bowcer his brother, they caused their gardes at noone daies to enter in upon them, and most inhumanely and barbarously to murder them both in their own presence; which worthie exploit beeing perfourmed, they brake up his coffers, tooke out his jewells, plate, and monie, of which they found great store, appropriating the same to their own use, as likewise they did his horses, armes, and furniture, though he by testament had bequeathed them to a litle youth, his brothers sonne, called Edmond Yorke, being then in those parts with him. Lastly, they chased his whole companie out of the towne, and spoyled their baggage at the gates; who (poore men) seeing their captain poisoned, their lieutenant murdered, and themselves so unchristianly dealt withall, repaired to Verdugo, imploring his helpe and assistance in so hard an extremitie, who for recompence, verie charitably cashierd them al without the receipt of one peny.

Afterwards when the fame of this poisoning grew rife abroad, they gave out and published, that some one had done it suborned thereunto by the councill of England; but if there had bin no other prooffe, (as there were infinit) yet the sequell of their doings, their murdering of his friends, and the robbing of his treasure, shewed by whom it was done, and wherat they aimed. Thus much as touching the usage

which they received from the king and his ministers: nowe keeping the course I began, let us see with what prosperitie it pleased God to blesse this action of sir William Stanley's, and those whom he used as instruments therein.

After his comming into the kings service, he divided his regiment, which was the greatest part Irish, into sixe companies. The leading of his owne company he gave to Peter Winne, in which roome afterwards (master Winne discharging himselfe) hee placed one Hart, an olde souldier and follower of his. The other five companies he gave to Gwin, Salsburie, Eaton, Reinolds, and Harrison, the sargeant majorship hee gave to one Simon Scurlocke, an Irish gentleman; but above all the rest, he himself conversed most in kindnes of love and affection with one R. Ashton, who had bin his bed-fellow, and the greatest furtherer of him in this enterprise. The foure first named, after humble suite made unto her majesties honourable counsell for their pardon, returned into England, and imployed themselves with great commendation in her majesties service.

Gwin went first with my lord of Essex, and lastly with sir Roger Williams over into France, as sargeant major of his regiment, where beeing wounded in a skirmish before the wals of Roane, hee languished thereof grievously some three or foure weekes, and finally ended his daies at Diep.

Peter Winne likewise went over with my lord of Essex into France; and now lastly hearing of the Turks desent into Hungarie, obtained leave to go serve in the Christian armie against him, where hee was exceedingly well intertained, and honoured with the leading of a companie of footmen. But now in the late overthrow given by the Turke to archduke Mathias, it is reported that he was slaine. I could wish the reporte to bee untrue, for he was a man of singular good partes, and might have done her majestie much good service.

James Eaton went the Portingall voiage with sir Francis Drake, where with the extremitie of sicknes he died on the waie.

Onely captaine Salsburie liveth, but hath tasted his part of as much adverse fortune, as truely I thinke his verie enemies could wish him.

Reinolds, laboring with al instance by his friends here in England for his pardon, was prevented of his return by a cruel bloodie flux, of the which he died in Brussels.

Harison was one morning, as the companies marched, run thorough the bodie and slaine by a baggage fellow of the regiment, whom he had stricken the night before.

Scurlocke the sargeant major, stragling with certain of the soldiers abroad, was incountred by the pesants, and chased up into a church steeple, where finally both he and they, refusing to submit themselves to the fury of the clownes, were burnt alive.

Roger Ashton comming lately into England, was apprehended and executed at Tiburne for treason.—If God himself lay it downe as one of his blessings, that he will give the righteous long and many happy daies on the earth, surely then the taking of these men away in the best of their yeeres by such violent ends, in my judgement, is an apparent argument of his wrath; from which of his divine and inestimable mercie, I beseech him to deliver us.

Neither were it onely the captaines that thus perished, but in a manner all the rest, though I trouble you not with their particular names and discourses, in so much, that lately (the olde English and Irish souldiers being worne out) sir William Stanley was faine to fill up his regiment with Wallons and Dutchmen, appointing new captaines over them, and making one Jaques Francesco his lieutenant coronell; one borne in Antwarp of Italian parents, but from his infancie brought up in England, and in many dueties tied both to the nation, and to sundry gentlemen of the same, for many their loves and liberalities towarde him, especially to the late lord chancelor, whom he served, and who had alwayes bin his especiall good friend and favorer. He followed a while the warres of Ireland, where hee behaved himself so well, that he was advanced to honest degrees in her majesties service,

such as among souldiers are accounted honourable and of reputation ; at length beeing brought thence, not without great suspition of ill carrying himselfe in matter of allegiance to her majestie, yet he found such assured friends, that he did not onely recover his libertie and freedome, but also tasted verie deeply of their liberalities, such, as I thinke some of them, though verie honourable, scarcely ever used the like to anie ; and ingaged wyth these curtesies, which for ever wold have tied a thankfull minde, he was suffered to depart the realme. All which notwithstanding, it is reported, that there is not anie beyond the sea that doth run a more violent and unreverent course against the person of her majestie, and the state of our countrie, than he doth ; at which truly I do much wonder, how a minde not altogether void of reason and humanitie, can suffer it self to sinke into so deepe a degree of ingratitude. Let him yet at length looke into his owne conscience, and if so many benefits received claime not his fidelity and service, yet at least let them keepe him from attempting villanie. I speake this in respect of his owne good, and not that hee nor ten thousand more such as he is, is able to do her majestie or her realme a halfepeenie worth of harme ; for the mightie hande of God, and the approved valour of her faithfull subjectes are able, and wyll alwayes defend and protect her against whatsoever violence of whosoever her malicious enemies, who hetherto have done her no farther harme, than themselves to perish, and to bee confounded in their owne devises ; and I hope it shall never be otherwise. But as for Jaques, if he will needs run on his desperate course, forgetfull of the oaths and protestations he made when hee departed out of England, let him likewise attend that scourge and punishment which ever followeth such infidelitie.

As for the other captains and gentlemen that have anie true English bloud in them, let them yet (for they are those to whom I chiefly intend my speeches) look with a discreeter judgement into the depth of their estates ; let them not tire out their yeres and youth in so com-

fortles and unrewarded a service, the end wherof is never other than untimely death, desolation, or beggarie; let them not trust themselves to sleep in the bosome of a flattering stepmother, that holdeth a knife in her hand to cut their throates, when they may securely throwe themselves into the armes of a loving naturall mother, that will receive them, comming like penitent and obedient children. with true teares and perfect joy. Let them cast backe theyr eyes upon the glorie and greatnesse of her majestie, theyr soveraigne princesse, who in deed is a true and loving mother to us all; let them but looke into the happie and blessed estate of their native countrie, and finally consider the dutie they doo owe unto them both. They are not yet so farre past, but that their submission may be received; yea, and such services they may do, highly rewarded too.

But leaving these digressions, to which I know not what zeale transporteth me, judge now (I praie you) what reward, honor, and advancement, you may expect of the king of Spaine, that never deserved of him anie favour or good usage, when you see these men suffered to perish, and that in so miserable estate, that have done him so many, so great, and so weightie services. But perchance you will saie that hee hath dealt better with private men than he hath done with those tumultuous militar troupes: if you can name me but anie one that he hath raisd or advanced to honor, or that liveth richly or wealthily in his service, I will name you an hundred, that being gentlemen of good houses, and of worthie merit, have consumed, languished, and bene brought to nothing in his service, yea, and some of them perished and died for lack of sustenance. You perchance will name Hugh Owen; and in good faith he is the onely man that ever I knew advanced, credited, or graced in his service; and yet (God wot) all that he getteth is no more than to maintain him in a meane estate or shew, with a man onely or two to serve him: where, on the other side, I will reckon you up of those that are onely for want of things necessarie, and of pure povertie, consumed and dead, M. Dakers, Michael Tempest, old Norton, Israel Harman, Markenfield, Tremaine, Stradling, Henrie Ca-

rew, Edward Allen, Fleming, Suthwell, Bulmer, with sundrie others of good race and credit in their countrie.

But to recite unto you the names of those that doo yet live so poorely and uncomfortably in his pension, would be a matter too tedious ; and therefore take them all in general, C. Paget onely excepted, who came wel furnished with crownes out of England, and likewise inherited many good things that my lord Paget lefte unto him at his death, and examine them one from another from my lord of Westmerland downe even to the verie lowest ; and if there be in the whole world a more miserable and discontented troupe of gentlemen, let me never be credited in anie thing else that I shall tel you. And because you shall your selfe the better judge, I will tell you what paiment they have of such pensions as the king hath given them.

They had graunted them at Bruges, the first daie of August, in the yeere 1588, a general *liberanca*, to receve three moneths paie a peece of their pensions. But first, before I goe anie further, I thinke it verie necessarie to let you understand what manner of thing this *liberanca* is, of which I speake, to the end that you may bee acquainted with the inventions and craftie delayes that they use in this matter of payment ; for if you have not especiall favour, it will bee sixe moneths after the grant thereof, do what you can, afore it will be fully signed, and in estate for you to demand your monie. A *liberanca* is a bill of assignation for the receite of monie graunted to some one in particular, or to two or three joyntly, or a hundred or more, as occasion shal require : it is first drawen, and underneath signed by the chiefe secretory that attendeth on the generall ; it is directed by the duke unto the treasurer general, commanding him to paye the same of whatsoever monie hee shall have within his charge, but first to see that the same be perused and registred in both the offices of the two contadors of the armie, and signed with their names and rubrikes ; and then that it be likewise registred, perused, and rubrikt by the veedor generall, and signed with his name. After this, he expresseth the causes that moveth him to grant the summe of monie to the partie that bringeth the li-

beranca, with many other particularities. This is the manner of a *liberanca*; without which there is not there anie paiment made of monie to any man, unlesse it be by secret billets from the generall, which are but seldome, and that upon secret and sodain causes, as trecherie, intelligence, or espial, or some such base matter as requireth secrecie, and not to be delaid. The wordes of such billets are, to command the treasurer to paie unto the bringer for secrete services, so much monie as is therein expressed; which, without more words, being signed with the dukes hand, is presently dispatched: but unles it have bin to some notable spie, fewe such billets have fallen to anie Englishmans share. As for the *liberanca*, which is the ordinarie and usuall kind of paiment, after that by tedious labor and solicitation, a man hath in sixe moneths space gotten all their hands, yet in a manner he is never the neerer, for some of them are never paid, and scarcely anie til they be two or three yeres old; if in the meane time the party loose his *liberanca*, there is no recoverie of a new by anie meanes possible; if he die, no benefite thereof riseth to his wife, children, or heirs, for a *liberanca* is never paide but personally to him in whose name it is first granted. If it be with long carriage fretted, or the names of those that signed it obscured, it is a sufficient cavill to frustrate the payment; insomuch, that one Camell, a Scotchman, came with a faire peece of parchment in his hand to Cosmo the secretorie, humbly desiring that his *liberanca* might be therein ingrossed, for in paper he was sure it wold be worne out before he should recover the payment.

Such a *liberanca* (I saie) as this was graunted to the English pensioners in the yeere abovesayde, for three moneths paie, of which, till October in the yere 1590, I am sure they had not received one penny; how long they staid without it afterwards I know not, for of latter time I cannot give anie so certaine assurance; onely the common report is, that things there are not much bettered, but now, especially since the duke of Parma's death, much impaired.

Their necessitie was great, and they followed the duke from towne to towne, importunately requiring paiment; but especiall ye they never

left Cosmo the dukes secretorie in quiet, who to rid himselfe of their troublesome importunities, addressed them to Baptista Spinola, a Genouese banker, dwelling in Antwarpe, giving them his letter, and sending the same by one Henry Haslewood, requesting him to releeeve those distressed English gentlemen, and to buy their *liberanca*, which he doubted not but they would sell good cheape greatly to his profit; the whole summe was ten thousand crowns, which Cosmo promised him should be allowed and passed in the reckoning which he had with the king. Haslewood in the name of the rest offered him the sayd summe for sixe thousand, but Spinola utterly refused the same, saying he would not take it for two thousand; and withall, he desired that hee might not meddle anie more with the king, wishing that hee had not medled with him so much. So that they were faine to returne poore and pennylesse; and did in that instant of which I speake, live in so poore and pittifull a sort, that truly it was a grief to see it; insomuch that I knew a gentleman that solde his part there, amounting to twentie-four pounds, for three poundes. But perchance you will saie hee giveth great pensions, and intertaineth many of our nation. It is true in deed, in shew he doth so, and therewith doth bleare the worlds eies with an apparance of great liberalitie; but his paiment and usage considered, (I protest unto you that I speak unfainedly) I do not know anie estate of life in England so meane, which I do not much prefer before being here a pensioner to the king of Spaine. I leave the judgement of the truth heereof to those that have tried it; you have many of them amongst you, conferre with them, and examine them upon their conscience. As for my part, in good faith I cannot imagine the cause why hee intertaineth us, unlesse it be to use us as stales to allure others, considering the hatred that he and his beareth us, and so under the dissembled colour of a false affection, at length to overthrow us all.

Thus much I dare boldly saie, because through the conference that I have had with them, I doo knowe it assuredly, that even those of our nation which do most serve his turne, howsoever in outward apparance they seeme for some particular causes to magnifie and extoll his liber-

alitie, yet in theyr owne secret conceites they doo imagine and knowe nothing in the worlde to bee more reproachfull, base, and contemptible, than to be an entretenido in the king of Spaines service, especially if hee serve not in the warres, and have his entertainment assigned him in some companie or other, which fewe or none of our countrymen have, chiefly those of the better sorte. As for those that have their pensions granted them to follow the court without anie obligation of service, as in a manner all the pensions granted to the Englishmen are, the Spanish souldier maketh the most base and contemptible reckoning of them that may bee, even as of men that live by charitie, as our poore knightes doo at Windsore. But to the end you may in this point cleerely discern the manner of their usage, you must understand, that the king granteth two manner of pensions or extraordinarie paies, bestowing upon men of desert eyther of them, as the occasion and the qualitie of theyr service shal require; the one called by the name of Entertainment, and the other Ventaya, in the patents wherein they are granted. The first, which they call Entertainment, is such as is graunted to our countrymen, and to stragling Italians, and to some cashierd captaines, such as are of best regard, and to strangers of other nations, who are never paid till the whole armie be satisfied, and all other occasions defraide; then if any overplus remaine, which seldome happeneth, somewhat therof perchance may come to their share. This pension is verie casuall, and hath often bin abolished and taken awaie quite, as well from the English as from all other nations; witness Charles Browne, Hugh Owen, and Ralfe Ligons, that were faine foure yeres since, upon that occasion, to go into Spaine, where after long and great sute, they brought downe order again to have the same renewed; yet still commonly once a yeere there comes an allarum among them, that the king will not be any longer at the charge of so many pensions, and in danger to be turned out of paie. And some three or four yeres agoe, they were all commanded to go downe to the armie, and to put themselves in service under some companie, or otherwise not to expect anie pension or paiment; which how unfitting

it is, and unworthie to men brought up in other courses, as most of them are, I leave to your judgement: yet the misery of that bondage to which they have subjected themselves, must indure all; and which is most miserable, must not complain when they are stricken. The other paiment or pension, which is called Ventaya, as it is much more honorable, because (though verie usuall among the Spaniards and all other nations, ours excepted,) yet they are never granted but upon pretence of good service don, or some duenes of desert; they that have them are more respectively regarded and better paid than the other, and they are never taken from them, so long as they follow the kings service. Many of our nation have served among the Spaniards, yet to this daie did I never knowe anie one graced with one of these Ventayas, though they are common to all other nations, yea, even to the Germanes, though granted to them by the name of Sobrepagas, which in effect is all one.

If I were guiltie to my selfe, that this which I doo write were untrue, I should greatly feare the shame of reprove in a matter so manifest, especially there being now in England many that are as well or better acquainted with these matters than my selfe, and can contradict me where I erre. But grounding my selve upon the confidence of an assured truth, I cannot but wonder, these things being so, how anie that hath the true feeling of that which pertaineth to the honor of a gentleman, can indure an usage so scornful and contumelious as this which daily they receive from the Spaniard; of which if you desire one example for all, this may satisfie you which followeth. At such time as the duke of Parma lay at Bruges, busie about his preparations for England, and attending the Spanish fleet, when they all expected to be made knights, coronels, captaines, and conductors of the armie, and to be filled with crownes, they were so far from those matters with which they flattered themselves, that in sted of being honored and advanced, they were the only rejected and contemned people that followed the court; all nations els beeing releevd with some moneths paie, they onely excepted. And which is more, wheras they moved the

duke sundrie times to know his pleasure, how he would dispose of them in that journey, telling him besides, that upon the well usage of them depended much matter of importance, as the alluring and drawing unto them other gentlemen of their kinsmen and friends, who upon hope of the like good usage, honor, and advancement, would be able to do great service upon their landing; whereas contrariwise, seeing them come over so poore in shew, without credit, money, or armes, like lackies, (for so were the words of their request) it would be a cause to terrifie them from undertaking of anie such course: they were by the duke scornfully and with derision rejected, neither did he vouchsafe to give them anie other answer, than only that he would think upon it. But on the night in which upon the hurlyburly of the coming of the Spanish navie, they thought to imbarke, he departed towards Donckerk, leaving them all behinde, not thinking them any way worthy to bee called upon, or to be taken with him. Whereupon the earle of Westmerland, the lord Paget, and sundry of the better sort, laide their heads together, and made their complaint unto the duke of Pastrana, (who was newly come out of Spaine with great favours from the king, and there lived in great honor and applause among the Spaniards) but by him, some saye, they were as basely and scornfully handled as by the other. The Spaniards did much disdain their aggravation of their abilitie and meanes to facilitate the kings enterprise for England, insomuch that one Don Ambrosio, a man of principal qualitie, asked them in cholar, whether they thought the king of Spain not puissant enough to win England without them and their friends. This evill intreatie wrought so great an apprehension in my lord Paget, (who both in regard of his fathers especiall credit in times past with the king, as also of his owne qualitie and carriage, had presumed upon much better usage,) that he retired him selfe to Brussels, where, what with the conceit of this griefe, and what with other accidents, he shortly ended his life. Sir William Stanley tooke it also in such disdainfull sort that he was not called to the counsell of the wars, (whereas he presumed and gave out, that no man in the armie knew more, or was bet-

ter able in this voiage than himself,) that he sequestred himselfe from the court, and comming discontented to Antwarpe, there hired a house, where foure or five moneths hee lived full of melancholy and passion, making evident shew that his mind was utterly unable to beare the burthen of so great an indignitie.

But whosoever liveth there, must bee contented to indure this and a great deale more, for the Spaniards will not be by anie meanes perswaded, that those of our nation living there with them are gentlemen of good houses, qualities, and living in England, but rather take them to be such as the banditti of Italy, men fled out of their countrie for theft, debt, robbery, or manslaughter, as a captain of them spared not plainly to tell sir William Stanley in the passage-boat between Antwarpe and Brussels, saying, that he could not but exceedingly wonder what should move a man, being rich, well descended, and of good living in his country, to change the same for the service of an opposite forren prince, swearing a great oath, that all the religion in the world should not make him do the like.

Likewise a great companie of them standing round together in a ring (as their manner is) upon the Mere Brigge in Antwarpe, and seeing certaine English gentlemen passe by, one of them, and hee a capitaine, by name Lucas, well knownen by his redde beard, balde head, and maymed armes, sayde, that hee wondered what the king made with anie such vermine in his countrie. Another of them sware a greate oath, that looke howe manie English men there were in the kings service, there were so many spies and traitors; the third said, it were an almes deed to put them all in sacks, and to throw them into the river; but the fourth verie gently replied, that it would be a better course to send them downe to the kings gallies, where in regarde of their big joynts and broad shoulders, they could not but prove good tuggers at an oare. But these beeing but the speeches of private men, might the better bee borne, were they not confirmed by men of greater sort; which whether it be so or no, aske T. Throckmorton, who

talking with Juan de Lasture, the kings treasurer general, one day upon the walls of Brussels, wondered why the king, having such pretences for England, made no more reckoning of such Englishmen as followed him, who in regard of their parentage and intelligence might bee able to doo him great services, if they were hartned with somewhat better usage; whereas now, by reason of their povertie and drouping, they were not fit for anie thing. To which the treasurer replied, that he was not ignorant of the estate, qualitie, and condition of all such Englishmen as followed the king; but for his part (swearing a Spanish oath or two) he knew not anie one of them in regard of abilitie to do the king service, worth the straw that lay under his foot.

The like answeare in a manner was given by Francesco Blancocauallo, his vizetreasurer in Antwarpe, to captaine Pernay and other gentlemen, who being denied by him the paiment of certaine monie they demaunded, and speaking of the services they had done unto the king, he answered, that he knew not what services they had done, or were able to doo, unlesse it were to spend the kings monie in tavernes and brothell houses. The like they received from Sammariba, the veedors chiefe officer; but that the same was accompanied with worse effects: for captaine Barney laying hand on his rapier, making proffer to revenge the hardnes of such speeches as were offered him, was presently invironed among them, and run thorough the doublet in a place or two, not without exceeding danger of his life.

But by the waie I thinke it not amisse to tell you a merrie accident that fell out betweene the treasurer and one captain Smith, an Englishman, spoken of before in this treatise; who being one daie well tipled, cam in all hast to demand his monie of Juan de Lasture. He seeing him come in that unreverent sorte, grew so farre gone with cholar as the other was with wine, and reviled him by many foule names, as *perro*, *luterano*, *borachio*, &c. Smith had not a word of Spanish, nor anie other language, but a little Dutch, wherein he requited the treasurer in as snarling tearmes as he could, calling him *honscont*,

schellam, and Turke. Wherewith the treasurer came in a great rage, and would have thrust him downe the staires, but Smith drew out his dagger, and had without doubt mischieved him, if coronell Boid and other Scottish gentlemen, that were there present as sutors for monie, had not come between them. The matter came before the duke, who, as alwayes hating Juan de Lasture exceedingly, made but a jest of it; and Smith being sober, submitted himselfe, imputing his fault to the wine, and so the matter was ended.

I could recite unto you a thousand the like thinges as these; but they are not worthie the remembring. Returning therefore to my purpose: they are so jealous and suspicious of us, that if anie thing prove untowardly in their service, they think it straight to be done by our especial meanes and intelligence; as upon the taking of Axhill by that honorable and worthie souldier sir Philip Sidney, Mondragon presently imprisoned Pigot within the castle of Gaunt, tooke away all thinges whatsoever he had worth anie thing, and the rest he caused his men to rifle and steale, saying openly, that we were all traitors and spies. And if you desire further confirmation of the good opinion and confidence they have of us, tell mee what companies of English they have trusted within these ten yeeres in garrison; I am sure you cannot name one. And wheras sundrie English gentlemen have instantly sued to have their pensions granted them in the castles of Antwarpe or Gaunt, because the paiment is there somewhat better, no one hath hetherto bin able to obtaine the same, so base and of no regard is the estate in which they live. I coulde alleadge unto you many other examples of mightie wrongs and disgraces offered unto our nation, whereby they might (if they list) easily discover the hatred the Spaniard beareth them, the suspicious jealousie with which they overlooke them, and the danger wherein they stand to have one daie all their throats cut. And that this hard dealing and hatred of theirs proceedeth not of anie demerit of the English, but of a rooted and ingrafted malice of the Spaniards to our whole nation, may, by many actions of theirs, be

proved and made manifest. For whensoever the fortune of the warres hath delivered anie of us into their hands, it is strange to thinke with what greedie and unsatiable thirst they have desired to shed English bloud. As for example: at Rosendale, where sundry English regiments, being by the marshal Biron abandoned and betraied, were by them defeated and overthrowen, it is scarcely credible what barbarous crueltie they used upon men rendred, and demanding mercie uppon their knees. But admit all cruelty tollerable during the furie of an execution, (though among Christians, and men of noble and valorous minds, there is yet a moderation to be used,) what bloudie inhumanitie was ever heard the like to that which they used the next daie. For whereas the Italians and Burgonians (moved with a souldierly compassion) had taken many English prisoners, and saved them from the former slaughter; upon the next mornings march, as they brought them foorth, thinking to lead them quietly home to their quarter, the Spaniards, with a hellish furie, crying *matta, matta*, drew their rapiers, and murthered with many wounds these poore naked men, not suffering a man of them to scape alive.

Likewise in that trecherous and sinonically practised of Graveling, wherein they thought to have intrapped noble sir Philip Sidney, how cruelly and tiranously did they use those poore men of ours that were sent before to discover it? All were safe, according to promise, whom after they had received into their gates with friendly salutations, and intertained a good space in the town, in the end when they sawe the successe of the enterprise answered not their bloudie, traiterous, and unmanly expectation, they disarmed and unclothed them in the market-place, and finally, like cruell butchers, and not like honorable souldiers, murthered them everie one.

We have not (thankes bee to God) wanted occasion many times since to crie quittance with them, as namely at the fort of Bergues, where by Grimstones practise they were brought to the trappe. There were gentlemen of good worth there present, that advised my lord Wil-

loughby to serve them with the same measure as they had served the poore Englishmen at Graveling: but he having ever in all his actions folowed the waie of honour, disdained unnobly to imbase his hands with the unworthie bloud of men rendred and unable to resist. Likewise after the overthrow of that their late fleetes, (which before hand they tearmed Invincible) when such numbers of them were taken, that the prisons of London were not capable of them, if her majestie would have followed the example of theyre owne nation, shee might have used them as Don Juan did the Wallons after the battle of Jeblours, where taking verie neere 2000 of them prisoners, the next day after the battell he caused them to be bound two and two together, and to bee tumbled headlong over the bridge of Namures into the river of Meuse: but her majestie, like a Christian princesse, full of roiall magnanimitie (though the mischivous intention of their comming, and the horrible cruelties that they pretended were not unknowen unto her,) yet caused them to bee dispersed into severall convenient places, and there upon her charge to be provided for, and lastly, to be sent over into Flanders, accompanied with ships, artillerie, and sufficient convoy of men, to warrant their safetie by the way. Likewise she permitted those that had bin cast a land in Scotland, quietly to passe along her narrow seas, yea, and accompanied them with her safe conduct, though she well knew that their arrivall in the Low Countries could not but be a great re-enforcement to the weakned troupes of her armed enemy the duke of Parma.

The affection then of the Spaniard beeing such towards us and our nation as you have heard, I hope those before remembred examples shall be sufficient to assure and perswade you, that under the king of Spains dominion and government there is not any wealth, honor, or advancement, to bee gotten, but contrariwise, povertie, perill, jelousie, and disgrace.

Now let us see touching the pointes of conscience and repose in religion, if the same be to be found heere, such as you expect. In a

matter of religion I will not take uppon mee to dispute, but will leave the decision thereof to men of greater abilitie. Onely for this time allowing your religion to bee good, (which surely if it bring not forth better fruits, will hardly be proved to be the true tree,) let us now come to the contentment which you might heere receive in free usage of the same, together with the conversation of such other your countrymen as are heere of the same profession and religion.

First, I thinke you are not ignorant of the divisions, partialities, and factions, that are betweene them ; which surely are such, that I thinke scarcely in the world ther is to be found such a divided sorcerie of men. I speake it not in respect of private quarrells and contentions, wherein they have often wounded, maimed, and slaine one another, but I meane in regard of different and long induring factions, wherein great partes of them are most malitiously opposite one against another, to the great prejudice and slaunder of them all. For you must consider, that there are amongst them foure sorts of humours, of which each sortes himselfe to his semblable. The one, (and I name them first, for otherwise they would not take it well,) pretend to be great statesmen and deep polititians ; these will not vouchsafe to looke on anie other booke but such as treat of high matter, pollicy, and government, as Bodins Commonwealth, Machivels Prince, Lipsius his Politikes, Manutius his Lawes, and such like. Neither is there anie of these, no not the least, but thinks himselfe sufficient to be a magnifico of Venice. There is a second sort, wholly devoted to the folowing and faction of the Jesuits, serving them as their espials and instruments in whatsoever they imploy them : these are verie hatefull to the rest, and are dangerous to converse withall ; not so much in regard that anie of them are able to do a chips worth of harme, as of their willingnesse to do it if they were able. There are others, whome the rest generally in dirision call by the name of Patriots, which is to saie, lovers and affecters of their countrie. These, indeed, among all the rest, are men of the greatest temperance and best behaviour ; who, howsoever they are in religion

contrariely affected, yet you shall never heare them speake unreverently of her majestie ; neyther truly do I thinke that in their hearts they wish her anie harme ; at least-wise they are verie respectious in bewraying it either in worde or action : I have heard some of them saie, that so they might bee suffered to returne into England, and to injoy the libertie of theyr conscience, they would be contented to bee confined within the compasse of a poore cottage, and bee bound never to come out of it while they lived.

But of all the rest, the fourth and last are the best fellowes, for they flie but a verie low pitch, being men utterly void both of learning, wit, and civilitie ; these the rest esteeme no otherwise of, than as of verie dunces, not fit for anie imployment. The farthest drifte of their religion is, to speake ill of the queene, to say the pope is a good man, and to thumpe their breasts hard when they come to church. I knew one of them, that having sometimes beene a pettie marchant in England, solde all that ever hee had, and putting two hundred poundes in his purse, went to Hierusalem to buye a pounce of waxe candles, which hee brought home upon his back, and withal as much earth of the Mount Olivet as hee was able to carrie ; imagining that everie dram thereof was able to cast out a legion of devils. In regard of which reliques, uppon his returne to Brussels hee obtained a pension, where hee still remaineth : and truely hee may bee a good man, for I thinke hee liveth in as great povertie as ever did anie of the apostles, though perchance not so voluntarie : but the best is, he will not give his best friend the least mite of his holye thinges, saying, that he reserveth them to furnish the churches in England, when they shall come one daie to bee catholique ; and hath alreadie appoynted what churches they bee that hee meanes to make beholding unto him for this high benefite.

I would have named the particular names of everie one according to the factions to which they are affected, but that I feare this last remembered sort would have beene angrie with me ; and withall, there is

another respect or two besides. But above all these, there is one overruling faction, that hath drawn them into mightie partialities and strange extremities one against another. The originall whereof sprong out of the Romish seminary betweene the English and the Welch: either partie had for favourer and protector a man of great authoritie; to which leaned doctor Allen for the one, and doctor Lewis for the other, a man verie wise and learned, and by reason of his age, gravitie, and long continuance in those parts, of great authoritie in the court of Rome, and since, in the later end of pope Gregorie, created bishop of Casano in Naples, but alwayes a verie bitter enemie to the Jesuites. In fine, each nation with all vehemencie laboured for the presidentship and superioritie one over the other. The Welchmen pretended the first foundation of the colledge to have bin by a British king, for the perpetuall behoofe of his countrymen: the Englishmen likewise alleadging their reasons; but in the end, doo what they could, they were by the Welchmen caused to avoid the house. Wherupon (with their fardles upon their neckes, as being readie to depart the towne,) they presented themselves unto pope Gregorie, whom with a lamentable oration they moved to take such compassion of them, that he caused them to returne, takin (to their full contentment) order between them and their adversaries. Notwithstanding which reconciliation, there still remained a great hart-burning and dislike. Shortly after, pope Sixtus determining to make a cardinall of our nation, there grewe for the same great competency betweene doctor Lewis and doctor Allen, each one for the obtaining thereof applying his best friendes to the uttermost. But in the end, thorough the instant pursuite of the Jesuites, who spared no travel nor expence, they procured unto doctor Allen such mightie friends, that the lot and preheminance of this dignitie fell upon him; of whom, and of the Jesuites, and of their faction, were for ever mortally hated, all those that had bin anie waie favorers or well-willers to doctor Lewis; but chiefly and among the rest one Thomas Morgan, a man not inferior to anie of them all in driftes of poli-

cie, who had bin sometimes secretorie to the Scottish queene, and indeed had instantly labored in the behalfe of doctor Lewes. The Jesuites since have had many a plucke at him ; but Morgan being wise, strengthened himselfe alwaies with such friends, that they could never do him anie hurt, but rather ever now and then he gave them a secret blow. He drew wholly unto his faction the lord Paget, the bishop of Dun-glane, a Scotchman of great credit and gravity ; C. Paget, T. Throckmorton, Ralfe Liggon, and sundry other that esteeme themselves to be of the better sort. Notwithstanding all which, so effectually and forcible were the means with which they practised against him, that they got him to bee imprisoned in Paris, laying to his charge, that hee was an intelligencer for sir Frances Walsingham, a traitor to the service of the queen his mistres, and from time to time a discoverer of her practises, and withall procured the sayd queene to conceive exceedingly ill of him, and taking the receivers ship of her dowrie in France from him, to bestow the same upon the bishop of Rosse. Yet for all this, Morgan found such friends in the court of Rome, that by the popes expresse commandements, directed from time to time to his nuntio then resident at Paris, he was set at libertie ; and therupon began to make his justifications to the world, and withall bitterly to inveigh against his adversaries, and the wrongs which they had don him. Likewise, at that instant, there was a booke printed in Paris, publikely accusing the Jesuites of many wicked practises and most malicious impieties, of which they suspected Morgan ; and sure I thinke it was his worke, but they could never apparantly prove it against him. Therefore seeing that they had in this failed, they determined to take their revenge by another course ; to effect the which, they used as an instrument a young gentleman called Gage, whom by many practises they suborned and incensed thereunto ; the manner whereof was as followeth : Morgan being come downe into the Low Countries in company of the lord Paget and his brother Charls, having been one night late at evening service in the church of saint Gudula at Brussels, was, as he came down the church staires, encountered in the darke by

Gage, and by him grievously wounded in the face; who thereupon presently fled, thinking that he had slaine him; but afterwarde, by the means and earnest pursuit of the lord Paget, was apprehended. The Jesuites and their partie seemed at the first stifly to deny that they had bin the causers of this fact, but the sequel of their proceedings made it most apparant to the whole world: for when Morgan, the lord Paget, and diverse of his friends, labored verie earnestly and with petitions unto the duke, to have the rigor and severitie of justice to proceed against him by whom this great violence was offred, they first labored for reconciliation, which being flatly refused, then to stop the plaintifes mouthes, and to prevent such mischiefes as they feared might insue, they found no better meanes than once again to accuse Morgan of treason; laying to his charge sundrie points of trecherie, as well in former matters concerning the Scottish queen, as also the service and person of the duke of Parma. Besides, they accused him to have bin a setter on of Gifford and his confederates, in such practises as they had undertaken by sir Frances Walsinghams warrant and setting on; and to that end they sent Chrifton the Scottish Jesuite to Paris, to take Giffords examination, whose imprisonment they had there procured; and withall, they caused all such as anie way relied upon them, to take their oath before the auditor generall, that in their conscience they thought Morgan to be a traitor and a spie: unto the taking of which oath also they laboured earnestly with sundrie others, which (they not having their conscience so saleable) refused and utterly denied to doo; yet in the meane time, while these things were in hand, they wrought so with their forged accusations, that Morgan was clapt close prisoner in a miserable dungeon, called the Truerenborche, where til the duke of Parmas death he remained; at which time, as it is said, he was set at libertie, and liveth now with the bishop of Cusano. Upon his apprehension, there were above thirtie severall ciphers found in his closet, in which, abroad in the worlde, he corresponded with great personages; and withall, a letter which hee had newly written to the bishop of Dunblane, verie defamatory against the person of the duke

of Parma; which incensed the duke exceedingly against him, and was, without doubt, the chiefest cause of his long imprisonment; for otherwise it is thought hee wold easily have overpassed the calumniation of the Jesuits. In fine, these two factions have sought to overthrow one anothers credit in the chiefest courts of Christendom; opening of either side such foule matters, and tossing to and fro such filthie and slanderous defamations, that all men crie out against them both, holding them to bee traitors and men of no fidelitie. So that undoubtedly I cannot but thinke him distracted of his wits, that having meanes to live else where quietly, will make himself a partie in these partialities and contentions; which whosoever liveth there must needs doo, or else, like an enemy to them both, be rusht like a ship betweene two tempests.

But the prettiest of all is, to see how smoothly they handle the matter with you in England, abusing your simplicities with the subtilties of their words, and the holynes of their apparance. They make you, and the other catholikes of England, beleieve, that what practises and drifts so ever they take in hand, are all for the zeale of religion and advancement of the catholike cause: and you silly soules thinke all they saie to bee gospell, whereas (God wot) religion is the least matter of a thousand that they thinke upon. The onely point they aime at, beeing lost companions at home, is to make themselves great where they are, and that by making you hazard your lives, reputations, and credits, and to that ende they are alwayes breeding of practises and conspiracies, both within and without the realme, caring not what successe they take; if they prove well, then they will have the praise, merite, honor, and rewarde thereof; if otherwise, then they saie their good will must be accepted, in great matters the attempt is sufficient. And thereby they thinke to win the reputation to be accounted great state men, and contrivers of waightie matters; not caring in the meane time for the securitie of them by whome they work, as appeareth by the example and fall of many brave gentlemen of England, whome by their trecherous practises they have brought to ruine and destruction. They

verie well knew, that when they first began to set abroach the matter of Babbington and his disloiall confederats, that the effecting thereof, in such sorte as they had plotted it, was altogether unpossible, as Mendoza the Spanish ambassador told Ballard the priest, their instrument in contriving the same, when he was at first in Paris brought unto him by Charles Paget, to desire him to informe the king his master of their intention; and withall, that at a daie appointed, there might be a force and assistance of men readie to correspond with them. But that was all one, so they might be accounted men of great reach, and dealers in such high state matters, they spared not to proceede in inchanting those poore unexperienced yong gentlemen, never leaving till they had brought them to their ends, to the utter ruine of them and their houses, in such sorte as to the whole world is manifest, and needs not to be recited.

Let therefore all the gentlemen of England, especially the Catholiks, (who in regard of their religion and credulitie are by them likeliest to be insnared) take heed and beware of having any thing to do with this pestilent and factious race of people; for they speak so devoutly, looke so smoothly, and write with such counterfeted gravity and holines, that it is hard for anie man to eschue theyr deadly baits, unles he do first knowe the falshood and trecherie under which they doo colour and shroud them. What else hath intangled M. Shelly in these extreame calamities? What likewise brought the late earle of Northumberland (who never before was once detected of the least disloialtie towards his prince or countrie) into so great troubles and distresses, and finally to so tragicall and despairful an end? but onely these outlandish practises, and their conference with counterfeit Mope, who was sent out of France by this seditious troupe, to the end to overthrow both the one and the other.

What besides hath bin the cause of bringing so many other gentlemen to the losse of their lives and livinges, that lived before in ease, repose, and securitie of conscience? And, which is more, were not they the only contrivers of the death of the queen of Scotland, by setting

her in continuall practise one upon another against the sacred person and roiall estate of our most gracious sovereign, the queenes majestie; so that of violent necessitie, her majestie, though tardif, unwilling, and with great grief, at the generall and instant petition of all her most loving and faithfull subjectes, (whose onely weale and comfort dependeth upon her long life and prosperitie) to satisfie them, and to preserve the estate of her noble and flourishing realm in quiet, was constrained to secure the scepter in her own hands, by taking awaie the life of her that sought to wrest it from her; thogh how much the noblenes of her mind was therewith aggrieved, the whole world that hath knowen anie thing of her proceedings therin, either before or after, can be a witnes? I saie not this onely of my selfe, though I and all the world else do know it to be true, that these their dealings have made them hatefull and detestable even to those of their owne religion, insomuch that a French Jesuit tearmeth them all in generall, in a book which he hath written touching the queen of Scotlands death, a viperous, mischievous, and faithles kind of people, trecherous to those they deale withall, disdainfull, arrogant, ambitious, and worthie to be extermined out of the utmost bounds of the world; besides many such other goodly epithetes, with which he beutifies them in their colours: his whole booke beeing nothing but railing against English fugitives, wishing all princes, noble men, and gentlemen whatsoever, to beware and take heed of them, and that in such earnest, vehement and invective manner, that it is not possible to be more.

And yet for all so many tragically ends of their bloudie and traiterous indevours, are they moved with anie the least sparke of repentance. Neither hath the ruine of so many of you their countrimen, wrought and contrived by their practise, allurement, and perswasion, bred in them anie feeling of remorse or conscience, but rather thereby animated and incouraged to set new conspiracies and treasons abroad, with meaning in deed by sowing seditions among you, and by opposing you against the state, to make you the onely instruments one of the others ruine, and so to make the way open to the Spanish tyrant.

I will not speak any thing of their infinit former practises, as well in Ireland as within this realme, against the person of her majestie, the quietnes of either country, wherein still their instruments have by violent ends miserably perished ; which desolations, procured by their only practise, (but that they are utterly voide of all Christian humanitie) might have served to perswade them, that God is not pleased with their action, or at least the bloudie quarters of so many gentlemen as the swoorde of justice from time to time (constrained by their horrible attempts) hath divided and dispersed about the wals and turrets of London, and other places in this realme, might have stroken a terrour into their mindes, never more to hazard the lives of their countrymen in so wicked and tragical an enterprise. But no whit at all are their uncharitable and stonie harts herewith touched, but rather still incensed more and more to practise the desolation of this noble realme, and the death of our most deare and dreaded soveraign, no whit at all regarding the greatnes of her majesty, the same being of all other nations had in such regard and reverence, nor the tendernes of her sex, which even amongst the most barbarous nations, hath bin alwaies a safegard against violence ; nor, lastly, the shining brightnes of her vertue, which hath moved the remotest regions of the world to admire her, and the greatest princes living, some by themselves, some by their ambassadors, to offer her all honor, service, and reverence.

All this notwithstanding, these men, according to the confession of their instruments lately executed, keepe a solemne councell table, wherein nothing is handled but new and daily practises for the shortening of her majesties most glorious life, though they see how miraculously God blesseth and defendeth her, and that, as the giants which did shoote against heaven, they are still wounded with the fall of their owne arrowes.

What folowed of their late practise with that worthy and honorable gentleman, Ferdinando, late earle of Darby, but onelie that it brought poore Heskits, their instrument for execution thereof, to the gallowes, who bitterly with tears bewailed their acquaintance ; and naming sir

William Stanley and others, cursed the time that hee ever had knowen anie of them ?

But all had bin well, if his death onely, or the death of a thousand more such traitors, had concluded the tragedie, so that the noble earle had not likewise with his fall given all England cause to crie out upon them ; for when they had once fully discovered the loyaltie of his affection towards her majesty, and the hatred that he bare to them and their faction, either of which he well testified by the apprehension of Heskits, hee came shortly afterwards to the end of his life, whether by their practise or no, God knoweth, and time will discover. But that so it was (the circumstance of the matter, and the accidents of his sicknes considered) there is nothing more likely.

Having herein failed, presently they set newe instruments aworke, as Cullen the Irishman, Yorke, and Williams, promising great rewards, and giving them instructions how they shuld behave themselves upon the landing, for the better accomplishing thereof ; but the end was, that after having confessed all the circumstances of this hateful act, and the names and meanes of them that laboured them thereunto, and cursed the authors and contrivers of the horrible treason by them intended, they ended their lives at Tiborne, and their quarters were dispersed about the gates of London. But some may perchance demand of me what their meaning herein may be, or what credite, commoditie, or gaine, might have allured them to enter in these beforesayd so wicked and detestable inclinations ? For answer hereunto : first, I told you that so they might be accounted and reputed for great state-men, high spirited, and of deepe action, to procure that reputation and credit, hey care not whose estate of life they indanger. But besides this also which we have already spoken of, they have also farther meanings and driftes, as those that do looke deepliest and with greatest heedfulness into theyr actions do verily imagine, having by sundrie their proceedings evidently discovered the same ; of which the chiefest is, that as they are of all people living the most ambitious, so seeing this beggarly service doeth not fit their humors, they do feed themselves with an

imagination of the time to come, I mean a Spanish or Romish world in our countrie, at which time, they doubt not the long time of their exile, sufferance, and losse of their livings considered, (for so is their phrase and manner of speech) to become mightie and great men, and to have principall dignitie, swaie, and authoritie, in our countrie. Manie againe, on the other side, considering that the most part of them are but base defamed companions, of no birth or living, and that there are in England many gentlemen of the same religion of great qualitie and houses, that wold disdain to have such mates preferred before them in qualitie or degree; they have gone, by all means possible they can, about with their practises and colorable devises to root them out, so serving their owne turnes two waies; the one to win unto themselves the name and reputation of men of service, the other to rid out of the waie those that they imagine wold stand in competencie with them; but (God be thanked) the chifest harm their conspiracies have done hetherto, hath bin to perish in their owne devises. A litle before the comming of the Spanish fleet, they sent their espials, and among them some that were priests, in disguised garments, with instructions to sound the meaning of such gentlemen as they thought to be favourers of their religion, and to incline their minds to the Spanish cause, encouraging them to take armes against her majestie; to which they printed in the English tong many hundreds of books in Antwarp, barrelling them up until such time as the armie should have bin landed, and then their meaning was to have dispersed them; expressing therein many great promises and large rewards to such as shuld assist or do any maner of service to the catholike party, terrifying the rest with bitter menaces. In fine, the whol being ful of traiterous and proud threatning speeches, as well against her majestie, as against all such her faithfull subjects as should have taken her part. Likewise they obtained of the pope and the king, that as many as had theyr voices in the parliament house at such time as the queen of Scotland was adjudged to die, of what degree soever they were, should be deprived not onely of their lives and livings, but that their posteritie also should

bee for ever disinherited and disnobléd. The like also they threatned in their bookes, to all such, as well noble men as others, that shuld, after the landing of the catholike armie, persist in armes against the same. But all this, by the goodnes of God, hath but served to discover their wicked intentions, and to animate all true Englishmen to persist with the greater love, unitie, and corage, in obedience to her majesty.

Turning therefore my speeches to you, O unnaturall and degenerated Englishmen, to those whom you shuld obey, trecherous and unfaithfull, and of those that you do obey, contemned and made slaves; how can you indure to thirst after the destruction of so sweet a country, in which you received your beeing, and that gave you nouriture when you were yong? Why do you abuse religion, in making the same a maske to your intended treasons? How can you find in your harts to seeke the destruction of so benigne a prince, and the subversion of so glorious an estate, by bringing into the bowels thereof the barbarous armes of so insolent anemie; who, where he is victorious, staineth the earth with bloud, the aire with blasphemy, and the heavens with his abbominable and luxurious incontinencies? let Flanders, Portugal, Hispaniola, and the other princes of India, be witnes. The old worthy Romanes thoght it the most heroicall thing that might be, to vowe themselves sometimes to death for their countrie, and even to spend their lives in defence of their altars, temples, and monuments of their elders: but you seek to see your country bathing in the bloud of your parents, kindred, and friends; to see your cities, graves, and temples of your predecessors, consumed with fire; to see your virgins defloured, your women ravished, and finally to bring the noblest of nations to a perpetuall slaverie and servitude, yea, and that of the most cruell nation that liveth; a nation not fullie an hundred yeres since wholly they received Christianity, and as yet are in their harts pagans and Moores, from profession of which they are onely restrained by the severe bridle of their cruel and sanguinary Inquisition; which paganisme of theirs, thogh in their speeches they dare not manifest, yet do they in their

abominations discover the same. If the Numatines, Saguntines, and Nessatians, burnt their towns, slew their wives and children, and finally themselves, rather than they would receive the yoke of worthie and vertuous nations that assailed them ; what shoulde wee then do, whom our vertuous ancestors have left honored with the invincible trophes of so many victories over great and mightie nations, yea over Spaine it selfe, rather than to indure the insolent, wicked, and tiranous government of that nation, whom all Europe hath in horror, leaving to our posteritie after us a perpetual servitude and bondage, as an everlasting memorie of our cowardise ?

But leaving this untill a fitter time, I hope that this alredy said shal be sufficient to make you cleerly and plainly understand, that there is not to be found among these dissentions, partialities, conspiracies, and treasons, that sweetnesse, libertie, and tranquillitie of conscience which you expect and looke for, but rather turmoile, grieve, and distraction of minde, with a perpetuall grudging and remorse of conscience, scandalized with infinite examples of evill life, impietie, defamation, and perjurie, on the one side offensive to her majestie and the state of your countrie, and on the other side subjected to the disdain and bitter scorn of the Spaniard ; who, howsoever hee respect the service, yet never regard the person of a traitour, as a great noble man in Spaine spared not to tell Charles the Fift, when by him he was commanded to lodge the duke of Burbon in his house at Madryle, saying, that he would willingly obey his majesty, but protesting withal, by a great oath, that he would set it a fire so soone as the duke should be out of it, for his predecessors had not built it to be an harbor for traitors. Likewise when Christian var de Veque had betraied, for a promised great pension, the castle of St John, being one of the most important fortresses for Portugal, to this king Philip that now is, how and with what reward was he honored ? Even truly with such as a traitor deserveth ; for being intertained a while with hope, till such time as the king saw himselfe absolute master of all, he was then for his paines banished, and confined to the wars of Africa for ten yeres. The like usage, in a

manner, received all his fellows that had betrayed their lawful king, by delivering such places as they held in government, or by doing the king of Spaine anie other service to the prejudice of Don Antonio; who when they came afterwards to demand recompence, were answered, that the king did not use to buy that which was his owne, and therefore wisht them to take heed how they mentioned any such matter, least thereby they came to be called further into question.

Not much more pleasing was the speech that sir William Stanley received from Verdugo, who hearing him one day with passion transported into violent speeches against his countrie, wished him to use moderation, for though hee had offended his country, his country never offended him.

Likewise Rowland Yorke at dinner one daie with count Charls of Mansfet, at his house in Brussels, beginning to use unbecoming speeches of her majestie, was commanded by the count to holde his peace; praying him thence forward to be better acquainted with the customes of his table, which did not give anie man priviledge to speake unreverently of princes. So that (as I said) there is nothing more apparant than the scornfull account the Spaniard maketh of our persons, howsoever for his owne purpose he imbraceth our services. But perchance some of you will say, it is not your intentions to serve him in his wars, or to meddle with anie matter of estate, but whereas hee hath now charitably and liberally erected four seminaries for the behoofe of English students, there quietly to passe your time, and to apply your booke in one of them, not comming among these contentious fellows I speak of, nor so much as once to think of them. I do not much mislike the simple sincerenes of your intention; but yet if I might counsell you, I would wish you to looke a litle better into the matter, before you ingage your self in any such course. Wise men are not carried awaie with the apparance of things, but in matters that are doubtfull, doo alwaies suspect the worst. The worst wine hath alwayes the fairest ivy-bush; the foulest serpents lie under the best and rankest grasse; and the birdes that flie unto the bait without regarding the

lime twigs are easiliest intangled. The Trojans seeing the faire and fertill fieldes of Sicilia, bended their oares thither, but Alchimedes cried unto them to lanch awaie, for Poliphemus was there. Undoubtedly the love and zeale which the king seemeth to beare unto those of our nation is great, in inviting them to studie in his countries, and to that end preparing such convenient places for them: but I have often heard saie, that the fauning flatteries of an enemy are farre more dangerous than the frowning apprehension of a friend. Joab killed Abner when he imbraced him, and the Syren sings when she allures to death. For to what else can I liken those favours of the king of Spain, than to the songs of a Syren, or to the kisses of an enemy, under which he shadoweth the deepe and deadly mischiefe that he intendeth to our nation, and to none deadlier than to those that imbrace his offers, such I meane as do plant themselves in his new erected collidges, of which (if we were not altogether blinded, or rather cruelly bewitched with some magicall sorcery,) the proofes are too apparant. For if it be for their good he allureth them thether, why then (if they attaine to such degrees of learning as are fit for dignitie and promotion) doth he not advance them to bishopricks, deanries, abbies, chanonries, and other such spirituall dignities as they are capable of? Oh no, there is no such matter, he hath other waies in which he must imploy them, which are such as he well knoweth cannot cost them lesse than their lives; which thogh he shadow under other pretences, yet when I have declared the order therof, I will leave the reader to judge of as it shall please him; for my part I conceive as I have written. First, whosoever commeth to applie his time in studie in any of these seminaries, must promise to take upon him the orders of priesthood, when he shall be called upon so to do; for I assure my selfe, that the same rules are observed in his two new seminaries of Spaine, as were at that of Doway and Rhemes, which were by his pensions there maintained. Likewise he must solemnly make a vow of obedience to his superior, directly and without any contradiction, to go whether soever he shal send him, and to governe himself according to such instructions as he shal receive from

him ; and from the same not to swarve, though it should cost him his life. This superior is alwaies one that absolutely dependeth of the king of Spaine, as did cardinall Allen and Parsons, who being absolutely at his commandement, and so by consequence also are all the inferiors ; of which as any groweth to greater perfection than his fellowes, so is he soonest chosen out to be sent in to England, there to parturbe the quiet of the realme, to sow sedition, to practise revolts, and to alienate the mind of the subjects from obedience to her majestie, therby to prepare a bridge for him, wherby he might make his entrie into the realme, in which action the poore instrument is assured still to perish ; of which we have seen but too many examples, and I would to God we might never see more ; but that our countrymen, whome God hath blessed with such excellent giftes of learning and eloquence as sundrie of them, would, if not turne the same to the service of theyr prince and countrie, and the comforte of their friende, yet at least not suffer themselves to be drawn into such violent courses against it, wherein they see God prospers them not, justice confoundeth them, and finally, howsoever they be there canonized for martirs, our chronicles, and all the stories of our time, will for ever, to the shame of their stocke and parentage, record them for traitors.

Here now you see the drifte of the king of Spaine in erecting these his seminaries, and to what end he allureth you over ; assuring himself, that so long as he can with his faire shewes drawe anie of you thether, hee shall never want instruments to sow sedition in our countrie, and to take upon them the execution of whatsoever his mischievous indevors. Fly therefore from the enchanted snares, you that will not bee transformed into monsters. Those that beheld the head of Medusa were only turned into stones, but these that are insorcered with these Spanish inchantments, are transformed into shapes much more horrible and monstrous ; their hearts are alienated from their prince and countrie, their hands made instruments to write hatefull slanders, and defamatorie libels against persons of great nobilitie and honor, yea, and sometimes to hold a dagger wherewith to murder the

Lords anointed, their tongues into trumpets, to arme men to rebellion, bloudshed, and warres, and finally, whereas everie age hath held it, according to the saying of the poet, *decorum mori pro patria*, to be a comly thing to die for ones countrie, their lives (with such furie are they possessed) are, upon everie Spanish commandement, readie to be offered up against the same as a sacrifice.

And this assure your self, that this dissembled Spanish friendship intendeth greater mischief unto us, than ever did the apparant hatred of anie nation else whatsoever.

Bee wise therefore in time, and come not within the fatall entrie of this Dedalian labyrinth, out of which only Theseus by good hap escaped, all the rest that ever entered were devoured by the Minotaure. The Italyans have a saying, which me thinks may very wel be applied to our nation, for such Spaniardes as the king sendeth to the warres of Flaunders, because they are needy bare wretches at the first taking up, he sendeth them to his garrisons of Naples and Mylain, there to be hartned and fashioned a yeare or two, and then sending a new supply of the like into their places, he passeth them awaie into Flaunders; and after when they are consumed, for commonly they hold not above a yeare or two, then hee supplieth them with his Italian garrisons, and so successively seconds still one with another, whereuppon the Italyans have a proverbe, *In Italia gli ingrassano, in Fiandra gli amassanos*. Which surely can be better applied to none than to our fugitives, whom he keepeth to no other end than to send to the slaughter. I could urge this point farther, confirming it with infinite proofs and examples, but that this alreadie spoken may suffice to let you know the daunger of putting your selfe into this Spanish coope; which who-soever knoweth, and yet will go thether, it is greatly to be feared, what innocence soever he pretend, that he beareth with him the mind of a traitor.

Now to the third point of my discourse, concerning the mislike which sundrie of you have of her majesties government, and the state of our country at this present, pretending that to bee the cause why

ye transport your selves into the king of Spaines dominions, who in your conceit are governed with much more mildnesse and tranquillitie; I will, by comparing the one with the other, as neere as I can, let you see the difference betweene them both, and so consequently your owne error.

As neere as I can gesse, this your disliking proceedeth of two points: the one, that your laws are too rigorouslie and severely executed against such as professe the catholike religion, the other, that the adversarie hath buzzed a feare into your heads, making you beleieve, that the forces of our state are too feeble to resist so mightie and puissant an enemy as the Spanish king; whose mightie treasures, many dominions, and armies of men, they magnifie to the skies; and therefore perchance you covet to joyne betimes with that partie which you do thinke advantagious for your future securitie and advancement. First, touching the persecution of catholikes, which our fugitives doo so much exclaime uppon, filling whole volumes therewith, and aggravating the same, in tearmes most bitter and lamentable, to forrein nations, let us see what reason they have. I would faine demand one question, If ever they did reade, heare, or knowe, of anie one king or queene, that did with greater mildnes or lenitie tolerate or suffer within his or their dominion, a sect of religion opposite to the lawes by him or them established; especially the same having sundrie times made rebellious attempts against their crowne, estate, and dignitie?

Let them looke, if they be men of judgment, into the ages passed, even amongst the heathens, and into the present time among all princes of Europe, whether ther be anie to be found that hath dealt with the like lenitie as her majestie hath done. Why then doo they so falsely slander her? Do they not knowe that she is their sacred and annointed queene, appointed by God to rule over them? If they do, why doo not they then, with all reverence and humility, love, honour, and obey her, praying God to convert her, (seeing such is their desire) and not by traiterous indeavour seeke to murther and deprive her? They learned not that of the ancient Christians in the primitive church,

who praied for the emperours and princes under whome they lived ; yea, and though they were idolaters and heretikes, beseeching God that it would please him to graunt them *vitam prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem denique quietum.*

Now let our fugitives examine the secret of theyr owne consciences, and I doubt not but they shall find them guiltie of another manner of mattins.

But they will saie, shee hath executed many seminarie priests. I confesse in deed that the law hath had his course with many of them, as likewise it hath had with many other malefactors for their crimes ; but yet her majestie hath alwaies proceeded therein in so gracious and mercifull a sort, that she hath witnessed sufficiently to the world how loth shee is to come unto bloud, so long as there was anie other remedie to be used.

For her majesty knoweth, her honorable counsell knoweth, yea, and I and the whole world knoweth, that the comming of these seminaries, priests, and Jesuits, to reconcile men (as they tearme it) to the obedience of the Romane church, is directly and absolutely to alienate and divert their mindes from her majestie, and to incline them to be readie to assist anie enemy, either within or without the realme, that shall colour his cause under the pretext of religion. Her majesty, I say, and counsell, and all good subjects, knowing this, and foreseeing the danger that might thereof insue, forbad by act of parliament these sortes of seditious people to enter into her realme, or to use or exercise any such unquiet doctrine ; limiting therewithall, to such as were within the realme, a time to depart out of the same.

But this lenitie wrought rather contempt than obedience ; for these men contemning the gravitie of our lawes, and not thinking any to be obeied, but such as they make themselves, came still into the realme as fast as before. Great numbers of them were taken and emprisoned, whom though her majesty deservedly, and with great justice, (especially the daily mischief, stirred up within the realme by their mali-

tious practises, considered) might have executed as traytors and rebels, yet the greatnesse of her princely clemencie and compassion, was so unwilling to come unto extreames, that she caused them all once more to be pardoned, and to be put out of the realme, but with expresse commaundement, never to returne in the like sorte; in doing otherwise, they should not attend any other than the rigor of the lawes. All this would not serve their tourne, but in despite of her majestie, and contempt of her lawes, sundry of them returned, of which some of them beeing taken, have received the hyre and just recompence of their disobedience.

But that her majestie seeketh not their blood, as they most falsely give out, appeereth by her clemencie used to sondry of them, taken by her souldiors in the Low-Countries, who though they were of sir William Stanleyes crew and adherentes, yet seeing they were not taken within England, shee graciously pardoned them all, and caused them to bee set at libertie, in giving some little recompence to those that had taken them prisoners.

Where is then this rigour you speake of? I hope the king of Spaine keepeth another manner of reuell in his dominions, over all Spaine, Portingall, Lombardie, Naples, and Sicilia; whosoever speaketh a worde, or maketh the least signe in the world to mislike his religion there established, or anie point or ceremonie therof, his cruell and bloudie ministers, the inquisitors, cause them without remission to be presently burnt alive; of which the death of poore doctor Augustine Cacalla can give good witsnesse. Who for a small point in difference of religion, was, at Valladolid in Spain, apprehended for a Lutheran, and with him thirtie, of such as had given him audience, many of which were gentlemen and ladies, and among the rest the two sonnes of the marquesse of Poza, the greatest parte of which were presentlye burnt alive, the rest submitting themselves, were pardoned their lives, but condemned to perpetuall prison, wyth the confiscation of all their goods, and all theyr life time to weare the Sambenito, which is a yellow garment, with a red crosse before and another behinde, painted

all over full of devils faces; a thing of the greatest reproch and dishonour there that possible can bee.

But seeing these, of which we have spoken, are his subjectes, and are of force tied to the jurisdiction of his lawe, howe cruell so ever, I will not heere trouble you anie farther with the recitall of the calamities and miseries layde uppon them from time to time; howe sundrie of them, for the breache of his constitutions in matter of ceremonie, have bin cruelly committed to the flames. But what reason hath he, I would faine knowe, to extend the like rigor and crueltie against strangers, who owe him no obedience, but come onely into his countrie in regarde of marchandise, or other theyr occasions, and nevertheless have beene apprehended, their goods taken awaie, and they themselves cruelly executed.

Among innumerable other examples hereof that I could alleadge, I will onely acquaint you with one; at execution of which, a gentleman of good credite in the Lowe Countries sware unto mee that hee was present, and that it was in manner as followeth:

There was one Giles Rat, a citizen of Antwarpe, and by his occupation a shoemaker, who some fewe yeeres since going into Spaine about some businesse pertaining to his trade, was apprehended and brought before the inquisitors, onely for that hee had smiled at the image of our Ladie, which as they sayde he had done in derision, and therefore presently condemned him to the fire, and with him likewise an Englishman for the like cause, whose name the gentleman that sawe them burned, knew not; but hee tolde mee, that at the time of their execution, there mounted up into a scaffold thereby two Jesuites, forbidding the people, uppon paine of excommunication, to praie for them, saying, that they had delivered them both over in bodie and soule to the devill, as those that died obstinate and wilfull heretikes.

Surely by these examples it appeareth, that hee would bee loth to tollerate in Spaine anie that should go about to seduce his people with anie contrarie doctrine, especiall ye ministers; of which if anie such shoould fall into his handes, it is likely he would not so often pardon

them as the queene hath done the other. As for his Lowe Countries, I never knew but of two taken, and they were both put in sacks by the Spaniards, and throwen into the river.

This is in deede extreame tyrannie, and not that which her majestie useth, who is alwaies readie to receive into grace and favour, those of whome she hath anie hope that they will become good subjectes, and hath, as I have heard, offered (after that by lawe they were condemned) her princely mercie and favour to some of them, if they wold have promised to become good subjects.

O howe different is this proceeding from that, whose mildnesse and clemencie they so highly commend! But it is the nature of men, especially of those whose judgements are wavering and unsettled, alwaies to mislike and loath those things to which they are accustomed, deeming other, to them unknown, much better.

But perchance you will saie, that in their so greate commendation they do onely meane his manner of government in the Lowe Countries. True in deede it is, that hee hath not yet planted there his inquisition, though the same be much against his wil; nevertheles if you did but see the manner of his government in those parts, I thinke you wold judge them worthy of small beliefe, that have so highly commended the same unto you. First, in matter of religion and conscience, I doo not thinke that it is possible for anie people to bee more hardly and uncharitably dealt withal, than they are under the servitude of the cleargie, but especially of the Jesuits.

As for the other orders of religion, as monks, friers, &c. though they are exceedingly exhausted by them in matter of charge, as beeing compelled to re-edifie their ruined cloisters, to furnish them with costly images and rich furnitures, and daily to supply theyr wants, as well in yeelding them victualls, as in satisfying all their other exorbitant demandes, which are infinit (of which whoso denieth anie is presently reputed to be an heretik); yet all this is nothing in comparison of that which by the Jesuites they are constrained to indure; who have now gotten that hand over them, that the chief magistratships and places

of dignitie are not granted but unto such as shal be by their liking allowed, and by their authoritie confirmed. Neither without theyr advice and counsell dare they determine of anie great matter, concerning either government or pollicie. There is not anie mans busines but they must have an oare in it: they never plant themselves in anie places but in the midst of goodly cities, where they wring themselves into the fairest pallaces; in some of them dispossessing by violence those to whom they appertained. Their churches are rich and sumptuous; their moveables and householde stuffe magnificent rather than decent; their gardens pleasant, spacious, and delightfull; their garmentes fine and comely; their fare plentifull, and of the best; and, in fine, they are not tied to anie risings in the night, or anie the like hardnes to which other religious orders are subjected. Their first masse doth never at any time begin before eight of the clocke; unto the which you shal see them come forth, attended on with novices, in as great a gravitie as the pope himselfe when hee is in all his pontificalibus. They are accounted to bee the greatest intelligencers and statemen of the world. They may not, according to their orders, receive anie higher office or dignitie; wherein of all other things they have the greatest pollicie; for otherwise theyr old polititians should be from them advanced to higher promotions, which would bee great diminution to their dignitie; which, as they now order the matter, is of such credite and reputation, that they take the name of a Jesuit, not to bee anie whit inferiour to the title of a bishoppe: they are not subject to anie ordinarie, nor to the controulment of anie bishoppe or legate whatsoever, but onely to the provincial or general of their order, who never lightly comes amongst them, and if he doo, he is a brother of the societie, and will finde no faultes for feare of scandall.

But the best is, to see howe busie and diligent they are when they heare of a wealthie man that lieth sicke and in daunger of death. This is their chieftest harvest and most *opima præda*. Then they commend unto him the povertie of their colledge, and the merite that he shall gaine by dealing liberally with them, as beeing for ever to be remem-

bred in their masses as one of their benefactors. The Cordeliers and they are at this present in processe together in Spaine, about this visitation of sicke men in *articulo mortis*. The Jesuites saie, that it appertaines unto them, because their profession is active, and to be alwaies stirring among the flocke, and to doo good to the world abroad : whereas that of the Cordeliers is contemplative ; and so by consequence most decent that they should conteine themselves within their cloisters. The Cordeliers on the other side do replie, that their profession is meekenesse, innocencie, povertie, and to do good unto all men : as for the Jesuites, that they are proude, ambitious, aspiring, entermedlers in matters of state ; men of greate riches, and covetous of more, and therefore by no meanes to be admitted to such as lye at the point of death. The matter hath beene much argued of and greatly debated in Spaine. All the other doctors of religion are vehemently against them ; and they have bene openly inveighed against in the publike schooles of Lovaine : yet notwithstanding, they are so strongly backt by the king, (whose turne they serve againe in other matters) that howsoever the crie go against them, they holde their owne still.

Among all their other policies, they have one, that, in my judgment, is no whit at all inferior to anie of the rest. For wheresoever they remaine, they take upon them to teach and instruct the children of chiefe men and magistrates, professing to doo the same freely and without reward ; wherein they deale so carefully, that the parents doo not account their childrens time mispent ; they in the meane time making heereof a double benefite. For first they binde the fathers and parents of their children to be their friendes and favourers ; secondly, as for the scholars, they strike into their tender capacities such a reverence of themselves, and withall doo distill into their mindes such pointes of doctrine, and such an opinion of their holynesse and integritie, that the same seldome weareth awaie, but rather increaseth with theyr yeeres ; which is undoubtedly of no small moment to the strengthning and the upholding of their societie and faction. Likewise, they have so cunningly wrought, that whersoever they are, they onely are the generall

hearers of all confessions; diving thereby into the secretes and driftes of all men, acquainting themselves with theyr humours and imperfections, and making thereof, as time and occasion serves, their owne use and benefite.

But, by the waie, seeing it comes so wel to our purpose, I cannot choose but tell you a pretie storie that happened lately in the Low Countries :

A marchant, whose name was Hamyel, beeing sicke at Antwarpe of a consumption or feaver, Ethicke the Jesuite knowing him to be a man of great possessions, and without children, presently repaired unto him, under colour of spirituall consolation, laying before him the vanitie of this life, and the glorie of the world to come. With sundrie other perswasions, as of all men living they have their tongues most at will; and withall, commending unto him their order, as of all other the most meritorious, perfect, and acceptable to God, and to which our holy father the pope and his predecessours have granted more indulgences than to anie other order of religion whatsoever; insomuch that they brought the poore man (beeing of himselfe simple) into such a fooles paradise, that hee professed himselfe into their societie, thinking that there was no other waie to be saved : so as before hande hee infeoffed their colledge with his land, which was two hundred pounds a yere, giving them much goods and rich moveables; and when he had so done, died within three moneths after the same. His next heires, by counsell of their friends, put the Jesuites in sute. Against which, though they opposed themselves with all vehemencie, yet to their great shame and reprehension, sentence was given against them by the roiall counsell of Macklin. Notwithstanding they wold not so give over, but by the meanes, aide, and support of president Pamele, a chiefe favourite of theirs, they appealed from thence to the councill of estate at Brussels, getting the cause, after sentence given, to be removed, a thing there unusuall, and scarcely ever heard of before. There I lefte the processe hanging; what became of it afterwards I

know not, but by hooke or by crooke it was thought they would carrie it awaie in the end.

Another time, a rich and wealthie marchant of Antwarp, but one in that point whose devotion and scrupulositie over-went his wisdome, comming to them in confession, and telling them of some unjust gaine, with which he felt his conscience touched, they presently (with sundrie terrefying speeches) tolde him that he was in the state of damnation, out of which he could not be delivered until such time as he had made restitution, as well of that confessed, as of all other monie and goods that hee had by usurie unlawfully gotten; laying before him, *Quod non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum*, with sundry other such sentences, of which they had store. In fine, they put the poore man into such a feare of conscience, that hee yeelded to make restitution, if so the same might bee done without his undooing, discredite, or shame. Whereupon to comforte him agayne, but in deed fearing least if they dealte too rigorously and roughlye with him, they shoulde get nothing, they tolde him, that if in steed of all such interests and usuries, with which he felt his conscience burthened, he only would bee content to deliver unto them some such summe of money, as without his undooing, he thought he might conveniently spare, they would take it uppon their soules to see the summe imployed upon good, vertuous, and charitable uses, to the greater benefit and merite of his soul, and as a thing more acceptable unto God and lesse scandalous to the world, than if he should make restitution to whome it apperteined, and had bene by his usurie interested; where upon the marchant being wel satisfied in conscience, gave them the mony, and they him their absolution. It was a greate speech for a while about the towne, that this great marchant would become a Capuchine, and make a distribution of his goods among them; he himselfe made greate shewe thereof a while, but in the end he deceived them; and falling to his olde byas, did not sticke to tel unto some of his private friends this fore remembred tale.

But I will holde you no longer with the recitall of these their politique and unconscionable practises, which truly, in my opinion, are very unfitting for men that professe themselves to be of the society of Jesus, who being the fountaine of all purenesse, will surely never associate himselfe with deceivers, and false worldly politicians. But let them take heede; for this the intrusion of themselves into temporall matters, their subtilties and unquiet stirring wittes hath made them odious to most parte of the worlde; I meane even to such as professe their owne religion. The Templers were as mightie as ever they were, and in outward apparance of greate holines and integritie, yet for their hypocricie God sodeinly overthrew them, tooke awaie their lives and possessions, and made their memorie infamous. Let them beware, that the like punishment hang not over their heades; for I can assure them they are growen odious to the world, and to none more odious than to some of their owne religion, who do wel forsee the scandal and slander that by their behaviour ariseth to the Romaine church. I could here in particular touche some of them by name, with matters that they would be ashamed to here of; but I am not so uncharitable or malicious as to libell the names of any men, or to defame them publicly, especially for matters of frailtie; though amonge them, nothing is more common and usuall, than upon the dislike of any mans humor or action, presently to publish his name to the world in some malicious pamphlet or other; upbraiding him therein, yea even with the verie errors and frailties of his youth, if they can touch him with any such, if not, then imputing to him fained falshoods and vilanies, which how false, wicked, or improbable soever they be, they knowe they have customers that will receive them for currant. Yet all were well, so they would content themselves to deale onely with private men in this sorte; but such is their respectlesse, audacious, and unbridled insolence, that they have dared to lift their damned and rebellious pennes, dipped in stronger poison than the arrowes of Hercules, against the soveraigne and sacred majestie of princes, and against the

high and ancient dignitie of great and mightie counsellors, yea even of such as sit at the helme of government; raking out of the foulest sinkes of hel it self, false, defematorie, perjured, and abominable speeches, thereby to dispossesse the worldes minde of the opinion, which theyr constant course in long continued vertue and integritie hath gained them. But in fine, they loose theyr labor, and get no more than he that defiled his owne face with spitting into the winde; or the other, that kicking against a thorne made his owne heeles bloudie. For howsoever in theyr commonwealth, which they deliniat according to the guiltinesse of theyr owne feeling and government, or their Philopater, which name they give themselves by a figure called Antiphrasis: but howsoever in them or anie other pamphlet they raile or bewraie their owne malice, they can no whit at all impeach the honour and reputation of these noble personages, who like mightie and well grounded rockes, contemning the forcelesse windes that blowe against them, are so surely seated upon the safe ground of loyaltie to their prince, and love to their countrie, that albeit they please the humor of a few, whom they lead like buphals by the noses, forbidding them to looke into the light, least they should perceive their jugling; yet those that have anie wisdom or discourse of reason, will the more reverence, honour, and esteeme them, and admire their happines in having deserved so well of the realme, as that therby they shuld procure unto them the hatred of those that are such deadly and desperate enemies to the state, and safetie of the same. And as for some of them, no succeeding age can ever bee so unthankfull, as not for ever to remember their names with an infinitenes of honor.

But in the meane time, judge with yourselves how miserable and enthralled these people must of necessitie be in matter of conscience, whose leader's religion is nought els but ambition, perjurie, pollicy, and defamation. But if you will tourne your eyes from thence to their temporall government, surely I do thinke the recitall of their miseries would rather breed in you admiration than believe; so far doth the same exceed the compasse of all their tyrannies that ever were used.

There is no calamitie in the world of which these miserable people hath not tasted; their countrie being as a stage, upon which for the space of this twentie yeeres, there hath bene nothing acted but bloudie tragedies; their noble men and rulers, in whose vertue and courage consisted their chiefest refuge in times past, (when they were wronged and tyrannized) have been murthered, strangled, poysoned, and slaine, by the bloodie ministers of their cruell king. They are taxed in great summes of money, and numbers of their men sent violently into Fraunce and forreine warres, and the reliques of their nobilite forced to go with them to their apparant slaughter, leaving in the meane time theyr owne countrie in praye to the neighboring enemy, their villages flaming in fire, and their townes battered about their eares with the cannon; their priviledges taken from them; their cities, that sometimes strived in opulence and glory with the goodliest and greatest of the world, are governed by base and barbarous Spaniards, bridled with their garrizons and castels, and sacked and spoiled by them at such time as their payment faileth. I could at length recite unto you the histories and declarations of these severall pointes heere briefly touched, but that I shoulde trouble you with matter altogether tragicall and delightlesse, and withall, they being so common, apparant, and lately done, that there is scarcelye anie one unacquainted therewith, at least of such as have had anie the least desire to looke into the estate of forraine matters. In fine, there is no face of justice in their commonwealth, the same beeing wholly pliable to the will of such strangers as are governors of their townes, and captaines of their castles. Their commonwealth justly now resembling the Turkish government, where the peaceable estate obeyes the militar, and where there is no lawes but such as armes prescribe.

Their goodly havens, beautified sometimes with the concourse of innumerable shippes, laden with rich marchandise from out all partes of the worlde, are nowe unfrequented even of fisher-boates; theyr trafique ceased; theyr townes abandoned and made desart, of which some are utterlye dispeopled, and in most of the rest, of tenne houses scarcely

three inhabited; their villages abroad burned, and overgrown with bushes; their goodly meddowes and fruitefull pastures drowned many miles wide and long, by letting in of sluices and cutting downe ditches; the mansion houses and castels of their nobilitie abated and thrown downe; some by furye of the cannon, some by violence of the souldiers, for covetousnesse of the lead, iron, glasse, marble, &c. and some by standing long forsaken and abandoned of their owners: theyr erable ground lying manye large miles waste and untilled, insomuch, that there a man may have as much land as hee will, and thankes withall, for the onely manuring thereof.

As for the poore labouring people of the countrie, (whome the Spaniarde never calleth but Villanos) for the most parte they are all starved and consumed of hunger; of which disease (beeing, according to the saying of the Greeke poet, of all deathes the most miserable) I have my selfe knowen twentie thousand to die in one summer, and God knoweth how many more; namely, the yeere that marshall Biron laie incamped wyth the French armie at Rozendale, and the Englishmen at Oudenbesech; so that you maye ride an hundred miles without seeing of anie man, woman, or childe, unlesse it bee some poore sillye soules that come creeping out of the woodes hunger-starved, more like resuscited ghostes than living Christian creatures: and yet all these in a manner happyer (because they are at an end of theyr miseries) than such as doo live within the inhabited places of the countrie, as the lande of Wast, the Kempine, &c.; for I take them of all the people in the worlde to bee the most wretched and miserable. Over everie village of these are appointed certaine horse men, to whome they are constrayned to paie monethly by contribution, some tenne crownes, some twentie, some fortie, some more, and some lesse. I knewe one that paid an hundred crownes everie moneth, called Turnolt; but they paid it so long, till all the dwellers ranne awaie, and have now in a manner left it voide of inhabitants. Over this village and the whole country is appointed a commissarie called Sygonio, for the distributing, and ordering, of these contributions; of all

tyrants living the most cruel, and of least conscience. Who if they faile, and doo not bring in their monie at the last daie of the moneth hee sendes forth troupes of horsemen to take the best of them prisoners, and withall, to drive home to their quarters or garrisons such sheepe, horses, oxen, or cattell whatsoever, as they finde in theyr villages; which hee causeth, if the monie followe not within five or sixe daies at the farthest, to be solde at the drum or trumpet; and withall, forceth them to paie a greate fine, the one halfe of which hee retaineth to himselfe, and the other he giveth to the souldiers for their out-roades and forbearance of their monie.

But the miserie of these poore people endeth not heere. For besides all this, they are forced and compelled many times to lodge souldyers in their houses, as they march along the countrie uppon service; at which time it is scarcelye credible what outrages they receive. They have theyr cattel killed, to the use of theyr unthankfull gwestes; theyr corne thresht out, and some carried awaie, the rest given to horses; theyr chestes broken up; theyr goods, even to the verie sheetes, and the tykes of theyr beddes, (the feathers beeing tourned out) stollen and carried awaie by the souldiers when they marche; themselves beaten, and besides constrayned to give money; theyr wives and daughters abused; and in fine, what else is to the nature of man most grievous and intollerable, they are constrayned to indure; yea, inso-much, that I have seen the rude and barbarous souldier cut off the fingers of women to come to their ringes, which otherwyse woulde not come off with such speed as they desired.

Neither is the condition of the poore citizen or townes-man anie better; who beeing constrayned in places of garrison to lodge souldyers in theyr houses, imparting to them the best lodgings and commodities of the same, never hearing from them anie other woorde, especiallye if hee please them not in all theyr exorbitaunt demaundes, than *perro, flamenco, luterano, borachio*, &c.

Yet besides all this, hee is daylye wearyed out with continuall exactions and taxations, as of the hundreth pennie, the tenth pennie,

and once a yeere without faile, the fifth pennie of value of all his goods and landes whatsoever; besides infinite other pillages and gatheringes towardes the making of rampires, revelins, bulwarkes, palisados, countrescargres, casamats, pertayning eyther to the reparation of theyr walles, or the fortification of theyr townes; and besides, to giving of munition, bread, beere, and cheese, to such companies of souldiers shall passe by theyr townes distressed of victualls, with infinite such lyke. I have knowen it, (I speake it on my faith) poore people of Antwarpe forced to sell theyr beddes they lye uppon, to satisfie these tyrannous exactions; which if they shoulde not doo, execution of theyr goods, and attachment of theyr persons shoulde followe. But which is most beyonde reason, whereas within the townes manye of the houses lye vacant and unhired, yet the owners of them are taxed according to the value in which they were wont to be rented: insomuch, that in Antwarpe and other townes, it is a matter verye usuall for men to disclaime and quite theyr owne houses, thereby to bee exempted of such paiment, as otherwise, by reason of them, they are charged with; and that they doo formally before the magistrate, at which time the amptman entereth in, and seizeth them to the kings use.

But besides, whereas sundrie gentlemen, and others the inhabitants of these provinces, having certaine annuall rentes issuing and growing out, and charged uppon the kinges demaines in the dutchie of Brabant, at least to the yeerely value of tenne thousande pounds, some of which rentes have beene by themselves bought of the States General, some lefte unto them by theyr parents and predecessours, the king (without all conscience) most unjustly and wrongfully disanulling the sayde rentes, hath and doeth without all equitie or forme of justice, take into hys owne handes the sayde demaines, appropriating the use, commoditie, and revenue thereof, to the maintenance and keeping of his troupes of horse men.

Lykewise, what bondage can be greater than that of theyr assises, which constrayneth them to paie for theyr wine and beere as much in

equall portion to the king, as they doo to the vintner or brewer, from which the poore begger is not free? but if hee will drinke, hee must paie as much unto the king, as hee doeth to the victualler. Neyther doe they eate their bread or flesh without yeelding and paying duties to the king.

Compare nowe (I praie you) heerewith, your estate of government at home, and tell me which of the two you doo thinke to be most fortunate. Doth her majestie deale in this order with you, whose government you so much mislyke?

Oh, good God, howe can you be so perverse, seeing the greate happynesse and securitie wherein shee keepeth and maintaineth you, as not to acknowledge and confesse the same! Howe gentle are the helps and subsidies which shee exacteth of you, without the undoing or hinderance of anie man of whome they are exacted! And, on the other side, how profusely spendeth shee her owne treasure for the maintenance of you, your wives, and children, in quietnesse, justice, and freedome! Oh praie unto God, therefore, that shee may long and prosperously live; for in her consisteth the type of your felicitie.

But now to the other pointes of your mislike:

Whereas the adversarie goeth about by all meanes possible to beate into your mindes a fearefull imagination of the king of Spaines forces, and the daungerous weaknesse of your state, perswading you, that the same is farre too feeble and insufficient to withstande and resiste so mightie an opposed enemy as is the king of Spaine, terrefying you with his millions of golde, and the manye, mightie, and powerfull nations over whome hee commaundeth; I hope, notwithstanding all this ruffeling and greate shewe, by cleere and evident reasons to let you understande and knowe, that the fame of him is farre greater than his force; and that there is not this daie anie prince in the whole worlde, whose estate standeth more tickle and readie to ruine than his; and that there is no cause why wee should feare him, but many why he should feare us.

First, that hee is the most mightie and oppulent prince, I doo not denye, if hee had used moderation in his greatnesse, and acknowledged the greate benefites, which it hath pleased God to have bestowed upon him, with thankfulness, using them unto his glorie, and not making them instruments of his unlimited ambition; to the overthrowe and destruction of his neighbours, and the maintenance of factious warres in everie corner of Christendome. To which dissention, occasioned by his meanes, wee must needes attribute this late formidable descent which the Turke hath made into Christendome. But such is now the estate where unto his all-coveting ambition hath brought him, or rather the revengefull hande of Almighty God, which hangeth over his head, for his many cruell, bloudie, and unchristian practises, and aspiring tyrannies, especiallly for imbrewing his handes in the royall bloud of his innocent wife, of his eldest sonne prince Charles, and of sundrie other his best and truest subjectes, that hee is in the midst of all his glorie and pompeous magnificence turmoyled with unquiet thoughts, and, in the midst of his riches and treasures, indigent, poore, and indebted, unable to give satisfaction unto such armies as hee maintaineth, to which ende hee is forced to extort from his poore subjectes, and to make himselfe to all future ages a president of the extreamest tyranny that ever in any time was used; of which his scarcitie and indigence, what more manifest prooffe can wee desire, than the daily experience which wee have before our eyes, of his owne naturall subjects the Spaniardes, who beeing the best disciplined souldiers he hath, those of whome hee maketh best and most accompt, and in fine, the verie pillars that under-proppe his tyrannie, have neverthelesse within these fewe yeeres, for want of their payment, beene sundrie times constrained to enter into seditions and mutiny against their generall in the Low Countries some five or sixe yeeres since. It was my happe to bee then in Flaunders, when there were two thousand of them that tooke one of his owne townes called Courtray; and in demaund of their payment, the which was then three yeeres behind, they displayed their ensignes, and planted their artillery upon the walles

against the duke of Parma their generall, refusing to obey his commaundements, and reproching him with wordes of infamie. For remedie of which inconvenience, the duke having no money, sent post uppon post into Spaine ; but in seven moneths there could not anie money bee gotten ; notwithstanding many and most important detriments hee received by occasion of this mutiny, as the losse of Bredno, the retardance of the intended succours for Paris, the danger of Nieu-megen, &c. At length, by the faire perswasions of the prince of Ascoly, their mutinie ceased with the receipt of a moneths pay or two, and promise of more uppon their returne from France ; which not being then perfourmed, they fell, and that greater troupes of them, into a stronger mutinie than before.

Besides, looke into the rest of his proceedings in these his Lowe Countries, (of which, because I have best experience, I will chiefly speake,) and you shall not finde any thing in the worlde that carrieth with it a greater apparance of want. Neither (as the report goeth) is it better in his other provinces ; which verely I beleeeve, seeing of all others it behoveth him to use these best, as being his eldest, perfectest in discipline, and best experienced troupes ; and, in fine, those (as I say before) uppon whome the hopes of his ambition dependeth. All which notwithstanding, I can not thinke that ever anie prince hath suffered so many valiant men, especially his owne subjects, and within his owne countrie to perish through hunger, or that hath been driven to such strange kinde of shiftes and devises to stoppe necessities, and to deceive his souldiers, as hee hath.

First, the country not being yet fully consumed, wasted, and destroyed, hee permitted his militarie troupes, with barbarous inhumanitie, to live uppon the spoile of the country, to rifle the poore inhabitants, and to constraine them to ransom their houses from fire, and their persons from murther ; by the which means, the souldiors lingred in such sort, that I have knowen them remaine three yeeres together without any one moneths pay, especially the horsemen. But afterward, Antwerp being rendered, and by reason of the generall devasta-

tion of the country, the souldiors failing to finde their woonted releefe and prey, grewe into so great and miserable extremitie, that it was a great matter to finde anie ensigne that was twentie strong.

The Spaniard mutivied upon the staccada, whom presently they found meanes to appease with some few moneths payment. The Wal-lons mutined in Liefekins-hooke, and the land of Waste. The Almanes went by hundreds begging up and down the streetes of Antwerp, barelegged and barefooted, and in a manner naked. The Italians, starved in their quarters, and divers of them in garison at Bredaw, ranne thence to Huysden, and to other adjoyning townes of the enemye. For remedy of all which inconveniences, he found meanes to deale with the Italian bankers of Antwerp for cloth and silke, as northerne kersies, packe-clothes, bayes, reffuse Italian velvets, taffataes, and sattin, taking up the same at excessive rates, yeerely to a certaine summe; for receipt of which, and delivery out againe, he appointed a Spaniard, one Christopher Caræsa, a man of most wicked conscience, to be his treasurer.

Then hee beganne to graunt payments to the whole campe, horse and foote, in this manner of merchandize, and unto such gentlemen and pensioners as were in great extremitie, and had beene long suters; which they having received, were forced for want of money presently to make sale of, for the third part of that valew in which they received it. For, according to the high prises at the which they were rated, and the badnesse of the stuffe, it was not possible to get more; so that a souldier having foureteene shillings a month, received for his months pay, onely foure shillings and sixe pence.

Caræsa had alwayes his factours and broakers abroad to buy those saide clothes and silkes in againe, the which hee presently delivered out at the first price to the next that came, and still foorth delivering, and buying the same in againe, for the third part of the price, inso-much, that with tenne thousand poundes disbursed, it is probable, that hee made payment of above a hundred thousand pounds in the yeere;

and yet sometimes he would make them stay foure or five monethes before hee would deliver them cloth, or any contentment at all. Within a while after, he would many times never trouble himselfe with the delivery of the cloth, but by a second, cause the suiters lyberansa to be bought, as in the yeere of our Lord 1589 sir William Stanley, before his departure thence into Spaine, had obtained a lyberansa in cloth for twoo monethes pay for his regiment, amounting unto twoo thousand and five hundred crownes, the payment whereof being above a yeere deferred, an agent of his, after his departure, was faine to sell it for seven hundred and fiftie crownes, and yet thought that hee had therein made a good bargaine. I have knowen sundry that have solde such their lyberansaes for eight and twentie and thirtie in the hundred; yet this payment, how badde soever, hath somewhat contented the souldiors foure or five years, rather having that than nothing. But now also the same is dried up and vanished; for the marchantes utterly refused to furnish the king with any more wares, both because the summe wherein hee stoode already indebted unto them amounted unto an excessive matter, as also, that hee beganne to wrangle with them about the interest, of the which hee craved moderation; and the rather, because they sawe before their eyes many fresh presidentes of men that were undone and dishonoured, such as hee had dealt withall. Amongst the rest, one Simon Sweres, a Portuguse merchant, greatly respected in Antwep, as well for the wealth and credit which hee possessed, as also for the sinceritie and uprightnesse with which hee handled the duke of Parma, seeing, after the reduction of Antwerp, the passage of the river shutte up, and the country and townes, as likewise his army, afflicted with great dearth and scarcitie of corne, (rye being then in Antwerp about foure and fortie shillings the vierendall) and withall, being daily cried uppon by Trynquart the maunager of the vivres, for munition and corne to victuall the campe, the olde store being cleane consumed, knew no other meanes than to deale earnestly with this Simon Sweres, and other merchants that had trade

with Hamborough, Lubecke, and the Easterlings, which countries were replenished with corne, to make some adventure thither for the releefe of their present extremitie.

He among the rest shewed himselfe not unwilling to enter into an action so charitable and vertuous, so that his paines might be requited, and hee sufficiently warranted, and kept free from such danger as might ensue, either by perill of sea, taking of the enemies, or losse in the same when as it shoulde come.

To this end the duke procured him the kings letters of assurance in the most ample maner possible, encouraging him with faire wordes, and many promises, to proceede, which hee did with the adventure of the most part of his credit and goods, insomuch that he laded three shippes, of which one was by tempest scatered from the rest, and driven on the coast of Scotland, where it perisht; the other two, after many casualties and dangers, arrived safe at Dungenne; but at that time, such was either his ill luck, or the countries good luck, that upon a new plentiful yere, they had such store of corne, that the price thereof abated from forty foure shillings to six shillings the vierendall; at which price the kings officers having made their provision, and furnished their store, utterly refused to take that which arrived in the ships of Simon Sweres, wrangling with him about the goodnesse thereof, and the long stay which his factors had made; whereby the poore man making sute unto the king, by one whome he presently dispatched into Spaine, was forced to keepe the same so long upon his owne hands, that it venowed and waxed mustie, in such sorte, that hee was faine to throwe the greatest part thereof away, without ever to this day being able to receive of the king one penie of recompence, insomuch, that he was constrained by reason of this, and other losses happening by the occasion thereof, to the wonderful shame, griefe, and confusion of him, his wife, his children, and his friends, having before time lived in as great magnificence and good respected sort as any merchant in the towne, to breake bankerout; and I saw him at Brus-

sels, suing to the duke and to the privie counsell for a protection to keepe his bodie from attachment.

But shall we wonder at this his dealing with private men, when hee spared not in these reckonings of mony to deale as bitterly with the duke of Parma himselfe? the unkindnesse of which was the greater, in regarde that the noblenesse of the partie to whome he used it, and the nearnesse to himselfe in blood, being his owne nephew, seemed even in honour unfit for the receipt of so unrespectfull a message. For whereas the duke of Parma, not long before his death, had borrowed 30,000 crowns of the bankers of Antwerp, to stoppe therewith a so-daine extreame necessitie that concerned exceedingly the kings service, and had for the payment thereof interposed his owne credite and assurance, which otherwise they refused to lend him, in regard of the kings ill correspondence in their former recknings: upon the next comming down of the kings mony into Flaunders, the duke caused the said sum, with the interest thereof, to be, according to his promise, paid to the merchants; whereupon the treasurer-generall advertising the king his master of the late summe received, and withall, of the deduction made by the duke of Parma for satisfaction and payment of the Italian bankers, the king presently wrote downe a letter unto the duke of Parma, full of the bitterest and disgracefullest reprehensions that possibly might be; amongst the rest, wondering howe hee dared presume to turne such money to satisfaction of merchants, as hee had appointed unto the maintenance of his armie, commaunding him from thence forward not to arrogate unto himselfe so great an authoritie as to dispose his money to any other uses than such as hee shoulde ordaine them for; and withall, rebuking the treasurer-generall for delivering the said summe, directly charging him, not to do the like at any time without his especiall warrant. Which undeserved indignitie did so much greeve the duke, chiefly, being guiltie too himselfe of the well employment thereof, and of his many notable and faithfull services, that hee shutte him selfe up for many days into his chamber, ful

of the extremest melancholy that might be ; the cause whereof beeing by the worlde wondered at, his inward favourites did not sticke to publish the same, in manner and forme as you see it here described.

Other men may heereof imagine as they please ; but surely I cannot be perswaded, but this his unroyall dealing proceedeth directly from a meere disabilitie and unablenesse that hee findeth in himselfe to supply the infinite charges of the many great enterprises with which hee hath intangled himselfe ; of which if you desire to have better experience, looke but into the office of his treasure at Bruxelles, and I doubt not but you wil confirme my opinion. There you shal see a miserable troupe of suters with lyberansaes in their handes, some of the which have lost a legge or an arme, some, that wearied with the warres, and pretending either age or infirmities, have gotten their licences and pasportes to departe into their countries, some alledging one cause, and some another ; but in fine, no one of them all in lesse than two or three yeeres following him able to get a peny, so that there is no yeere but a great number of them die for hunger, yea and some of them even at his gates. I assure you on my credite, I have knowen some poore people, that for the summe of sixe pounds have followed him three yeeres ; when eyther hee goeth out or commeth in to his house, he is faine to goe through gardeins and bie-wayes to deceive his poore suters, who, otherwise enraged with desperate necessitie, did assaile him, though in vaine, with such lamentable and ruefull cries, that it woulde pearce any honest mannes heart to heare them.

But heere by the way I thinke it not amisse to tel you two prety jests that happened at Brussels whiles I was there, in the yeare of our Lorde 1590, the one of a Spanish, and the other of a Sycilian souldier, either of which practised his wit upon John de Lasture the kings treasurer, to the obtaining of a little money, for the which they had a long time followed in vaine. The Spaniard getteth him to the gardian of the Gray Friars in Bruxelles, professing with a marvellous contrition and remorse of conscience, an exceeding zeale and inclination to enter into religion, praying him in Christian charitie not to refuse to receive

him, seeing it had nowe pleased God to touch his heart with so godly and zealous a desire; in fine, hee used such perswasive speeches that the gardian was contented presently to admit him, and withal, to alow him a time of probation; after the which, if in the meane time hee did not mislike of their orders, nor they of his behaviour, hee promised to accept him into their fraternitie. Presently a friers long coate with a cowle was given him; which, after hee had worne three or foure dayes, and learned the behaviour thereto belonging, he acquainted the gardian with certaine debts that he had in the towne, wherwith his conscience was greatly burthened; mary withall, that hee had a lyberansa able to discharge them, and overplus besides remaining, which hee meant to bestow upon the cloister, if that the treasurer would be so favourable unto him as to pay the same; to which end hee requested the gardian to accompany him, and to helpe to intreate the treasurer in that behalfe, to which hee consented; and being both admitted to the presence of the treasurer, the new converted brother, first with a friers ducke lowe to the ground, then with a very reverent gesture and humble speech, told him, that he came not now as in former time to importunate him for money, but only to signifie to his lordship, the grace the which it had pleased God by his holy spirit to work in him, praying him from hence forward to continue his good lord and patron, as hee woulde for ever in his spirituall function remaine his oratour and bedseman: mary withal, that the debts which hee had made during his time of being a suter, laie heavie upon his conscience; and withall, his creditors came clamorously to the cloister, in such sorte, that the gardian there present had threatened to expell him the house, unlesse hee tooke present order for their satisfaction; which, as it could not but bee greatly to his bodily shame, even so might it also turne to the destruction of his soule, if hee shoulde be now againe thrust into the wandering courses of the worlde, which of necessitie hee must bee, unlesse it would please his lordship to bee good unto him, and to cause his poore lyberansa to bee payed: and therewith wiping his eyes, as though hee had wept, made an other lowe reverence, neither was the

gardian behinde to confirme his speeches, and earnestly in his behalfe to entreate the treasurer; who at the generall request of the standers by, as also that hee felt his owne conscience beginning to wamble with compassion, after hee had encouraged him with many comfortable words to patience and perseverance in that blessed estate of life, caused his lyberansa to be taken, and his money to be forthwith payed; upon which, with many humble thankes, tooke their leave. The Spaniard, upon his returne to the cloister, tolde the gardian, that hee could not by any meanes conforme the frailenes of his flesh to that austeritie of life; and therefore, with many harty thankes, delivering him his coate, went his wayes to make good cheere amongst his camradoes, not glorifying a little in the happinesse of his successe.

But now to our Sycilian: he having by many observances found the humor of the treasurer chiefly to be addicted to one especiall Jesuite, above any other of the colledge, as both beeing his ghostly father, as also otherwise of very private conversation with him; and finding the Jesuite one day hearing of confessions in the church of their colledge, according as their custome is, kneeled downe, and when his turne came uttered his confession, in the end whereof he interrupted his speeches with many sighes, as though there were something hanging in his teeth, that he was loath to commit to the utterance of his tongue; which the Jesuite perceiving, with many protestations and assurances, both of his comfort and counsell, encouraged and perswaded him to reveale it, insomuch, that after a long shew of great unwillingnesse and drawing backe, hee told him that he had made a solemne othe and vow to kill John de Lasture the kings high treasurer, moved thereunto by a violent dispaire, whereunto his extreame and rigorous dealing had driven him. The Jesuite, amazed at so strange a speech, failed not to tell him, that the observation of such a vow was much more wicked than the breach thereof; and withall, that the performance would procure both his bodies death and his soules damnation. The souldier replied, that hee knewe his wordes to bee true, and withall, that hee had in his minde already forecast this and much more, neverthelesse, that

his minde was so strongly possessed with this dispairefull and dreadfull resolution, that it was not in his power to withdrawe his thoughts from the desire to accomplish it. Whereupon the Jesuite seeing that it was not in his force to divert him from that, upon which, to his seeming, his minde had so fully resolved, requested him yet, that hee would the next morning at eight of the clocke meet him in the same place againe, and hee would conferre further with him. Which the souldier promising, the Jesuite presently repaired to the treasurer, and after his solemne oath taken never to prosecute any thing against the fellow, acquainted him with what had happened, forgetting not withall to dilate much of the wilde countenance and amazed gesture of the fellow, and therefore wished him, not by any means to hazard a thing of so great vaw as his life upon the franticke resolution of a desperate souldier. The treasurer not daring to apprehend the fellowe, lest thereupon danger might have ensued to the Jesuite for revealing a thing uttered in confession, and withall restrained by his oathe, requested him to bring him with him the next morning, which the Jesuite not failing to doe, they found a fellow ready in the hall to receive them with money, who taking the souldiers lyberansa, gave him presently satisfaction, which was of such vertue, that it assoiled him of his vow.

In fine, you may see that these are no great tokens of that bottomlesse plenty which they speake of, when poore men that have spent their yeeres and their blood in his service, must be driven to use such dishonest sleights and cousoning devises for the obtaining of their money. Neither (as I heare) is the matter much better in Spaine it self, even there where the storehouse of his treasure is. For I my self have seene many comming thence poore and penylesse, cursing their journey, and denied the suites they went for. And withall, I heard not long agone a gentleman of good sort and judgement say, that it was his happe to be in Spaine, at such time as sundry of those Spaniards that had bin prisoners here in England, after the overthrow of their armada, arrived there poore and miserable, where he saw great troupes

of them suing in the court for some small reliefe, but to so small purpose, that he heard divers of them exclaime, even afore the secretaries doore, and wish themselves in England againe, for there they had meat, and drinke, and lodging, whereas in their own country they could not get any. The sight of this hard and beggarly usage, but especially the feeling of that which they themselves received, have made many great and worthy souldiers to abandon him with mighty discontentments, as amongst the rest John Baptista de Monte, and Camillo de Monte, two notable captaines, both now retained under two mighty states, the one being generall to the duke of Florence, the other bearing like charge under the Venetians, who both lie in awaite to crie quittance with him.

And if report be true, I hope ere it be long we shall heare that they have accomplished their desire; for they say these two states beginne to shuffle the cardes, which if it be so, it is very likely that they will deale the king of Spaine but an ill game. Once it is certaine, that the duke of Florence his brave bastard brother, Don John de Medicis, who had a pension of foure hundred crownes by the yeere from the king of Spaine, hath sent him backe both his pension and his pattent; and hee raiseth troupes of horsemen, but to what end and purpose, the sequele will shew.

As for the Venetians, their embassadour resident in the French kings court, and their apparant favours doone him from time to time, sufficiently declareth their affections unto the other side. But these things being above my reach, I will leave them to their successe, and so returne to my matter.

Sundry of you have knowen, and scarcely anie but hath heard of that renowned Germane sir Martine Skinke, a man both in courage of attempting, and judgement in directing and managing matters of warre, scarcely second to any captaine of our time. The storie of his life and fall is as common as pitifull, and therefore I will not trouble you with the rehearsall of it, neyther is it incident unto the matter I entreate of; onely I will briefly acquaint you with some part of his de-

serts, and the recompence which hee in fine receyved, to the ende that you may the better judge what rewarde or advancement after long deserving and infinite merites is in this penurious service to bee expected. First, after the memorable siege of Mastricht, uppon the last departure of the Spaniardes out of the Low Countries, according to the capitulation betwene the king and the provinces of Henalt and Artoys, who thereupon putte themselves in the kings obedience, whereas the duke of Parma serving himselfe in his warres, only of the Wallons of the country, and a few Italian horsemen, was daily overtopped by the prince of Orange and the French, not knowing scarcely where to turne him for want of forces to keepe the felde, Skinke brought him out of Germany a mighty power of Reyters, which, comming in such a season, you must imagine were welcome, as being indeede the onely occasion of many great exploites which the duke of Parma happily achieved.

Secondly, after the siege of Cambray raised, and the towne of Cambray, Lyberium, and St Gillians, taken by the French, and on the other side the townes of Endouen and Helmont, and the castels of Buxtell, Hemer, Lemmicke, and Midlaer, taken in Brabant by the States, the duke of Parma being as much or more distressed than before, Skinke brought him a second supply of at least five and twentie hundred horsemen, which (as I have often heard him say) hee had levied in a manner wholly uppon his owne charge; joyning the which with certaine troupes of footemen, being under the charge of monsieur de Houltepenne, hee tooke in all those forenamed places which the enemy had surprized in Brabant, and clearing the country round about, did many other notable services of importance. But to be short, it was at last his chaunce, by a trecherous plot that was laide for him, to fall into his enemies handes, and to bee carried prisoner into Gelders, of which one Oversay, a Germaine, was at that time governour for the States; who being glad of such a prize, in regarde that hee was his countrie man, and so great a souldier, endeavoured by all meanes and practise possible to divert his minde and affection from the Spaniardes,

but finding him still most resolutely faithfull and constant to the party which hee followed, hee caused him to bee imprisoned in a great obscure filthy tower of the towne, and withall, set him at an excessive ransome, such as he did think would exceede the compasse of his abilitie to discharge. Skinke, in the meane time, by his friendes, earnestly solicited the duke of Parma to help him with somewhat towards his ransome; but in fine, seeing there came nothing from thence but delays and dilatorie excuses, hee used such meanes by the sale of his goodes and the helpe of his other friendes, that after fifteen moneths imprisonment hee procured his liberty, and came directly to the duke of Parma, lying then at the siege before Antwerp, at a place called Beuer, where it was my chance to see him a long suter, without obtaining any the least helpe at all, such was at that time the dukes necessitie; insomuch I assure you, that I have heard Skinke earnestly protest, that hee had not in his purse wherewithall to buy him so much as a paire of shooes (for those were his very wordes); neyther had hee knowen where to have gotten meate or drinke, but that by good happe hee mette there with Chenows, a Germane, to whome he was much beholding for releefe in these great extremities. In fine, seeing no money was to be gotten, hee desired the gouvernement of Nieumegen, the which by a devise of his plotting was newly rendered; nevertheless he was denied, and the same given to monsieur de Haultpenne. Then he desired the kings commission to levy a standing regiment of Dutch footemen, that likewise was denied. Lastly, to stoppe his mouth, he had a company of horsemen graunted him, with which, going downe into Gelderland, hee put himselfe presently into employment. But winter comming on, when all the kings horsemen had their quarter appointed them, for the receipt of their contribution, hee likewise sent his farrier to Sigonio, chiefe commissary for those causes, to demaunde such quarter, contribution, and allowances, as were appointed to the other troupes of horsemen; who sent him word, that his company was not enroled within the list of the kings horsemen, and therefore, that hee had not authoritie to assigne him any: where-

upon Skinke went presently unto the duke of Parma, requesting his highnesse to cause his company to bee enrolled in the listes, and to commaunde, that they might receive such usage as the rest ; but his answere was, that the king woulde not raise anie other new companies, but rather had sent commission downe to cassiere many of the old companies. . .

Nothing ever more mooved Skinke than the indignitie of this dealing ; and so telling the duke, that hee woulde be loath, now hee had spent all that ever he had in the kings service, to bee accounted a capitaine of fryboters, tooke his leave, bending his minde presently to revenge ; and foorthwith surprising Nuis by stratageme, delivered both the same, and the castle of Lemmicke, and withall, his owne person, into the service of the States ; of whom he was received with such honour as to a man of such worthynesse belonged. I know not what may hereof be imagined, but in common sence and reason, this not requiting the desertes of men of such exceeding value, argueth either an unwillingnesse, or else an unablesse to doe the same ; if an unwillingnesse, what comfort than shall a man have to spend his yeeres and fortunes in so ingratefull a service ? If unablesse, as in respect of the hinderance and inconvenience thereby insuing to his owne service I rather judge it, where is then this overflowing plentie and endlesse treasure, with opinion of which they endeavour so farre to possesse the world, as though every man that doth him service should bee choaked with golde for his labour ? To what end useth he this scarcitie in rewards and payments ? or when will he use his golden mountaines, if not now ? the losse of his country, honour, and religion, and the greatness of his undertaken enterprises considered. No, undoubtedly, it is meere want and indigence that driveth him to these exigents ; he is mighty, but hee gripeth at more than he is able to embrace ; he is rich, but the infinitenes of his charge exceedeth the measure of his riches. Uppon the comming downe of his last fleete, he set up his rest, and lost it with an evill encounter ; and that not onely his owne, but that also of his friends, the popes, the duke of Savoy, the Genow-

ese, &c. which set him in such arrerages, that I thinke hee will not hastily come out of them.

As for the treasure of his Indies, wherein indeede consisteth the very marrowe, strength, and substance of all his puissance, I confesse the same to bee exceeding great; yet his occasions considered, and making an estimate betweene the one and the other, I account the one (as I saide) farre too feeble to answeare the unlimited greatnesse of the other: and yet the same hath beene reasonably impaired also since such time as sir Frauncis Drake, and other woorthy English captaines, have found the meanes to firret him in those partes; since which time the returne of his Indian fleete hath not kept the course it was wont to doe, but stayeth sometimes halfe a yeare, sometimes more, longer than it was accustomed, and yet commeth not securely home in the end: and whereas hee was woonted to waft them home onely with a galleasse or two, hee is now constrained to entertaine a great and mightie navy of many shippes, to his inestimable and continuall charge.

If you desire to knowe what these his great charges are, on which he is enforced to employ them, first you must consider, that hee scarcely holdeth any of his provinces wherein hee is not constrained to holde garrisons of souldiours, and not as other princes are accustomed, upon the frontiers onelie, but even in the heart and inland places of them, as well to resist the forraine suspected enemy, as for to repress the naturall tyrannized subject, who uppon every offered occasion are ready to take armes to recover their liberty, and to free themselves from forth the yoke of his hatefull government, as the Indies, Arragon, and Flaunders, will beare mee witness.

As for his Low Countries, of the which I will first speake, because they are neerest, it is manifest, that there is not any towne or castle (besides many forts, skonces, and blockehouses,) in which hee is not constrained to holde a garrison, unlesse he utterly raze and dismantle the same, as hee hath already doone Eyndouen, Terlemount, Leaw, Sickem, Susteren, &c. Antwerp alone, as the case now standeth, being

of greater charge unto him than the revenue which he receiveth out of the whole country is able to defray. For, besides the continuall maintenance of a thousand Spanish footemen in ordinary garrison within the castell, besides canoniers and officers that doe attend upon the artillerie, munitions, provisions, and infinite other charges thereto belonging, hee is forced to maintaine two companies of horsemen in the towne, as well for convoyes, sallies, as sundry other occasions that are daily presented, and withall, seven or eight shippes of warre under the walles of the towne upon the river, to secure the same from the incursions of the Zelanders; both to keepe them from attempting any thing upon the towne, as also from piercing further downe along the river. Hee was once determined, afore the comming downe of his great armada, to have encreased his number of shipping there; and to that ende commaunded the duke of Parma to make provision of timber, anckres, sailes, cables, and tackeling, the which was doone with an infinitenesse of charge; and at length eight hundred Genowes, mariners and shipwrights, sent downe, who were presently set aworke about the making of twelve new great shippes all at once. But before they were halfe finished, (whether the greatnesse of the charge, or what other occasion mooved him thereunto, I knowe not,) hee sent a new commaundement to make onely foure of them up; of which the one was great galeon Alexander, who beareth aloft in her starne a great blazing sunne, with this posie underneath, *Non fert terra duos*. The other eight I sawe long after lying in the docke like rotten carcases, with their ribbes out; in which estate they do yet remaine for any thing I know.

In fine, so great and excessive are his charges in those partes, that I doe knowe it uppon good and assured groundes, there hath beene no one yeere these twenty yeeres, but that they have cost him two millions and more yeerely above the commodities and renewes which they do yeelde him, and yet scarcely any man contented.

Neyther are his provinces of Italie in a manner of lesse expence, or

greater commoditie unto him ; for, besides the strong and puissant garrisons, which even of necessitie hee doeth maintaine in the great castelles of Millaine, Naples, and the many other fortified places, hee is constrained to entertaine in yeerely pension the greatest parte of the nobilitie and gentlemen of either province, thereby to keepe them from attempting any manner of novelty against his government ; than the which all the worlde knoweth right well, (especially whosoever hath beene in Italie, or is any thing acquainted with the estate of those countries,) there is nothing more odious, displeasing, and contrary to the nature of an Italian.

Likewise, hee is faine to entertaine continually a great number of gallies uppon the coast of Naples, to defend those seas and shoares from the incursions of the Turke. The like charge by sea and by land hee is forced to bee at in Sycilia, Sardina, his cities on the coast of Affrica, Portugall, the Terceraes, the Indies, Brasile, Majorque, Minorque, yea and even in his Spanish provinces of Biscay, Galycia, and Arragon ; as for Navarre, hee knoweth that hee holdeth them no longer than hee treadeth uppon their neckes, and therefore hee layeth on loade there with his garrisons both of horsemen and footemen, as well in Pampelona as the other townes and fortresses of the countrey ; and all will be little enough, if it would please Almighty God to blesse the indevours of the French king.

And of all these his garrisons and charges, hee cannot for his life diminish any, beeing guiltie to himselfe of the violence of his government ; being not further assured of them than whiles hee holdeth their heads in the bridle. I will not dispute the justice of his titles, nor yet alleage the pretences whereby the Frenchmen entitle their king, not only to Artoys, Henalt, Naples, and Millaine, but also to Spaine it selfe, but that hee holdeth Portugall, Majorque, and Minorque, the countie of Ronsillen, and the kingdome of Navarre, by meere extortion and extremitie of wrong, is to all the world a matter most apparant and evident, insomuch, that some of his owne writers, in their

apologies and defences of some of his titles, are constrained in a manner to fortifie their best reasons with the verses of Eurypides :

“ If right and justice are to be transgrest,
To breake them for a kingdome then 'tis best.”

Besides all this, his provinces and dominions do stand so severed and disunited, that the very transporting of his money from one to another, as it is with danger and inconvenience, so is it of infinite charge unto him, insomuch that I have heard some of his commissaries in the Low Countries sweare, there is no crown of his that commeth from Spaine into those partes, but standeth him in five ryalles of plate ; so great is the charge of carriage, convoyes, and commissaries, to deliver and receive the same from one place to another.

Withall, there are fewe realmes or countries of Christendome in which hee entertaineth not factions and divisions, and scarcely any in which he nourisheth not a number of intelligencers and spies, all depending of his purse ; with whome hee dealeth more or lesse liberally, according unto the place or meanes they have to doe him service ; if they be entertained in court, or neare about the person of a prince, able to send him good intelligence, or to doe some notable mischief for him, hee will not sticke to come off bountefully. As for example, you saw how cunningly hee had practised with Lopes, that damnable physition, who, like his predecessour Judas, had for money consented to betray innocent blood ; to whom, besides the fiftie thousand crowns for which the bargaine was, hee commaunded his secretarie Ibarra to bidde him demaunde what else hee woulde, so that hee would take upon him to perfourme that which hee had promised ; which was by taking away her life, by whome wee doe all live ; to bring our noble countrey into such a sorrowe, desolation, and misery, as never anie nation had tasted the like. But it hath pleased the Lorde our God of his endlesse mercie, as he hath alwayes mightily and miraculously defended her majestie, so likewise nowe to confound the wicked conspi-

ratours in their owne divellish devises, and to prevent the tragicall intended issue of theyr most barbarous and bloody practise ; being such, as well in regarde of the secrecie of handling, as the imagined facilitie of performance, that of many which he, the divell, and their adherents, have sent abroad since the beginning of her majesties glorious reigne, never any (to mans judgement) was halfe so daungerous ; the manner and memorie whereof is so fresh, that the recitall of any particularities would be but superfluous.

Onely let us not forget to be thankefull unto Almighty God for his mercy shewed in revealing it ; nor unto that worthie and honourable lord, by whose watchfull industrie and zealous care of her majesties safetie, it was first suspected, and finally, by his wisdom and discrete handling fully discovered ; who although hee did before possesse the faithfull loves and undissembled affections of as many as ever did any of his ranke ; yet never did hee (although hee hath doone many things vertuously and nobly) any thing that wonne him such reputation and applause throughout the whole realme : all men in generall, and everie man in particular, acknowledging to have heerein received of him a most singular and peculiar benefite.

But leaving this, and returning unto my former matter : it is a thing notorious to all the world, that the house of Austria is spredde into manie braunches, of which every one reteineth the name of archduke.

But in conclusion, their dignitie, lordshippe, and estate, is faine to rely wholly upon his purse ; for there is not any thing in all this worlde that hee more affecteth, than to maintaine this house of Austria in greatnesse and dignitie ; and therefore upon the death of Bat-tor the last king of Polonia, hee laboured infinitely to invest his coo-sine Maximilian, the emperours brother, in the royaltie of the realme, sending him downe (besides many secret bribes bestowed upon the noblemen of Polonia) with a mighty army of Reyters to take possession : the unfortunate successe of which enterprise, as also the arche-dukes imprisonment and dishonourable escape, I do voluntarily omitte,

as beeing a thing unto the whole worlde well knowne, and altogether impertinent unto the discourse which I have in hand.

In the consistorie of Rome hee is faine to entertaine a great number of those hungrie cardinales in pension and ree, as well to gaine their voyces, when neede requireth, as also when the pontificall see is voide, to looke well to their election, especially, and above all thinges, that hee whome they elect can daunce the Spanish measures; in which if after his being chosen hee shoulde chaunce not to foote it well, according unto the tune of his pipe, then presently to remove him with a Castilian calenture; the which is a strange disease, never lightly holding them above three dayes, and many of them of late have beene subject unto it.

This pope doeth feare it mightily, and that maketh him so loath to accept the French kings reconciliation, though, as in religion, so in pollicie and estate, hee knoweth that there is not any thing more expedient and necessary for him, than to have a mighty king in Fraunce, that may serve to hold the king of Spaine some tacke, and serve as a barriere between him and Italie; for his predecessours have a long time since discovered this secrete, that there is not any thing more necessary for the maintenaunce of the pontificall dignitie, as the balancing of kings in equall counterpoise one with another; which he now, in respect of the king of Spaines increased greatnesse, is not able to doe; and yet underhand, I doe thinke hee could be very well content to see his winges a little clipped, lest one of these dayes hee take his flight into Italie (as his father did) and make him as a private bishoppe of a diocese, to do nothing but whatsoever it shall please him to command him.

Pope Sixtus, who was accompted one of the greatest politicians of our time, liked nothing at all this overweying greatnes of the king of Spaine, as hee tolde his embassadour plainly one day in the consistorie, when hee braved him with threatnings and commaundements from the king his maister. But presently the smell of the Spanish

golde, that certaine of his cardinalles had in their purses, strake him into such a calenture, that much against his will hee was faine to take his leave of the worlde, and leave behind him uneffected many great matters, on the which hee had in his minde determined. So that although the king of Spaine be at great charge with these noble pillars of the church, yet you see that sometimes of their sides it is not unrequited, seeing that for his sake they are contented so honestly to betray their maister. Hee had not manie yeeres since an other charge no whit at all inferiour to this, which was in maintenance of the pension in warres against the Turke. But howe the matter standeth since the late agreement betweene these two princes, I knowe not, but I doe imagine that his treasures walke that way still, for, *turpius eijcitur quam non recipitur hospes*; pensions and entertainements given to strangers, as for the time they procure a certaine hired and mercenary affection, so their withdrawing engendereth for ever a deadly and everlasting hatred. Lastly, for conclusion, hee maketh at this instant open warres with Fraunce, England, and the Lowe Countries; what deeme you then heereof? Hath hee not vent (trowe you) for his treasures? His father was a better souldiour, and a greater man of warre than hee is, and of much more mightinesse and puissance; for in steede of Portugall and the Indies thereunto belonging, wherwith this hath encreased his dominions, the other swayed the mightie empire of the Germanes, and that with such a commaunding authoritie over that proud nation, as never any of his predecessours since Charlemaine did the like; and withall, he quietly enjoyed the whole seventeene provinces of the Lowe Countries, whome in respect of their great opulence, aboundance of riches, and convenientnesse of scituation, some late writers of great authoritie have not spared to compare unto his Indies; and yet hee never dared to make warres upon France alone, before hee had first sought by all manner of possible meanes to assure him selfe in friendship with England, giving to that ende great and mighty presents unto cardinall Wolsey, and other of the nobilitie, that in those dayes did beare sway with her majesties father of most famous and

woorthie memorie, king Henry the Eight, whereas this maketh warre carelesly with all the worlde at once; but the Italians have a true proverbe,

" Chi tutto abbraccia nessuno stringe ;"

And so I hope it shall fare with him.

Nowe as touching those his mightie and puissant numbers wherewith they doe goe about to strike such terrour and feare into your mindes, I doe take uppon mee to knowe the estate of his forces as well as an other man, and I doe not thinke him to bee in anie thing more penurious than in the want of men. For as for Spaine, Naples, and Lumbardy, uppon which his onely force doth consist, and which are his principallest and chieftest store-houses of men, it is sufficiently knownen that his drummes have gone at the least the space of a whole yeare together, beating uppe and downe, according as the manner is, to gather together sixe thousand men, and those all sheepeheardes, hedgepikers, and such idle trewantly rogues; the most part of the which hee is forced to putte into garrisons for the space at the least of a yeare or twoo, to the ende to fashion them, before hee doe send them to service; for, upon their first levie, you did never in all your life see more seely snakes than they are. I sawe some few yeeres since a great number of them brought downe into the Lowe Countries, fresh out of Spaine by the duke of Pastrana, such ragged beggarly starvelings, that in my very conscience, I doe speake as I thinke, a man indeede would have beaten tenne of them.

As for Germany, out of the which heeretofore hee hath drawen great numbers, and by their good helpe hee hath atchieved many great matters, his usage hath beene so base and miserable unto them, that the olde souldiours are all starved and consumed in his service, whose calamitie hath so much feared and terrified the rest at home, that no prince in Europe hath lesse credite to raise men there than hee hath. And although there were no such kinde of matter, yet they are no

manner of waie bound unto him more than to an other, their profession being to serve onely him that will pay them best; and yet if hee shoulde raise any of them, (the alliaunces of her majestie, and the sciuation of their countrey considered) it shoulde be a matter of great difficultie to joyne them with his other troupes.

Where are then his innumerable legions, with which these mountbanke, lowde-mouthed felows say hee is able to over-runne the worlde? Alliances hee hath none, unlesse it bee with the holy rebellious League of France; the which nowe of late is growen very sicke, and keepe the chamber, and every day wee doe looke to heare the newes of the death and *ultimum vale* thereof; and yet when the patrons thereof were in best health, was never of any assistance, but of a continuall burthen and charge unto him. Neyther did hee ever trust his chiefe agentes in this same sanctified societie, nor they ever love him; eche of them working and drifting with particular endes and meanings: of the which I will speake but a worde or twoo succinctly, leaving the rest to men that are of better abilitie to dilate upon, which (in my judgement) in regarde of the practises, juglings, diffidences, circumventions, underminings, treacheries, mischiefes, and conspiracies, that have been betweene them, woulde yeelde matter to as delightfull an historie as hath beene penned in our time.

First, no man is ignorant of the pretention and title which the kings of Fraunce doe pretend to the kingdome of Naples, the dukedome of Millaine, the county of Roussillon, and the earledomes of Artoys and Henalt. For the recovery of which, still as they have beene within themselves at quiet, they have made one attempt or other. Alwayes therefore one of the chieftest pollicies of the king of Spaine, hath beene to finde them worke at home; insomuch, that though it be strange, yet the Frenchmen doe very confidently write it, that such was his desire to keepe civill dissension afoote in Fraunce, that hee spared not to animate, yea and sometimes secretly to help and assist with money, the prince of Conde and the admirall; although all the worlde knoweth hee neither liked their cause, nor religion: the like they say hee

offered to this king of Fraunce when he was king of Navarre, though hee knewe hee could not offer it to a man in the worlde which lesse loved him.

But leaving these secret excusable matters, and comming to open and published apparant practises. Seeing that the last king of Fraunce beginning to growe strong and mightie, the protestants quiet, and his realme peaceable, hee thought it high time to looke about him, and therefore casting his eyes upon the discontented humours of France, hee amongst the rest made choice to use as a principall instrument for shuffling the cardes, the late duke of Guyse, a brave and valorous prince, haughtie, ambitious, audacious, a souldier, a spender, prodigall, popular, and indebted even uppe to the hard eares.

Him hee fedde with money, which, though not answerable to his humour, for to that effect his Indiaes had beene to tithe, yet it put him in such gallant humours, that hee presently reproachfully gave out amongst the people, that the king was a favourer of heretikes, a scismaticke, and a sorcerer, and withall, hee called himselfe protectour of the church of France, and finally, grew to so great an insolencie, that beeing forbidden by the king, hee durst enter into Paris, putte the people in armes, assaile the kings guardes, and finally, constraine the king by flight to abandon both the citie and his pallace of the Louvre. The day of which holy enterprise was ordained by the Sorbonists to be kept holiday, and called the day of the Barricades.

The king was mightily agreeved heereat; but being not able to play the lion, was contented for a while to counterfeit the foxe; using the matter so sily, that hee drew the duke of Guyse and his brother the cardinal to the parliament of Bloys, where with faire and gentle wordes hee so finely overwent them in the midst of all their confidence and greatnesse, that whereas they did attribute all his friendly shewes and offers to want of courage and feeblenesse of spirit, he neverthelesse still persevered, pretending all love and meekenesse, untill such time, as taking them at advantage, he saw them both lie dead and bleeding at his feete.

The newes of which tragicall accident was not so much displeasing to the king of Spaine in regarde of their deaths, upon whom his factious businesse so much relied, as it was pleasing insomuch that the greatnesse of their parentage, the multitude of their followers and partiseans, and the affections of the people considered, hee knewe, that there could not but ensue many great, tumultuous, and in a manner irreconcilable broiles; to which effecte, Mendoza, his purblinde embassadour in Paris, serving for nothing but like the divelles trumpetter to set men together by the eares, used the uttermost of his endeavour and diligence, incensing the people to such ragefull madnesse, that though murdering one an other with mutuall wounds, (which was the onely thing they shotte at) they sawe apparantly their owne miserable calamitie and destruction; yet like men troubled with a frensie, abhorring all remedy and cure, they grew from degree to degree into so great a fury and violence, that they procured the death of their anointed king by the hands of a detestable Jacobine, whom, as a late Frenchman writes, they have since, in regard of that worthy exploit, canonized for a martir, by the name of St Clement.

These things succeeding so much to the Spanish kings desire, whereas before, his endeavour was to nourish betweene them onely civill dissention and strife, he now beganne to entertaine greater hopes, and to aspire to the very royall diademe and monarchy of France. To which end he caused his embassadour to hire the Sorbonists, Jesuites, and mercenarie friers, to steppe up into the pulpits, and to insinuate to the people the necessitie of a king, especially of such a one as were mightie and of power, to resist the king of Navarre, comming then puissant in armes against them. Mendoza likewise spared not himselfe to broake his masters cause by bribery, and all the other best bad meanes he could; persuading them, his master having married a daughter of France, and his children being halfe French, that they could not so safely throw themselves into the bosome or protection of any man as of his: but in fine, the Parisiens liked better of his gold than his government, and elected for their king the old cardinal of Burbons uncle,

and at that time prisoner to the king that now is, calling him Charls the Tenth. But he being neere eightie yeeres of age, was scarcely so soone chosen as dead.

Then began Mendoza to bestir himselfe again, and within a while likewise to help him the better, the duke of Fera was sent downe; but the utmost that both could doe with infinite and profuse expence of their masters money, was to get him the title of protector of France, provided alwaies that the Spanish pistolets kept their course, which only kept him from being discarded; for how closely soever he handled the matter, the League had discovered, that like a canker hee meant to eate into their estate; and therefore, though they could not breake with him, their businesse beeing now brought to a necessitie of him and of his money, yet they liked not his intiteling himselfe to Britaine, and sundry other his proceedings, all tending to usurpation, insomuch, that they helde him in so great a jealousie, diffidence, and mistrust, that they woulde never suffer any of his forces for to enter into any of their townes or places of importance, but had continually as watchfull an eye over him as they woulde have doone over their ennemy. Neyther was hee (howe faire a shewe soever hee made) behinde them in the like subiltie of practise, as the course of his actions did well declare. For when as they were by this king so straightly besieged in Paris, that they were ready to eate one an other through hunger, hee made his lieuutenant the duke of Parma, although hee were long before ready, yet still to delay his succours, even until that they laboured in their last gaspe; and then the great effect that he did for them was only to put a few browne loaves and cheeses into their towne, not therewith to releve the extremitie of their famine, but even as if a man woulde give a locke of hay unto a hungrie jade, onely to keepe him in life. He freed not their rivers, nor fought not with their enemy, but went his way, leaving them in a maner in as desperate estate as he found them.

The like hee did at Roan, in neyther place so much as once adventuring to fight for their sakes; which was not so much in diffidence of

his force, as that hee meant not with Spanish blood to purchase the victorie, leaving the Frenchmen rather to justle one against an other, to the ende that hee might treade uppon both parties when they were downe. Which being by the wisest of the Leaguers perceived, as Vytry, Vilroy, Grillion, &c. they abandoned him utterly, betaking them to the service of their owne true and lawfull kings. Sundry other of them have done the like, and in a maner all, except some fewe, who drawe still backwarde rather through the terrour of their owne dispairing conscience, than in any hope of good successe or fortunate event.

Heere nowe you see, that this French League and societie of his hath not beene, nor is not unto him of any availe, but rather of great detriment, burthen, and expence.

As for the princes of Italie, what faire weather soever they doe beare him, hee neyther trusteth them, nor they him, and the pretences of the one, and the estates of the other considered, neyther of them both is without reason; and withall, this malediction hangeth over the head of him and his nation, that as he is of all forren nations distrusted, doubted, and abhorred, so both hee and the very name of a Spaniard, is unto the rest of his own subjectes most loathsome and hateful; insomuch, that in Millan, the yoong gentlemen, amongst many other pastimes, count that which they doe call *Caceta marrani* not to bee the meanest, which is by putting on visards upon their faces by night, to goe with their rapiers, or good piked bastinadoes, under their clokes, out into the towne to seeke Spaniards in the stewes, or any other place where they are likely to finde any of them, and there to give them as many stabbes and blowes as they can lay uppon them; insomuch, that the Spaniards dare not for their eares abide out of the castle after the shutting in of the gates.

Neither is the affection of the poore Netherlanders better towardes them, who as their usage hath beene harder, so is their desire of revenge greater; insomuch, that whensoever any Spaniard falleth into their handes stragling from the army, or otherwise, he is assured to endure as much cruelty as their best invention can adde unto the extre-

mitie of their hatred ; some they have whipped to death, others they have mangled with lingering torments, and some they have buried alive in the ground, leaving nothing out but their heades, at which they have bowled matches, never leaving till they sawe their bowles imbrewed with their braines.

As for the poore West Indians, of whom at their first arrivall they were honored as gods, after a small and short acquaintance with their customes, humors, and cruelties, they were so deeply and dispairefully detested, that there was nothing more usuall than to see those poore wretches, by great companies, to get themselves to the toppes of rockes, and to tumble themselves downe headlong into the sea ; others to cutte their owne throates with sharpe stones ; some to pine themselves away with famine ; yea, and women great with childe, some to take poison, and some to rippe open their owne wombes, to the end to free themselves and their infants from the hatefull conversation and cruell government of those intollerable Spaniards, whose monstrous inhumanitie they deemed farre more insufferable and unsociable than the raging fury of lions, beares, or whatsoever bloody monsters.

I will not defile my pen with writing, nor your eares with hearing, their barbarous, naturelesse, and unmanly kinds of inhumanity exercised upon these poor, desolate, miserable, and distressed wretches, the whole world being infected with the fame thereof.

But if you will thence throwe your eyes uppon the kingdome of Portugall, (a nation civill, militaire, opulent, and noble,) with desire to see howe he is there loved, honoured, and affected, you must consider, that in former times of their happinesse, libertie, and freedome, there was never any hatred so settled, deadly, and violent, as that which they bare unto the Spaniard, insomuch, that if any one of them had but chanced to name a Castilian, he would presently have spet (as the common sort usually doe when they speake of the devil) to cleanse his mouth after the pronouncing of so hatefull a word ; but being now constrained to receive for masters those that before they would not allow for honourable enimies, nor ever use and intreate according to

those militar rules that the noblenesse of war prescribes, as their battailes of Alnibarota and Toro can testifie, wherein they suffered not any one prisoner to escape unslaine.

Their hatred then being (as I saide before) so great, that it could not well be greater, you may imagine, that this their constrained slavery and servitude hath no whit at all amended their affection, especially being guiltie too themselves, that hee hath wroong himselfe into their estate, not by any justice of election or lawfull title of inheritance, but by an absolute injurious usurpation, and forcible intruding violence, making the puissance of his army supply the weakenesse of his title. And so contrary unto the testament and ordinance of their last king, the cardinall, and to the great scorne and prejudice of all the other competitours, who were all agreede to stand to the triall of justice, suprized them, and seized their estate, beeing unarmed and utterly unprovided of all meanes of defence, attending nothing lesse than violence, especially the title being undecided, and they wholly busied and intentive about meanes to cleere and discusse the same.

Finaly, being by violence possessed of the crown, hee presently used the authoritie of a conquerour, and the tyrannicall crueltie of an unjust usurper, altering their lawes, confounding their privileges, and turning upside downe the whole estate of their government. Their nobilitie were some strangled, some beheaded, some imprisoned, and some banished. Their religious men and friers, such as had in the pulpit spoken for the libertie of their country, were pulled out of their cloisters, some murdered, some drowned in the river, and some beaten to death; and finally, because there should be no kinde of crueltie left unattempted, sundry ladies of great account, for being faithfull and secrete wives to their husbands, were imprisoned, fettered, and banished with their deare and tender children, without compassion of their sexe or innocencie.

Which tyrannicall proceedings, if they were able to alienate mindes otherwise before well affected, what, judge you, would you then do to

those that were already filled and possessed with the highest degree of hatred and enimitie? Surely he is puissant, and enjoyeth many kingdomes and countries, but it hath not pleased God to blesse him with the love and hearty affection of his subjectes, wherein consisteth the true beatitude of a prince. Tyrantes for the time command the bodies of men, but only vertuous princes enjoy the possession of their mindes, which in deede is a much more kingly, noble, and heroicall domination: for the one, every man wisheth his destruction, and gapeth after every occasion of alteration and change; for the other, every mans eye watcheth, every mans heart prayeth, every mans life and living is ready for their defence, as though all their lives, treasures, and well-fares, were in them alone included.

It is in a private man's estate, a thing comfortlesse, hatefull, yea, and dangerous too, not to be beloved, but (as they say) from the teeth outward of those that serve and followe him, but much more in the greatness and dignitie of a prince, who should be as a carefull sheepeheard, to defend and preserve his flocke; as a loving father, zealously affecting the prosperitie of his subjects; and finally, as the image and lieutenant of God, shining over them with his heavenly rayes of vertue, bounty, clemency, piety, and justice, and not as the eagle and lion, who being the kings of birdes and beastes, doe maintain themselves by the blood and destruction of their subjects.

In fine, it is to bee wished, that it would please God of his goodnesse, eyther to graunt the king of Spaine a better moderation in his greatnesse, or else soone to bereave him of those meanes, thorowe the confidence of which, his ambitious greatnesse hath set all Christendome in an uproare.

But leaving him heere to his ambitious usurpations, cruelties, severities, rigors, and injustices, and his unfortunate subjects to their enthralment, vexation, slavery, slaughter, and bondage, let us from this hell of miseries cast backe our eyes uppon that heaven of blissefulnessse which wee doe enjoy at home, under the fortunate and happy governe-

ment of our most excellent and incomperable soveraigne ; there wee shall finde an other estate of matters, all thinges flowing in plenty, peace, comfort, quietnesse, pleasure, and tranquillitie. Her realme copiously abounding in men of warrelike disposition, of whome, as shee is outwardly revered and obeyed, so shee is inwardly unfainedly loved and adored. Her warres are just, charitable, and defensive ; for maintenance of the which, besides the trust that she reposeth in God, shee is allied in strait league, friendship, and confederated with the most victorious and Christian king of Fraunce, with the kings of Scotland and Denmark, with the Swissers, and with sundry princes and estates of the empire ; most of them being her neighbours, and their dominions united, or not farre distant from hers, and thereby ready to assist, aide and succour one an other in all such occasions as shal or may happen.

Shee, like a princely, zealous, and loving mother, carefully tendereth, fostereth, and preserveth, hir subjects by wisdom and fortitude from forreine violences, and by clemencie, religion, and justice, from inward mischiefes.

If, on the other side, you desire to know how her subjects stand affected towards her, marke then the manner and behaviour of the people, when as you see a traitor going to his arraignment or execution ; which, though it be a case of compassion, and mooving the mindes of men to commiserate the calamitous estate of those unfortunate wretches, yet such is the ardent love they beare to her majestie, the jealousie of her safetie, and the hatred to her enemies, that many times they are hardly restrained by the officers from doing violence to the prisoners on the way ; and whereas they doe usually accompanie all other kinde of malefactours to their deaths with a kinde of feeling sorrowe and compassion, they doe then no other thing but curse, banne, and revile these with all the most approbrious speeches they can invent, yea, and commonly applaude the instant of their deaths with a generall showt of joy, with some such crie or other, as, " God save the queene,

and confound all traitours." Flattery this can not be, nor hope of rewarde ; beeing confusedly doone by thousandes of unknowen people, much lesse feare of correction, for silence is unpunished. No, no, it is no constrained feare, but a voluntary affection that must sway in this sorte the mindes of a multitude.

Upon the death of king Edward the Fourth, the duke of Buckingham made an eloquent oration in the Guildehall, flattering the maior and his brothers, and promising them many goodly matters and golden dayes, in the behalfe of king Richard the tyrant. The assembly seeing there was no remedie to prevent the intended mischiefe, did him reverence with their bodies, but with sorrowfull faces and silent tongues ; insomuch, that the duke rebuked their silence, and beganne his excellent premeditated tale againe, halfe threatning, halfe begging an applause, but it would not be, not any one that would open his lippes to crie, " King Richard," except a fewe of his owne lackies at the neather end of the hall ; so that (as I say) howsoever their bodies may, the mindes of men can never be constrained. Blessed therefore and glorious is the domination of her majestie the which so happily and fully possesseth, not only the exterior service of her subjects bodies, but also the interior fidelitie of their mindes.

I cannot heere omit to speake a worde or two, as well of the worthinesse and loyaltie of those honorable gentlemen of her majesties court, who upon the approch of the Spanish fleete, presented, not only their persons and lives for the defence of her majestie, but also a great portion and yeerely revenue of their landes ; as also of her majesties great benignitie and gracious answeere, telling them, that shee accounted herselfe rich enough in that she possessed such subjects, assuring them, that for her part, she would spend the last peny of her treasures for their defence, rather than shee would be burthenous unto them. O happy people in such a princess, and happy princesse in such a people ! Here is a well tuned musicke, an agreeing concord, and perfect harmonie of government, where the frankenesse of voluntarie affection

draweth from men the effects of duty, and not the basenesse of servile and constrained feare.

Let atheists and traitors breathe out their bootlesse blasphemies, and inveigh, impugne, and maligne against the flourishing happinesse of our estate ; and let them turne themselves to all the malicious practises they can ; the ende of all their wicked endeavours will be (like Erisichthon that dared presume to lay his profane axe uppon the holie tree of Ceres) to starve, languish, and pine away with a selfe consuming disease of envy and dispaire.

As for these that are vertuous and wise, they can not, but in the infinitenes of our blessings, acknowledge the mightie and apparant hand of God, which surely cannot be casuall or attributed to the politike industrie of man, but meerely to the mightinesse of God's mercifull working, and to his long and eternall fore appointed ordinance.

In fine, to come to the conclusion of this point, you see that her majestie is protected by God ; confederated and linked in friendship and alliance with mighty kings and princes ; that shee commaundeth a populous and manly nation ; that her warres are vertuous, just, and lawfull ; and finally, her successes fortunate and prosperous.

This then being considered, I see no reason why you or any man else should be so apprehensive of that terrour wherewith the Spanish brokers doe daily indeavour to dismay the courages of our countrymen.

If it be through doubt that our nation is not equall unto the Spaniard in force of armes and valour of courage, I can not judge of him that shall so conceive, as of a true English man borne, but as of a degenerate, bastardy, and adulterine plant, guiltie to his owne minde of an inward selfe feeling cowardise, and finally, worthy of that enthrall'd slavery under which many of our falsehearted countrymen doe groane and languish ; as one that through the disease, infection, and unsoundnesse of his owne corrupted minde is not able for to take the true taste and rellish of his owne native country vertues. Sore eyes

can not endure the sunne beames, nor false hatefull mindes never harbour true or noble mindes and affections. The poet saieth,

“ To him that loves, each foule thing seemeth faire ;”

and so by contrary,

“ To him that hates, ech faire thing seemeth foule.”

If such would but reade the chronicles, as well of ours as other nations, they should finde, that a small army of English men, under the conduct of that woorthy and magnanimous prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Edward the Third, passed in despite of them through Navarre into Spaine, and there, even in the middest and bowels of their own country, overthrew at Nadres their usurping king, Henry the Bastard, (of whose race this man is descended by his grandmother) beeing accompanied with the nobilitie of their countrie, and three score thousand of the bravest fighting men in Spaine ; and so utterly overthrew him, that they erected in his place Don Pedro, their just and lawful prince of that kingdome, compelling, and by maine force constraining, the nobilitie and cities to receive him. There they may likewise reade the valorous conquests atchieved by John, duke of Lancaster, brother to the saide prince, in Galicia, against Don John, sonne of the saide Henry the usurping Bastard. Besides, the chronicles of Portugall are full of the martiall prowesse of the English men, and glorious victories obtained in service of their king, to whose aide they were called against the saide king of Castile.

But what neede I run backe into the passed ages to seeke examples ? Looke but into the incounters that have beene of late dayes betweene them and us, eyther by sea or by land, and you shall finde, that wee have alwayes carryed the victorie, and they blowes. As by land, at the incounter of Grave, and that of Zutphen, where the honour of the worlde, and ornament of England, sir Philip Sidney, by his adventurous valour, was slaine ; besides many other bickerings and skirmishes of lesse moment needlesse to recite.

Of sea matters I doe count it bootlesse for to speake, so greatly and above measure glorious is the same, and bruited throughout the worlde, of the woorthy voyages of sir Francis Drake, sir John Hawkins, sir Martine Frobysher, captaine Ryman, the Fennors, and the rest of the brave and couragious gentlemen, who for the benefite of their country have not spared to make adventure of their lives and fortunes.

But if you desire one example of all, let that then serve of his huge late fleete, with the which Golyas-like hee threatened heaven and earth, and with the which hee thought to have circumvented and surprized at unawares her majestie, whilest falsely, wickedly, and abusively, hee entertained her majesties commissioners in Flaunders with a treatie of peace; to which her highnesse, like unto a Christian princesse, and for to avoyde the effusion of Christian blood, was very inclineable; but God, as hee hath alwayes doone, so at this time did hee miraculously protect her majestie in such sort, that through the great carefull and valorous resolution of the lorde high admirall of England, and the rest of his noble and couragious followers, they were, with a small number of English shippes, so fiercely and vigorously encountered, that their resistance not prevailing them, they were scattered, chaced, and utterly discomfited, in such sort as the whole worlde knoweth; so that Lucan's verse, which in those dayes hee wrote to the glory of our nation, upbraiding the Romanes cowardise, may to none better be applied (in my judgement) than unto them:

"Territa quæsitis ostendunt terga Britannis."

Besides, what better triall can you have of the valour of eyther nation than this: they being thirtie thousand, the creame of all their forces, and about the assembling of which hee had beene above three yeeres busied, yet when they came upon the coast of England dared not to land a man, whereas wee the next yeere following, with a little navie, containing not above eleven thousand men, under the conduct of the twoo renowned captaines, sir John Norris and sir Francis Drake, landed in Spaine, burned his shippes, put his people to the sworde, and

his townes to the fire, and coasted thence along into Portugall, and there landing, marched in his countrey, even to his gates of Lisbon, with drummes sounding, and with ensignes displayed ; from whence we returned unfought withall by any of his forces by sea or land.

These things well considered, mee thinketh you have greater reason to hope one day to see English ensignes displayed in Madrill, together with the utter ruine of this aspiring tyrant, and al his followers and partisans, than any way to feare him and his proceedings. And yet there is one point, besides all the above rehearsed, out of which we may receive singular comfort, as that which of all other most deeply vexeth and afflicteth his cogitations, and which, no doubt before it be long, will give us a great advantage against him, and that is, the contention which he seeth to spring up in his owne house ; of which I will briefly discourse unto you the occasions, bicause ye shal understand the same the better.

He hath, by severall wives, three children living, two daughters and one son ; the son yong of yeeres, pale, and weak of complexion, and not of the greatest vivacitie of spirite, though the same, according to the course of the worlde, is by the common sorte much covered under the high dignitie of a prince.

His eldest daughter, whom they call La Infanta of Spaine, a woman, as by birth great, so prowde exceedingly, haughty minded, and above measure aspiring, prudent in her speeches, majesticall in her actions and countenance, and above her sex manly and couragious : her he hath alwayes nourished under his owne wing, acquainting her, even from her cradle, with matters of state and government. In which now, by reason of her long experience therein, she is exceedingly practised and ripe ; with her, what waighty matter soever he undertakes, he participateth the same, before demanding her advice and counsel, spending sometimes whole halfe daies they two in communication together ; upon her (the youth and imbecillitie of the yong prince considered) are the eyes of all men throwen ; upon her depend the nobilitie, gentlemen, and commons, and innumerable troupes of suters, in-

to whose heartes she hath so insinuated hirsselfe, that they beare an exceeding love and reverence towards her ; many mighty men have beene offred her in marriage ; as the emperour Rodolph, the cardinall of Austria, and divers other ; but she wil abandon Spaine for none of them al, till she see what wil become of her father, whome she seeth olde, oppressed with infinite cares, and not likely long to live ; uppon whose death, her actions and maner of life doth assuredly shew, that she is not of mettall to give place to the young prince her brother, but at least she meanes to part stakes with him.

In Spaine she knowes there is no lawe salike to bridle hir ambitious thoughts, but women may succeed as well as men ; for so did her great-grandmother Juana to Ferdinando her father, and Isabella, wife to Ferdinand, to Don Henryques her brother. Having these examples before her eies, she feedeth her mind with high and ambitious desires ; of which her pretence she hath made so cleare and evident demonstrations, that her father, to prevent this mischief, the which he feareth, hee was forced, not long since, to assemble and gather the whole estates of Spaine, and to make them sweare to be true to his sonne, whome hee presently caused to keepe his court apart, sending him sundry of his counsell, and commaunding the nobilitie to be attendaunt on him, acquainting him, as much as in him lieth, with the managing of matters of weight and government : besides, it was a while bruited for certaine, that the president of Artoys, Richardo, whome the duke of Parma had sent into Spaine to make his excuses and justifications against certaine points of treason, of which hee was by the duke of Pastrana and the prince of Ascoly accused to the king, uppon his returne had commission to assemble the nobilitie and states of the Lowe Countries, and to cause them to take the like oathe unto his sonne, thereby to prevent as well his daughter as the duke of Parma of theyr conceived hopes ; but whatsoever the cause was, the same was not effected.

But nowe to come unto his second daughter, whome hee hath long time since bestowed in marriage uppon Charles Emanuel the duke of

Savoy, with absolute promise and solemn vowe betwixt him and her, to leave her a kingdome for her dowrie. Shee is a princess in ambition and high desire, nothing unequall to her sister, but in witte and courage verie farre her inferiour. Shee and her husband both alreadie take uppon them in their manner, stile, and usage, a state and title farre beyond their dignitie, convenient onely unto kings: Altezza is the meanest phrase that they will bee spoken in unto, refusing anie letters that are not so entituled; for such is the will and pleasure of the king her father. Naples and the dutchie of Millaine they have already devoured in their hopes, which, if her father, at his death, leave not quietly unto them, they will be so bolde as to straine courtesie with his sonne, to get them perforce, if they can; on the other side, the states of Italie like not such a mightie neighbour amongst them: and therefore, to prevent both him and his father in lawes desseignement, have made a most straight secret league and alliance amongst themselves, terming the same *ragione de stato*: in the which are comprized the pope, the Venetians, the duke of Florence, the dukes of Urbyne, Mantua, and Ferrara.

The duke of Parma, in his lifetime, dared not to enter in among them, but was forced, though none more agreeved, to dissemble and temporize for a while: he knew right well that the king had beene exceeding jealous of him, and did seeke, though slyly and dissemblingly, his life, honour, and reputation. What his sonne, the new duke, will doe when occasion shall serve, the Lorde onely knoweth; but certaine it is, that the detention of Portugall, to which he perswadeth himselfe to have right, *manet alta mente repostum*, stickethe deepe in his stomacke; and surely, when as opportunitie shall be presented, it is thought hee will make the world witnesse of his discontentment.

But leaving these things to their event, and the better discussion of these points, at which I have but lightly glaunced, to men of greater abilitie, having already exceeded the limits which I did at the beginning of this discourse proportion to my selfe, it is now time that I restraints my pen, concluding, that the fame of the king of Spaine is greater than his

force; and he not better to be likened than to a shadow, which seeming long towards the setting of the sunne, yeldeth to our sight a deceitfull proportion of his greatnesse. The philosophers hold, that there is in all things a beginning, a progresse, a state, and a declining; and that the perfecter their creation and beginning is, the more are they durable, and longer ere they come unto their period. And so contrary; if their beginning be corrupt and unsound, it is improbable and impossible that there should be any long continuance; which argument, if it be as it is infallible, then what shall wee expect of this masse of kingdomes which the king of Spaine and his late predecessours have huddled together by extortion, intrusion of himselfe, extrusion of others, violence, injustice, and most of them by forcible usurpation; but that one day, when opportunitie shall serve, every bird wil claime his own feather, and leave him or his heires naked? In the meane time, as I saide before, in regarde of his many yrons in the fire, the disjoynd situation of his owne provinces, and lastly, the generall hatred that the worlde beareth him, he is nothing so formidable as he seemeth.

But, by the way, I would not have any man mistake me in this extenuation of his mightinesse, as though I should do the same to lull us asleepe in securitie; for there is nothing more dangerous than a contemned enemy; let us rather doe like wel disciplined souldiours, that keepe still good and warie watch, though they be never so farre from the enemy.

I do not thinke that the divell hath so many hornes in his head, and stings in his taile, as hee is painted withall; yet, nevertheless, I thinke him to be very ill-favouredly faced, and a dangerous companion, and able to do much hurt, if a man do come within the compasse of his clawes. It is an old saying, Frugalitie is the mother of liberalitie, and warinesse of securitie. Let not us of our part be defective in contributing our goodes, or hazarding our purses for the publike weal of our cuntry, than which nothing is more honourable. Neither let us grow confident and carelesse, in that of late since the overthrow of his

last fleete, he hath not attempted any new invasion, but assure our selves, that he fetcheth his blowe the further, because he would strike the surer. The Dutchmen have a proverb, That when the Spaniard sleepes, the diuel rockes the cradle. Let us therefore be in a readines for him against he awake; the which undoubtedly we shall be, and that to his disadvantage, if wee will feare God, obey her majesty, and be true within our selves; from which union whosoever shall dismember himselfe, God send him speedy amendment, or else, as he deserveth, soone confusion. I know this discourse of mine shalbe diversly censured of, according to the diversitie of their affections that shall chauce for to reade it; but that request, which I did make in the beginning, I turne in the ende now to review, the which is to entreate those that shall peruse it, not to bring with them any settled fore-ingrafted opinion, but, unclothing their mindes and affections of all partialitie, to judge thereof accordingly as the trueth of the matter, and the sincerenesse of my meaning deserveth.

Let them onely wince that feele their galled backe rubbed; for my part I would to God, and I wish it unfainedly, that this poore advertisement of mine might leave as a cataplasme or medicine to remedy and cure the rankleing of their malladie and disease, the which if it may not be, but that in recompence of my friendly, honest, and charitable intention, they shall reward mee with a malicious and detracting censure, I shall not therewith be much grieved, but rather greatly comforted, in having made myselfe woorthy of their malice; the which, seeing they have not spared to powre out in such opprobrious termes against princes and men of authority, it were folly in me to thinke to escape it, or want of courage to regarde it.

As for the trueth of these things which I have touched, I give them free libertie and scope to impugne it if they can; nay, rather, I wish with my heart, that they could disprove it, and that my writings might bee condemned as false, so their actions might bee justified as innocent, and that therein my countrey might not with the vyper have cause to complaine of the too much fertilitie of her womb, and the unnaturalnesse of her owne fruit.

But, lastly, nowe to you, for whose behoofe I do chiefly take these paines : whereas you doe write, that if so be there were no other benefite to be gotten in those partes but attaining the language of forreine nations, with the knowledge of militarie discipline and the state of the worlde abroad, wherein you heare, that even myself and others your countrymen have somewhat, it were a motion sufficient, not onely to make you leave your country for a time, but also to hazard your selfe to any dangers in forraine partes, I have thought it good therein to let you understand, that howsoever I, or any other have profited therein, yet as the time doth nowe serve, and the case now standeth at this present, there is no possibilitie that you, or any other may, in farre longer time than I have spent, attaine to the like. And if you coulde, yet the daungers that in adventuring the same you shall endure, were farre greater than the benefites you could possible reape, might in any wise countervaile, were they such as might answere your expectation ; in which respect, I pray you first consider, that when I came first over thither, the warres then there undertaken seemed, and were in appearance to all the meaner sort of men in the world, but intestine warres betweene the king and his subjects, such as neither foraine prince, and most especially our most noble queene and soveraigne was therein nothing interested ; whereas since it hath beene made manifest to the worlde, that these warres and injuries offered by the king of Spaine unto those of the Low Countries, whose lawse, customes, and priviledges, he hath most violently, tyrannously, wrongfully, and perjuredly broken, hath freed them from his subjection, yoke, and tyranny, and justly and deservedly for ever caused him to lose all such preheminences, prerogatives, authoritie, and jurisdiction, as he pretended, over them, as more amply appeareth in the ancient recordes of the priviledges of these nations, which both he and his predecessors at every entry of government into these provinces, have solemnly vowed and sworne to maintaine all in generall, and every one in particular, inviolate ; and, uppon that covenant and condition, they have recipi-

cally sworne unto him due fidelity and obeysance; hee failing in the one, they to be exempted from the other.

Moreover, her majestie seeing the lamentable and most pittifull cause of her distressed neighbours and allies, finding no other possible meanes, by labour, suites, messages, and sundry ambassadours, which shee most honourably sent unto the king of Spaine for pacifying the saide troubles, and reconciling the saide king, and those sometimes his saide subjectes, hath been inforced to take pittie and commiseration of their most miserable and afflicted estate and distresse, and for their releefe, to her excessive and almost importable charges, to undertake a most just, godly, and charitable defensive warre against those that daily seeke the blood, lives, goods, lands, and liberties, of the inhabitants of the said distressed nations; since which being published, I thinke it not onely unlawfull, but a most heinous and capitall crime and offence for any of her majesties subjectes to serve on the contrary part.

It shall be good for you, and all other good subjects of her majesties, to remember, that consideration being had by her majesty and her most honourable prudent councell, of the loosenesse of many of her subjects, and small respect they had to her highnesse and countrey, and as little to their owne safetie, her majestie hath caused to be published and set foorth, divers lawes, ordinances, proclamations, and inhibitions, whereby all her subjects (except knowen marchants and strangers) are straightly forbidden to passe the seas into any forraine partes, without especiall licence of her majestie. Therefore, if you, or any other of her majesties subjects, shall nowe attempte to passe the seas, without lawfull licence, there is no reason why you should expect any other than the rigour of the lawes and justice, and to be holden guiltie of cases capitall, especially such as shall serve under so open and professed an enemy to the crown and state.

Further, I pray you to have in consideration, that when I came over hither, the case so stode, as al gentlemen, of any qualitie or merit, were gratefully received, and employed in good and honourable services; whereas, since the Spaniard hath professed himselfe an open

enemy to her majestie and the state of her realme, hee hath had all Englishmen in very base account, being jealous and extreamely suspicious of those that be most inward with him, and who, for his sake, have made shipwracke, not onely of their honour and credit, but also of their loyalty, duty, and allegiance to her majestie and their native countrey; examples whereof are infinit, and partly touched in my discourse before set downe.

Besides, there is of late crept into that nation, with a commaunding authoritie, a prowde, insolent, and factious company of Jesuites, and with them a consorted crew of other practising busie people, all of them malicious enemies to her majestie and to their owne countrey, vile and pernicious instruments of the Spanish king and his adherents, who daily (as it is manifest to them that have knowledge and experience of them and their actions) seeke nothing more than the utter ruine, pulling downe, and destruction of her majestie and their countrey: He, therefore, that doeth thinke to live among these subtile and dangerous people, in any credite or account, let him, as hee woorthily doth deserve, be accounted beside his wittes, or else as disobedient and traiterous to Almighty God, her majestie, and his countrey.

As for my part, howsoever in my yong yeeres affected to learne languages, and to see the warres and fashions of forraine places, yet when I perceived that the matter beganne to concerne her majestie, and withall to looke into the drift and conveyance whereto their practises tended, presently abandoning, and utterly rejecting the merit of my long service, and such hopes and preferrements, the which I might as well as any man else of my qualitie of my nation have pretended, and perchance shoulde as soone have obtained, I made humble intercession to her majestie, my most honoured princesse and soveraigne lady, for my returne, which, of her royall and accustomed benignitie, she graciously graunted: so that, besides the unfained prayer, which I will never cease to send to the heavens from the depth of a most faithfull affection for the continuance of her blessed estate and happinesse, I

take God to recorde, that there is not in this worlde any thing that I more thirst after, than an occasion to make the world witnesse of the desire I have to do her service ; and so concluding, I beseech God, that as her vertues are infinit, so her joys may be endlesse. Amen.

LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTLAND,

DURING

HER IMPRISONMENT IN ENGLAND.

LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The following documents chiefly relate to the confinement of the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots in the manor-house of Wingfield, near Sheffield, and for the second time in Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire, during the time Sir Ralph Sadler was burdened with the irksome charge of guarding her. Of Wingfield some account will be found in a subsequent note. The castle of Tutbury requires a more particular description, which is here extracted from the Rev. Stebbing Shaw's History and Antiquities of Staffordshire. It is situated "in the north-east borders of the Hundred of Offlow, about five miles from Burton, and on the south banks of the river Dove, which separates it from the county of Darby." The date of its first erection is unknown; but in the year 1066, Hugh de Albricis, earl of Chester, was in possession of it, from whom it was transferred to Henry de Ferieres, as appears by the Domesday-book. In a survey, dated the 2d of February, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, the scite is thus described: "The castle, sometimes the lord's habitation and capitall mansion, is situate very stately within a parke on the north side of the towne of Tutbury, upon the height of a round rocke of alabaster, and inclosed, for the most parte within a stone-wall, embattled, whereupon may be seen all the lordships and mannors appertaining to the honor, in the counties of Stafford, Derby, and Leicester, very delightfully situated both for pleasure and profit." The honor, according to an ancient survey of the reign of Henry V., consisted of no less than 80 towns and hamlets in this county, 236 in Derbyshire, 37 in Leicestershire, and 9 in Warwickshire. In 1568, Queen Mary was transferred hither from Bolton Castle, on the borders of

Yorkshire, belonging to Lord Scroop, where she had been confined soon after her first entrance into England, to put herself under the protection of Elizabeth. She continued under the charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Ralph Sadler, for the space of 17 years, at Tutbury, Wingfield manor, Hardwicke, and Chatsworth. In 1585, she was removed from Tutbury to Chartley, and thence, in September 1586, finally, to Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire. During the civil wars, Tutbury Castle was the scene of several military exploits, and was finally demolished by order of parliament. "The magnificent ruins remain nearly in the same state as left by the iron hand of Cromwell and his party, and are principally of hewn freestone, with admixtures of gypsum. The area of the castle is about 3 acres, and surrounded with the remains of walls in which are towers and buildings with hewn stair cases, and traces of divisions of rooms, with fire-places, &c. The ancient gateway in part remains, and with the round tower, in imitation of ruins, (erected by Lord Vernon, the present possessor of the castle, by lease from the crown), on a high mound, the scite of the keep of the ancient castle, are pleasing objects to all the circumjacent country."

No. I.

MY LORDS, *

We are hertely sorry to here, that thes our countreyemen should intende to colour their most unjust, ingrate, and shamefull doings, as to the world is patent against their native soveraigne, liege lady, and maistres, that haithe ben so beneficiall to them; her grace hathe made the gratest of them, of meane men, in their owne calling, erles and lords; and now without any evill deserving of her graces parte to any of them in dede

* This is a copy of the celebrated harangue made by Lord Herries before the commissioners at York, on 1st December 1568, in behalf of Queen Mary. It seems to have been placed here as relative to Norfolk's trial. Sir Ralph Sadler was one of the commissioners appointed to try the cause of the Scottish queen; and when, by the intrigues of Norfolk Murray became intimidated in the prosecution of his charge, Sir Ralph was ordered to attend the queen, with the result of the proceedings at that conference.

or wourde, to be thuswise recompensed with calumpnious and false invented brutes, slandered in so grate a matier to her reproache, whereof they themselves, that now pretende herewith to excuse there open treasons, were the first inventors, wryters with their owne hands of that develish bande, the conspiracie of the slaughter of that innocent yong gentleman, Henry Stewart,* late spouse to our sovereign, and presented to their wicked confederate, James, erl Bothaile, as was made manifest before x thousand people at the execution of certen the principall offenders in Edinburgh; but seeing they can get no other excuse to this their treasonable usurpacion and manifest wrongs, yea, such usurpacion and wrongs as never hath ben sene the lyke subiects to have done before, for the first and best of them hathe not in parliament the first vote of eightene of that realme. No, no, my lords, this is not the cause whie they have put their hands in their sovereign, the anoynted of God, most often by his woorde expressly prohibited; a mateir to other princes right daungerous, and worthie to be forsene; for if this in them be tollerate, what prince lyveth upon the face of the yerth, that ambitious subiects may not invent som slaunder in their lyving to com to their supreme auctoryte. Because your wisdomes understandeth well how farre their doings passt the bounds of subiects permitted in the holie and sacred scriptures, and loyall duetie to their native princes in humane lawes, we will not speke thereof. Onely will we playnly declare the very truth and cause of their usurpacion. The quenes highnes, our and their native sovereign, being of herself (as welle is known) a liberall princesse, gave them in her youth, for their unshamefast begging, without other their worthie deservinge, the twoo parts of the patrymonye perteyning to the crown of Scotland. And when her grace came to farther yeres, and more perfite understanding, seing that her successours, kings of that realme, might not mayntene their estate upon the third parte, albeit her grace might for the time, having so grate dowerie of France, and other casualities

* Lord Darnley, murdered Feb. 18, 1567.

not proper to the crowne ; for their evill deservings, and most proude contemptcion, procuring her slaunder so far as in them was, fleing her secretarie (*David Rizzio, an Italian*) in her graces presence, caused her use the priviledge of the lawes, alwaies granted to the kings of that realme of before, made revocacion before her full age of xxv yeres; they understanding right well this to be a way, when it pleased her grace and her successours by the lawes, to take from them the lyvyngs before given them, and thus wise well deserved. When they had herein advised with their machiveles doctrine, seing her soonne an infant not a yere olde, coulde fynde no better way then to cut of their sovereign liege lady, (which, if it had not ben the quenes majestie of this realme her grate diligence,) without doubt had ben donne, for that they understode they might long possess their or that infant had witte or power to displace them: and, in the meane tyme, gatte gret ryches, under the colour of a pretended auctoryte. That it was not the punyshment of that slaughter that moved them to this prowde rebellion, but the usurping of their sovereigne's supreme auctorytee, and to possesse themselves with her grete ryches and her trew subiects, we will boldly avow, and constantly do affirme the same, as by the sequele doth and shall playnly appear. This shalbe knowne the cause and grounde of their mynde to the quenes majestie of this realme, the kings of France, Spayne, and all other prynces. And as the quenes majestie (*Elizabeth*) hath wrytten and sayed, her highnes neither could nor wolde be iudge in this cause, considering the quenes grace, our mistres, and her progenitors, have benn free pryncesses. Neither yet wold her highnes permitte them to com to her presence that thus had used their native sovereigne. So can we not doubt, but your right honorable lordships, reporting this to her majestie, we shall fynde her of that good mynde and disposicion to our sovereigne, her majesties owne bloode, that, upon the affirmed promise of frendship and assistance bytween them, of her free option and voluntary will, is com into this realme to her majestie, seing her highnes help that her grace may enjoye her owne given her of God, which otherwise hath at all tymes

founde, and we of reason can require. Howbeit our sovereign had not tyme to have advise with her estates her cause, nor herein to with the quenes majestie. But, in very simple manner, put herself in her majesties handes upon the promisses, trusting only in her majesties honour, which ever hath ben found to others of farre meaner degree, that in such manner have sought in this country. And, at her highnes commandement and promes of assistance, hath lefte the seking of ayde of any other prynces, having no other but her majesties high honour to appeale her cause unto. And that ye, my lords, of the noble auntyent worthie blood of this realme, ar convenit to here and understand this cause; and that your honours shall report the same to your sovereign, is our grete comforte to have good answer, which we humbly require.

No. II.*

The speciall Words in the Quene of Scotts Lettres, written with her owne hande to BOTHWELL, declaring the inordynate and filthie love betwixt her and him, be thes in effect hereafter folowing, viz. †

First, That she being departed from the place where she lefte her harte, it was easie to be iudged what was her countenance, seing she was no more then a body without a harte. That if she had not had a profe of her husbonds herte of wax, and knowing her owne to be of diamond, (whereinto no shotte coulde make breche but that which cam out of Bothwells hande,) she wolde have almost pitie of him, bidding Bothwell not to feare, for the place shoulde holde unto the deth; in recompence whereof she prayeth him, that he will not let his hert

* Indorsed, "The most consyderable papers."

† These are extracts from the celebrated letters which are so often referred to in the controversy about poor queen Mary.

be woonne from her by that false race,* that will travaile no lesse with him for the same.

She wissheth, that the dyvell may sonder her and her husbände, and Bothwell and his wif; and that God may knytte Bothwell and her together for ever, for the most faithfull couple that ever he unyted, affirming the same to be her faith, and that she wolde dye in the same. She prayeth Bothwell to excuse her ill writing, for she coulde not amende it, because she was not well at ease, and yet very glad to write to him, when others did slepe; sythens she coulde not slepe, as they dyd, and as she desired, that was, in his armes, her dere love.

She holly referreth herself to Bothwells will, promising to obey him, and to be at his commandement in all things. She writeth, that she is the most faithfull lover that ever he had, or ever shall have; and that, after the kissing of his hands, she endeth her lettre; praying him to remember his love, to write often to her, and to love her as she shall love him, and to remember the purpose of the lady Reres.*

The specyall Words in the saide Lettres, declaring her hatred and detestation of her Husbände.

That if she had not a profe of his herte of wax, and that hers were of dyamonde, she coulde almost pitie him; and that he had ever the teares in his eye to make her have pitie on him: That she can not cease to write to Bothwell, though she were going to slepe; cursing that pevish man that caused her to take so moche payn, and wishing that she had a more pleasaunt subiect to discourse upon.

That his breth dyd savour so ill, that it had almost slayn her, and yet she cam no nerer to him than sitting in a chair at his beddes foot, and he being at the other ende thereof: That he was never so gay; and

* In the margin, " By this is ment Bothwells wif."

† In the margin, " Now the lady Reres was her chief bawde."

that he put her in remembraunce of all things which might make her beleve that he loved her; whereof she take so great pleasure, that she never entered where he was, but incontynent she had the sickness of her sore side, she was so fasched with him.

The specyall Words of the saide Lettres, touching and declaring the conspiracie of her Husband's deth.

How she toke her journey to Glasco, to intent to bring him to Edenburgh; how by flatterie she perswaded him to go with her to take medycine at Cragmiller. She writeth to Bothwell, that being about her purpose, the same day her husbonds father did blede at the nose and at the mowth, bidding him ghesse what presage it was. That she was dooing of a woorke that she hated gretely; and that she flattered, lyed, and dissembled, to bring it to pas. She prayeth Bothwell to advertise her what he doth deliberate to do in the matier he knowethe of upon this poynt, to the ende the one of them may well understonde another, so as nothing faile in defaulte thereof. That she was now going to her faschious and lothisome purpose, which she did abhorre, and that therein she dyd the office of a trayteresse; and that if it were not tobey him, she had lever be ded then do it, for her harte did blede at it: That she had woonne her husbände to go with her where she wolde have him; saying, alas, she never deceyved any body before! Remitting her self altogither to Bothwells will, and that she wolde obey him whatsoever cam thereof. Prayeng him to advise with himself, if he coule fynde out any other secrèt invencion by medycyne; for her husbonde was to take medycine, and the bath also, at Cragmiller: That her husbonde, by all that she can lerne, is in grete suspicion; and yet notwithstanding, giveth credite to her woorde; but she can not reioyse to deceyve any body that trustith her: but Bothwell may commaunde her in all things; bidding him have no ill opynyon of her for that cause, for that he is the occasion of it himself; because for her

owne particuler revenge she wolde not do it : That her husbonde, for certentie, suspectith that Bothwell knoweth of, and of his life also ; but as to the last, assone as she speketh ii or iii good woords unto him, he reioyseth, and is out of doubte She biddeth Bothwell burne the lettre, for it is over daungerous to them, and nothing well sayed in it, for that she is thinking upon nothing but fascherie. Prayeng him, that sithens to obey him, her derest love, she spareth neyther honour, conscience, hazarde, nor greatenes whatsoever, he wolde take it in good parte ; and to give no credit ayenst her, the most faithfull lover that ever he had, or ever shall have. And that he wolde not see her,* whose fayned teares shoulde not be so moch praised, as the faithfull travailes which she susteyned to merite her place ; for the obteyning whereof, ayenst her nature, she betrayed them which might impeche it ; prayeng God to forgive her ; and to give to him, her onely love, the hap and prosperyte which she, his humble and faithfull love, desireth unto him ; hoping shortly to be an other unto him, for the rewarde of her hirkesom travailes. That, according to her commission, she bringeth the man with her to Cragmiller. Prayeng Bothwell to woorke wisely, or ells the hole burden will lye on her shoulders ; and specyally to make good watche that the birde escape not out of the cage.

No. III.

16 JANUARY, 1572.

16 Jan. Yesterday, the duke of Norfolk† was arayned and condemned, in this sort. The erle of Shrewsbury was on the 14 made

* In the margin, " Bothwells wife."

† The trial of the unfortunate Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, took place in Westminster (the earl of Shrewsbury being for the time lord high steward,) 16th January 1571, on the 14th of queen Elizabeth. See *State Trials*, Vol. I. page 81.

high stuard of England, only *hac vice* to try the duke of Norfolk *per pares suos*, upon such treasons wherupon he was indyted. By vertu herof, the erle made a precept to a seriant at armes to summon these lords, whose names are in a scedule, to appeare before him, as yesterday, in Westminster Hall, *inter horas* 7 and 8. Yesterday they all appeared. The duke was brought from the Towr to the Three Cranes, bycause the tyde wold not suffre the passing throwgh the bridg, and from thence to Westminster bridg, by the lieutenant of the Towr, and sir Peter Caro, with vj^{xx} halberds; and so was conveyed throwgh the Starr Chambre into the lord treasorars chambre; from thence, about 8, he was browght to the barr, where his inditment was redd, which was very long, and conteaned these things folowing:—That he imagined the quenes majesties death, and deprivation; alteration of the state, and of religion; for compassing wherof, he had practised mariag with the quene of Scotts being on that had claimed this crown presently, and had not recognised hir wrong, thowgh she had bene therto required. And this he did, after that he had bene charged by the quenes majestie, upon his allegiance, not to deale any furder therin. And after that he had, by his writing under his hand and seale, acknowledged his former offence, in going about that mariage without the quenes consent; and that, to compass this, he had conspired with the sayd quene to stirr a rebellion in this realme, and to bring in a foren powre, from the king of Spayne, by Flaunders, with the help of mony from the pope. That also he had releved the rebells in the Low Countrees with mony: That he had adhered to the quenes enemies in Scotland by sondry meanes. Upon this he pleaded not guilty; and offred to be tryed by his peares, whome he sayd he did see there sitting; to whome he durst committ his life, and all that he had; yea, he wold putt himself to the iudgment of them all, and allmost to every on particularly there. And so than the parts of the inditment were thus divided. Seriant Barram charged him with the matter of mariage both afore the quenes majestie understood of it, and afterward with corruption when he was in commission at York to here hir causes; where

he did secretly disclose to the bishop of Ross and Liddington, the quenes counsell, and labored all that he might with the erle of Murray to withdrawe the lettres, &c. which were brought to be shewed to prove the quene of Scotts guiltines in the murder of hir husband. And therin he was periured; for he took a corporall othe to deale indifferently at that time. There allso he dealt secretly with the erle of Murraye for the mariage of the Scotts quene, and yet afterward denyed it to the quenes majestie with othes and detestations. In this part it was sett out, that he knew the Scotts quene to have claymed the crown, and not to have renounced it, as she had promised. And therefore, to marry with hir, being out of possession of hir crowne, and hir realme of Scotland inherited, and she a person defamed, and all this against the quenes majesties will, cold not but be interpreted to advaunce his claime, and so to deprive the quenes majestie.

The second matter, which Mr Attorney did utter, was his conspiracie to make a rebellion, to bring in strange powr, &c. which was proved by the quene of Scotts owne lettres to the duke. The sending of Ridolphi for that purpos, with instructions and lettres from the duke to the duke of Alva, the pope, and the king of Spayne, and his receaving of lettres from Ridolphi, conteaning the answer made by the duke of Alva to the requests. And within on month after the severall lettres from the pope to him self, which he cold not deny but he did receive, and they both made mention of his sent to the sayd pope. This matter was allso prosecuted by Mr Sollicitor.

The 3d matter was prosecuted by Mr Wilbraham, attorney of the wards; who charged him, that he was privie, and did direct the distribution of xijm. crowns, which the pope assigned to the hands of Ridolphi for the releif of the rebells of England, in this sorte: That is, ij m. to the erle of Westmorland, ij m. to the countess of Northumberland, ij m. to the Nortons, and others, and the rest to remayne in store for the quene of Scotts and hir ministers. Besyde this, he was charged with sending of lettres and messages of comfort to the lords of Scotland, that did manteyn our rebells in Scotland. He was allso

charged, that he had secretly given counsell to the quene of Scotts, that she shold never accord that hir sonne, the king of Scotts, shold be delivered into England, nor that the quene of Scotts shold deliver any rebells to her majestie. Upon which matters no answer was made by him, that the lords, his peares, found the matters sufficiently proved against the duke. And so, in the end, the lords being retyred to consult upon the matter, there was no maner of scrupul obiected ; but, by commen consent, every lord being openly demaunded by name, whether the duke was giltie of the treasons or no ? did distinctly answer, that he was giltie. And so the duke being called, and told what the peares had found, he had iugment given against him, to suffre death, as by the lawes of the realme is ordred. Who, having receaved his iudgement, sayd, the will of God be fulfilled, and that that iudgment was the iudgment for a traitor ; but he was a tru man, and allwayes had bene, and so wold dy ; and that he wold not now desire to live : but seing the lords, his peres, had iudged him unworthy of their company, he wold be non of them, but trusted to go to another. This he spake with some passion. Otherwise truly he did use him self all the day long very modestly and wisely, as farr forth as his cause cold serve him. The sitting continued untill it was past 8 in the night, from 8 in the morning, which hath not bene sene in any tyme. And the cause was for that the matters were so many, and he permitted, with all favor, to speke as much, and whan he wold.

No. IV.

*To our right trusty and weillbeloved Sir RAUPHE SADLAIR, knyght,
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

Richt traist and weilbelovit, we grete yow hartlie weill, having oft-
tymes understand be credible report, bot cheiflie of lait sen we acceptit

the government of oure realme in oure awin persone,* with quhat earnest cair and gudewill ye have studyit to interteane the gude amytye betwix ws and our dearest suster and cousine, the quene, your souverane, and in moving of her to extend her favoure toward ws, and our estait in our youngar aage ; we can not omit now be oure awin lettre, to let yow understand in how thankfull and gude part we accept the same, trusting that ye will continew as ye have worthelie done heirtofore, and be a gude meane unto our said dearrest suster, upoun the hering of our trustie and weilbelovit counsalar, Robert †, commendatar of Dunfermling, our principall secretar and ambassadoure, presentlie directit toward her, to furder his dispatche, quha being instructit of our loving and affectionat mynde toward oure said dearest suster, and to the conservation of the amytye betuix, as he will mak you mair speciali to understand be speche. We leif the haill to his sufficiencie, quhome we hartlie require yow to credite. And thus we committ yow in the protection of God. At our castell of Striviling, the fourt of Julij 1578,

Your loving and assurit freind,

JAMES R.

No. V.

A bref of things passid betweene the Scottish Queen and my Lord of SHREWSBURY and Sir RAFF SADLER syns the comming of the said Sir RAFF.

Last of Aug. First, the said quenes thanks to the quenes majestie for making so good a choice of a grave and ancient counsellor, well

* In 1577, king James VI., then scarcely twelve years old, assumed the regency upon the compelled resignation of the earl of Morton, regent.

† Robert Pitcairn, commendator of the abbey of Dumfermline, and at this time secretary of state, was sent to England, partly to reconcile queen Elizabeth to this unexpected change in the Scottish government, partly to claim the succession which had fallen to him in England by death of his grandmother lady Lennox.

knowne to her, * to supply his lordshipes place in the charge of her in his absence. Her great protestacion of her good will towards her majestie, and readiness to employ all her credit and endeavor towards the king her son, to bring him to depende onely upon the quenes majesties good will and amytie, yf it might please her majestie to trust her, and to make a tryall of her.

That she hath long looked for, and desyrethe earnestly her majesties answer and resolucion upon the points long sens by her moved to her majestie by sir W. Myldmay and Mr Bente. That she may have leave to send one (meaning Nau) to her majestie, to delyver thoroughly her mynde, and to reply upon occasion of her majesties answers, and to bring her highnes's resolution to such things as he shall propound to her majestie; and others: That to shew by effect her good will and sincere meaning to do good offices for the weale of her majestie and her estates, the said quene desyreth to have leave to sende one into Scotland, to treat with the king her son, for the purpose aforesaid; assuring that there ar yet meanes left her to do good, which she shall not be able to do after awhile, for she hath cause to think that he will shortly take an other corse, wherein she shall not be able to stay him, nor to do that good which she yet can do†. And if she faile to do as she promiseth to her majestie, or be founde false to her, by any evill waye, her body is here a good gage to answer it. That the party whome she wolde send, shall, besydes her charge, follow such corse as her majestie shalbe pleased to appoint him; and shall not treat but in the hearing of her maiestie, yf it please her to appoint any such to *be with him*. Her protestacions to be innocent in any practise that her son or his mynisters may go about against her majestie and estates. And that she will never be partaker thereof, but besecheth her majestie not to presse her to

* Sir Ralph Sadler was known to the queen as one of the York commissioners, a sad token of remembrance! as well as by former visits to her places of imprisonment.

† From the arrogance of Arran, and the downfall of all queen Elizabeth's ancient friends and pensioners in Scotland, matters in that country began to assume a lowering complexion towards England.

leave to have intelligence with her son, remembring he is so dere to her, and her onely comfort, which if she shulde refuse to do, he might fall from her. And then not having assurance of her majesties favour, she might lose bothe. Therefore she must be assured of the that when by her majesties favor, she may sende in tyme to her son, if he will not follow her counsell and depend upon her majesties amyty, so she and he may have her favor; she will take her friends from him, without whome he shalbe able to do but litle. That the strayter she is kept, the more will her son and frends seeke to holde harde courses, which she besecheth her majestie not to impute to her.

Inn talk betweene the Queen and J. SOMMER, as they rode towards Wingfelde.*

If with her majesties favour she may send into Scotlande, she meanith to treat with her son to enter into a league offensyve and defensyve, if her majestie lyke of it. Therein to comprehend the French king, as he desyrith, if any such trecty go forward. And in respect of the ancye[n]t league betwene France and Scotland, which wolde be *very* (more) beneficiall for England then for Scotland. (*Her reasons*) England lyeth neerer to such as have dangerous to it then to Scotland. That both realms ar lyke to lyve long in peace, seeing no foreyn prince pretendith any thing in them. That her majestie shall save great charges, besydes loss of many men, which she beareth by the oft troubles in Irland, where her son will healp her if she neede. Her kinsfolks, whome her majestie mistrustith now as dangerous to her, wilbe her good frends for the respect of the said queene. That her majestie shall not neede to support any partyes abroad, as the queen sayth hath ben don, to keep her majesties awne contrys in peace.

* Sir John Sommer, clerk of the council.

No. VI.

*The examination of Edward Tocky.**

Whether is all true which he hathe confessed to sir Tho. Kockayne, or wherein is it not true? And what can he saye further to those questions?

To whome did he direct his lettre and his messenger whom he sent to Wingfeld? And whether dothe he know the gentleman porter of that castell? what is his name, or what other acquaintance hathe he in the castell, Englishe, Frenche, or Scottishe, and their names? and how long hath that acquaintance contynued, and by what occasione was it begone? Whether did he wryt the lettre him self, or who elles?

By whose procurement, and upon what occasion, hath he sent that lettre so directid in such a highe stile to the queen of Scotts?

He saythe, that all is true, saving the last point of his messenger that he sent to Grytche to enquire there for his kynsman Waldern, which was but a coulor to sir Thomas Cockayn for the sending of the messenger.

He sayeth, that he directed it to the queen of Scotts her self, and bad the messenger delyver it to some of her gentlemen, thinking that there had been no danger to do so. He sayeth, that he knoweth not the gentleman porter, nor ever heard his name, nor doth know any of the quenes men, nor my lord of Shrewsburys men, nor was ever in these parts before. He saythe, he wrote the letter himself.

He sayeth, he was not procured by any body, but sent to her for so much money as is mentioned in his writing, viz. 100 double

* Various plots were always in agitation among the Catholics and other discontented persons in England for the relief of queen Mary. This person seems to have been an emissary of some of these conspirators.

duckets, thinking that she had ben acquainted with his father, and wolde have donne so much for his sake. And, that he hath hearde his father speak oft of her when she was in Scotlande; and that it becommeth him to wryte such a style to a princesse, and that he was going over the sea to see the worlde as he hath done before, and had heard of her liberalite.

What dothe these words signifie, viz. to be receaved of the quens majestie of Skotts, one hundred doble ducketts?

Whome doth he know in this county of Darby, or in any other county to be affected to the Scotts queene, or hath at any tyme sent to her, and by whom and what?

Whether did he, or any other to his knowledge, receaved any lettre, or other wryting from the said quene, or from any of her people? and what was theeffect therof; and for whome came the same, and by whom?

He sayeth, that by those woords of the 100 double ducats, there ys nothing elles meant but the money.

He sayth, that he knowith none in all the shire.

He answereth, that he never receaved any lettre or other thing from that queene, nor from any of her folk, nor did ever speak with any of them.

No. VII.

ELIZABETH R.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to all mayors, sherifs, bailifs, constables, head-boroughs, and to all other our officers, and other subiects to whom this apperteynith, and shall come, and to everye of them. Whereas our right trusty, and right welbeloved cosin and counsellor the erle of Shrewsbury, and our trusty and welbelovid servaunts sir Henry Nevell, and sir Wm. Pelham, knyghts, by occasion of a charge of importance, which at this tyme we have committed to them, may have cause to use your service, and travell for the speedye provyding of dyvers things, for the furtherance of this service, (*carriages, rode horses, and other necessities:*) We will, and straightly charge and command you, and every of you, that so soone as our said cosin and servants, or any of them, shall by their wryting or messenger, bringing these presents unto yow, yow faile not to provyde, send, and delyver at their appointment, so many good caryages, and rode horses, and furniture, and also vitell of all kinds to be by you caryed to suche places, and for such purposes, as they and every of them shall requyre at our reasonable prices. And also, that upon lyke warning, you shall keepe watch and ward by day and by night, by some of your selfs our said officers, assistid with so many of our good subiects within your severall charges, in such places, and at such tymes, as they or any of them shall appoint, *untill we shall revoke this our commission, by the order of our said cosin and others above mencionid*, or by any of them. Herof faile ye not, as ye will answer for your slackness in this behalf at your uttermost perills. Geven under our signet at our pallaice of Westminster, the 16th of January 1580, in the 23^d yere of our reign.

Endorsed, "The old commission."—Sealed.

No. VIII.

To our trusty and welbeloved Sir JOHN SOUCHE, Knyght, Sherif of our county of Derby.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEENE.

Trusty and welbeloved, we greeete yow well : Whereas we have now appointed a speciall service of great importance, to be done by our right trusty and right welbelovyd cosin and counsellor the erle of Shrewsbury, and by our trusty and welbelovyd servaunts, sir Rafe Sadler, and sir Henry Nevell, knights, for the better perfourminge whereof they may have occasion to use your assistance as sherif of our county of Derby ; our will and pleasure is, that if our said cosin and servants, or any of them, shall by them selfs, or by their lettres, joint or several, or by speciall messenger bearer hereof, require your presence and ayde, yow shall furthwith upon such significacion, resort to suche place, so accompanied, and for suche tyme and causes, as they or either of them shall so appoint and require yow to doo within your bailifwicke, and by vertue and authoritie of your charge now in the same, and by our commandment. Herof fail ye not, as ye tender our pleasure and the furtherance of our service. Geven under our signet at our pallace of Westminster, the 16th of January 1580, in the 23^d yere of our reigne. *

* Similar commissions were directed to *F. Hastings, Esq. Sheriff of the county of Leicester,* and to *Geo. Nevill, Esq. Sheriff of the county of Nottingham,* excepting that in these Sir William Pelham's name is not erased, nor Sir Ralph's added, nor any of the interlineary corrections. In the second letter, after, *hereof faile ye not,* is added, *and theis our lettres shall be your sufficient warrant, and discharge in this behalf.* The date the same as above.

No. IX.

*Instructions for our right trusty and right welbeloved Cosin and Counsellor, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshall of England, and for our trusty and welbelovoid sercants Sir Henry Nevell, and Sir William Pelham, Knights, for the pourpose following. Gyven the 16th of January 1580.**

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEENE.

Whereas for certain important causes, we have resolved that the quene of Scottes shall be presently removed, (*brought neerer unto us,*) and that yow our cosin of Shrewsbury shalbe unburdened of such a charge, after so long and carefull attendance upon the same, which yow have done to our exceeding great contentment, and to your no lesse credit and honour; and for th' assurance we have and know of your long approved fidelitie, (*wisdom and good will,*) and the great care you have always shewed to have to perfourme the trust we committed unto yow, we have thought good, having also joined unto yow for your (*ease*) better assistaunce in this charge, our trusty and welbeloved (*sercants,*) counsellor, sir Rafe Sadler and sir Henry Nevill, (*and sir William Pelham, knights,*) that you shall proceede to th' effectuall execution of this our resolution and commaundement with all speede, in manner following.

First, our pleasure is, that you sir Henry Nevell, shall from hence resorte to a house of our cousins, the erle of Huntingdon, in Leicestreshire, named Ashby †; and after you shall have in our name gyven

* The words in italics and within brackets have been erased, and others substituted.

† Commonly called Ashby de la Zouch, a magnificent castle now in ruins. It was founded by the celebrated Lord Hastings, Lord High Chamberlain to Edward IV. In this very castle, James, upon his accession to the crown of England, was splendidly entertained by the earl of Huntingdon, thirty knights with velvet gowns and gold chains serving up dinner every day. Ashby Castle was demolished by orders of parliament, having been garrisoned for the queen during the civil wars. The earl here mentioned is Henry Hastings, third

ordre to the keepers therof, that the same house be presently and thoroughly put and kept in readiness, with the furniture thereof to all purposes, without shewing the verie cause, giving out that it is for a parson of qualitie, who is to be sent from hence unto the northe; and wanting sufficient furniture, you shall advise and leave ordre with the sherif of that countie, that the necessary wants may be supplied for a tyme from his and other gentlemens houses. Yow shall then with all convenyent speede resort to Sheffield, to our cosin of Shrewsbury, to whome you shall delyver our lettres, and theis our instructions. Cary-ing your selfs so, as the cause of your coming thither may not appeere to the said queene, or to any of hers, untill it shalbe told her by you our said cousyn, which our pleasure is you shall doo so soone as you with the said sir Henry Nevell, and sir William Pelham, or one of them, shall have read theese our instructions, and considered the points therof, wherein we wolde not have spent above one daye after th' arry-vall there of you sir Henry Nevell, and sir William Pelham, or of one of yowe. And in that tyme, horses, coche, or horse-litter, and other cariages, may be provyded for her, and for all, or for the most necessary persons and stuffe meetest to go with her in company. The rest to followe after, as you shall advise, leaving some discrete parsons to conducte them after yow in good ordre and safetye; not making her, or any of hers, privy to what place you ar appointed to carye her, untill she comme to Ashbye, where our pleasure is she shall remayne. And in case she shall refuse to goo with yow according to this our direction, pretending sickness or some other impediment, in that case our pleasure is, that yow shall by force place her in some coche, or litter, as to you shalbe thought mete. This being ordered, without any further delaye or excuse whatsoever, yow shall take your waye with her towards Ashby.

earl of Huntingdon. He had formerly been a warden of queen Mary at Wingfield, in Derbyshire, in 1569, being placed as an assistant, or rather spy on Shrewsbury, during a fit of the gout.

In case, for the shortnes of the tyme, yow shall thinke meete to have better assistance then your oune companyes, you maye have that want supplied by sending our lettres, (which you our said servaunts shall for that purpose have with you,) directid to the sherifs of the counties of Derby, Nottingham, and Leicester, to assist yow, by meeting yow with suche convenyent companies, and at suche tymes and places, as by your lettres (or of two of you) to them, yow shall requyre them to doo, and so from place to place untill this service shalbe perfourmid.

Furder, you shall so consider and direct your waye from Sheffield to Ashby, as the said queene may be lodged every night in some gentlemans house of good strengthe as the contreys will yeld, knowne to be well gyven to our service, sufferinge none to have accesse to her but such as yow will appoint and allowe of, besydes her awne necessary servaunts. And for the more assurance therof, avoyding the ordinary servaunts of the house for the tyme, other then such as shall attend upon the stuffe of the same house, yow shall appoint a convenyent nombre of your trusty servaunts, and some of the sherifs choice company, to watche and ward yn and about such lodgings. And shall also commaund the constables and other officers where yow shall passe, to cause strong watche to be kept by night in townes, villages, and passages about; for which purpose we send now herewith our commaundement under our hand, to be used as occasion shall serve, conteyning also commission for carts, horses, vitell, and such lyke.

And for avoyding of resort of people, as much as may be, you shall have care that you doo not lodge the said queen in any markett towne, or great borough, nor convey her thorough any suche, if it may be avoydid, specially on the holye daye or market daye, taking other waye then the common high waye, if it maye be without great hindrance of your journey.

When you shall approche neere unto Ashby by one dayes journey, you shall sende some of yours thither before, with the said quenes necessary officers, and some skilfull person in appointing of lodgings, as well to see that the said quenes lodgings maye be in order meete for her, and her

servaunts to be appointed and accommodated within the wards of the house, as well as the place will yeld meanes, as also for preparing of necessary provisions. Wherein you our cosin can gyve good direction by the example of your awne former doings, not forgetting to appoint convenyent places for the warders that are to attend by daye and to watche by night.

And for the order of the said quenes dyet by the way, and provisions to be made at the first at Ashby, untill we shall hereafter further determyn, we referre that to the good consideracion and direction of you our said cosin, who by long experience can gyve order how that is to be doone, which we meane to defraye as we have doone hitherto.* And for that purpose, yow our said servaunts shall have a some of money with yow.

Fynally, for that the good, quyet and safe execution of this our service may requyre some other circumstances then we can beere prescribe unto yowe, we referre to your wisdomes and dexterities, to doo as cause, tyme and occasions maye moove yow, so as the said quene may be safely brought to Ashby, and our purpose herein duelye perfourmid and obeyed. And when yow shall sette forward from Sheffield, you shall therof advertise us with specde, and of the course and waye yowe meane to take with her.

When yow shall have thus brought the said queen to Ashby, (whereof you shall also advertise us,) and settled her there in the charge and custody of yow sir Henry Nevill, and sir William Pelham, who shall staye there with her, expecting our further pleasure herein; and also a dyrect order taken for her dyet and necessarye provisions, that therein maye be no wante, and also for the safe garding of her by your awne people, or by choice persons of the contrey, with th' advise and healpe of the sherif of the same: Our pleasure is, that yow our said cosin of Shrewsburye shall repayre unto us as yow have ben an earnest suter to doo, unto whome yow shalbe most welcome. Thinking it long till

* Very indifferently, however, as is frequently complained of by the earl of Shrewsbury.

we may see you, and to let yow know how acceptably we take the good and honorable service you have long done unto us, and also to acquainte you with some matters of importance which concerne us and our state.

And for a further explaining of our meaning, touchid in part with our awne hande in our lettre to yow our cosin, concerning the said queenes writings; you shall understand our will and pleasure is, that immediatllye upon your imparting unto her this our commaundement, you shall seaze upon all her wrytings and lettres, bothe in the custodie of herself, and also of her secretaries, and of any others that deale with her secret affaires; which if she, or her secretaries, or any other shall refuse to delyver, or suffer you to take in quyet manner, in that case our pleasure is, that yow shall use all meanes to have the same, by taking their keyes, or otherwise by breaking up their coffers, desks, cabinetts, and other things where the same wrytings may be found. And then without further perusing of the same, or any of them, to putte all such writings and lettres into convenyent and sure coffres or trunks, and sealing up the same with the seales of you all three, or of twoo of yow, yow our said cosin shall bring the said coffres and writings safely unto us. *

No. X.

Instructions for the Erle of SHREWSBURY and Sir RAFE SADLER, two of her Majesties Privy Counsell, and for Sir HENRY NEVELL, Knyghts. Given the of 1583.

BY THE QUEENE,

Whereas, for certein important causes, we have resolvid, that the queen of Scotts shalbe removed, and you our cosin of Shrewsbury shal

* The conspiracy of Babington has been usually thought the cause of seizing the private papers of queen Mary. But we see, that although the step was not taken, yet it was pre-

be unburdenid of such a charge, after so long and careful attendance upon the same, which you have done to our exceeding great contentment, and to your no lesse credit and honor; and for the assurance we have and know of your long approvid fidelitie, and the great care you have alwayes had to performe the trust committed unto yow, we have thought good, (having also joynid unto yow for your better assistance in this charge, our trusty and right welbeloved counsellor, sir Rafe Sadlier, and our servant sir Henry Nevell, knyghts,) that you shall proceede to the effectuall execution of this our resolution and commandement with all speede, in maner following.

You shall understand, that we have made choice of our castell of Milborne, in our county of Derby, * and in your custody. In the which we have appointid and resolvid, that the said queene shalbe safely kept under the charge and custody of the said sir Rafe Sadlier, and sir Henry Nevell. But for that the said castell is not yet in suche good readines for that purpose as we have gyven order with speede to have it, we have thought meete, and so have ordrid, that in the meane tyme she shalbe brought unto Ashby de la Zouche, a house of our cosin of Huntingdom, as a fite place for her to staye at under the gard of you the said sir Rafe Sadleir, and sir Henry Nevell, which house is already made in a readines for that purpose. Wherfore, our pleasure is, that yow our cousin of Shrewsbury shall accompany her thither, and there to delyver and leave her unto their charge.

But before you proceed herein, we will that immediately upon their arryvall at Sheffield, you all shall conferre together, both of the maner how to convey her to Ashby, wherein is to be considered the number of persons for strengthe, provision, coches or litter for her self, and for her ladyes, horses and carriages for her trayn and stuff, as also for a

meditated, and commission actually granted for carrying it into effect, six years before that conspiracy was undertaken.

* A royal castle on the verge of Leicestershire, not far from the Trent. Here John, duke of Bourbon, made prisoner at Agincourt, was kept prisoner nineteen years in the custody of Nicholas Montgomery the younger. It was decaying in the time of Camden. See his *Britannia*, Derbyshire.

convenyent place for one nights lodging between Sheffield and Ashby, for which purpose we take Wingfeld, a house of yours our said cousins to be a convenient place. Leaving the order nevertheless to your better consideracion, for the aptnes of the places of remove. So as there be no longer delaye usid in this removing of her, which we wold lyke very well might be done within one daye after the arryval of our said servants at Sheffield, if it wer possible.

After you shall have agreed, and have things in readines for the maner of her removing, then we think it convenyent, that you shall acquaint the said queene therwith, to the end she may prepare herself to remove, without letting her know to what place she shalbe caryed. And in case she shall refuse to be removed, pretending sicknes, or some other lett or impediment; in that case our pleasure is, that you shall by perswasion wyn her, or (that serving not) you shall not forbear in any wise to cause her to be placid in some coche or horse litter, as you shall thinke to be fittist for her, *in the case she may be yn*. And for the more safety in the conveying of the said queene, in case you shall fynde it so necessary for your assistance, yow shall send to the shiryves of our countyes of Derby and Leicester, requyring them upon the sight, and by our commandement, signified unto them by our lettres, (heerwith sent now unto you for them,) to gyve their attendance as yow shall direct them, as you may se by the copy of those lettres to them. Which we wolde have yow to forbear to use, if otherwise by your good order this service may be well performid.

That a set watche and ward be kept in the night for the tyme of her passage, as well about the house where she shalbe lodgid, as in the villages next adjoyning within two or three miles compas for a season, as you shall appoint; for which purpose we also send you a commission under our hand and signet; and also for such other necessaryes and conveyances as in this service shalbe needeful to be had of the contry. That you avoyd to passe thorough any townes, where any multitude of people shalbe. And also that you take ordre, that the people

where you ar to passe, be not suffrid to assemble, by sending some discreete persons before, if you shall think it needefull.

As toching the dyet of the said queene, as well by the way as for provisions to be made at the saide places, *at Ashby untill we shall determine further*, we refer that to the good consideracion and direction of you our said cousin, whose advise we wold have you (the rest) to follow, as by his long experience he is best able to gyve direction therin.

For other things requisit in this service, not remembrid in these our instructions, we referre the same to your good consideracions and discretions, knowing well that our intention herein is to have the saide queene safely conveyed, surely kept, and well used, to and in the places where we meane she shall remayne, as is above appointid, in the safe custody of you our said servants.

When this service shalbe thus performid, and ordre establishid for her dyet, and for placing of her company, that therin be no lacke according to the méanes of the place, *at Melborne aforesaid* ; and also, for her safe garding by the said servaunts, wherof you shall advertise us with speede : Then *in case the health of yow our said cosin, (which we tender very muche as we have good cause) well permit it*, we wishe that yow our cousin would repayre unto us, as you have ben long an earnest suter to doo. Assuring yow, that we think it long untill we may see yow, and to let you know by our awne speeche how acceptably we take the good service you have done of long tyme unto us ; and also to acquaint you with some maters of importance which concerne us and our state.

But if you our said cosin shall not be in ease, (by reason of sycknes,) able to doo this service in the removing of the said queene, in the company of yow our said servaunts, (wherof we wold be hartely sorry ;) then our pleasure is, that yow two shall proceede and perfourme this our order and resolution in maner aforesaid ; receaving of yow our said cousin suche direction and instructions for the dyet and usage of the said queene as yow know are meete to be gyven. And also some of your

skilfull servaunts used and practisid about the same for some few dayes untill some other be acquainted with the order and maner therof; and of your doings herein, and of the day of your departure from Sheffield with this charge, you shall advertise us from tyme to tyme.

No. XI. *

BY THE QUEENE.

After the queene of Scotts shalbe brought from Sheffield to Melborne castell, and there deliverid and left by our cosin the erle of Shrewsbury unto your charge and safe custody, according to our instructions gyven to you all three, bearing the date herof, yow shall observe and keepe the ordres following, for the better acquiting yourselfs in this charge, and answering to our expectation, so neere as in your fidelite yow can, besydes the contents of our said instructions, so much as the same touchith yow two, or either of yow.

First, at your arryvall at Melborne castell with the said queene, you shall appoint and place two discreete and trusty persons of yours to serve and be porters of the said castell, *whereof one to belong to the one of you, and thother to belong to the other of yow*, (of either of yours one). The same porters to be charged to suffer none of the said queens people to goo furthe of that castell without the company of some of yours, as heerin is after mentionid. Nor shall suffer any stranger or othèr, being not of your retynewes, and so by you allowed, to passe their ward inward, without first gyving knowlege therof to you, or to one of you. That it may appeere to yow by examinacion and searche, *if neede be*, (if you shall see cause,) what they ar, what they cary, from whence they come, and for what intent they comme thither And in case of sycknes or departure of either of the said porters, an other of

* Endorsed, "A private instruction."

lyke good qualite and company to be placid in his place with lyke charge.

*Item, with lyke speede you shall see and cause all the back dores of the said castell to be made fast, and all other places and wyndowes, whereat any parson may passe out, to be made unpassable; saving only the principall gate where the porters doo attend. Or ells, so sone as yow depart from Sheffeld, it shall not be amisse that yow send some fit persons to the said castell to see those things to be done before the comming thither of the said queene, that it may be done in the quieter maner. **

Item, you shall appoint certen trusty persons to assist the said porter in the daye tyme, furnishid with halbards and harquebuzes, of equall nombre of both your servants.

Item, that the gates be shutt at ordinary tymes of meales, and at convenyent houres at nighte; and the kayes to be deliverid to you, or to one of you. *And it shall not be amisse that there shuld be dooble locks and double severall kayes to the gates; eche of yow to have one keye brought unto yow upon the shutting of the gates.*

Item, you shall appoint and see a nightly watch in the castell in meete places by your discretions. The same watch to be visited by your appointment ones or twice every night *at the least*, by parsons of trust belonging to you bothe.

Item, in case and tyme of apparent suspition, you shall gyve order (as you shall see cause) to the next justices of those parts, that they appoint certen trusty parsons of the places next adjoyning, to serve with some convenient nombre as a standing watche *about the castell*, (in such places and for such houres as you shall think meet) furnished as the places and cause shall require.

Item, you shall take order that no suspected persons be suffered to lodge in the townes *and* (or) villages neere adioyning. And that if any suche or other stranger shall happen to repayre to any of those townes and villages, not knowne to have some necessary busynes there,

* These words are erased in the original, and the word *vacat* added on the margin.

that the same (*upon your warning to be formerly gyven*) be brought by the officer of the place before yow, or one of yow, to be examined and ordrid, as the cause shall require.

Item, that none of the said queenes trayne be suffrid to repayre to any toune or village, nor to have conference with any of our subjects, but in the presence and hearing of suche trusty parsons of yours as yow shall specially appoint, and that publickly. And in case any of her people shal be desyrous to buy any things for her or their necessarye uses, upon your knowlege of the things requyred, you shall cause the same to be brought from the next townes, if they ar there to be bought, and to be sold unto them as in equitie the things may be afoorded, without exaction.

Item, if any of the wyves of the said queenes trayne shall happen to be with child, that then, before the tyme of delyvery, or lykelihode of travell, yow shall *gyve ordre that* (cause) suche *may* (to) be avoydid out of the castell for the tyme, without exception, and to be placed for their reasonable money in the houses of some of our well affected subiects; and they to be charged by you to suffer no unnecessary resort unto them of any of our subiects or other. Herin you may use the assistance of some of our well affectid justices in those parts.

Item, when any of the said queenes people shalbe disposid to take the ayre abrode, or otherwise recreat them selfs in the feelds at convenyent tymes, and within a convenyent compas of the said castell, yow shall appoint certen trusty parsons of yours indifferently to keepe them company; but not to have any pryvate conference with them.

That for the health and recreation of the said queene, we ar pleased you shall permit her to take the ayre abrode in the feelds, on foote or in coche, with some small nombre of her people, (by your discretions) at such fit tymes as she shall require, unlesse you shall know urgent cause to the contrary; and to be garded *at the least with* — *pistolyers or other shott*, (with a convenyent nombre of your people on horseback, appointed as is meete). Besydes certen other lyke horsemen to *serve*

as voanteurroures to scowre the places about, (see the places cleare about) where she shall take the ayre.

Finally, if in the course of this service you shall desyre to be further *instructed* (directed) in any other needefull particularities, as yow shall fynde it meete, and as the said queene shall mynister mater fitte to be signified hither, (wherin we wishe to have your opinions from tyme to tyme) upon notice therof from you, it shalbe answerid and ordrid, as the reason of the matter shall require. For our meaning is not to deliver unto her any harder treatment for the usage of her parson, than heertofore we have done, as you *may let her know*, howsoever she may conceive of this our removing her from Sheffield.

Item, you shall not suffer any stranger to have accesse or conference with the said queene, out of the hearing of you or one of yow. Nor shall suffer any lettres or bookes to be delivered to her, or to any of hers, untill yow, or one of yow, be first made privy to the contents of them; unless such as be sent from hence by the ordre of our principall secretary.

Item, you shall suffer no stranger, other than yourselfs, or one of you, and her own folks used to be about her for her necessary service, to resort to her.

Item, yow shall not suffer any lettres or bookes to be delyvered to her, but such as shalbe sent to yow from hence, by the order of our principall secretary, or other by our appointment. *

Item, yow shalbe carefull and foresee that no clothes, apparell, or other foldid or close thing, be suffrid to be brought to the said queene, or to any of her people, without the same be first visited and sought by yow, or one of yow, at the bringing yn therof. And that yow shall stay such things found in secret, as you thinke ar not meete to be delyverid to her or to them. †

* The words in italics are erased in the original, and the others substituted.

† This translation of queen Mary's captivity to Milborn castle never took place. She remained under the earl of Shrewsbury's custody until 1584, when more ungentle and ignoble jailors were provided for her.

No XII.

*Summary of Sir RA. SADLER's Instructions. Aug. 1584. **

1. The erle of Shrewsbury to repayre to the queens presence.
2. The garding of the Scotts queene now by the erlesmen, to be considered of. And to do therin as is most fit for this service.
3. That thearle have speciall regard in the choice of such as he leaveth behind him. That they be of good religion, of wealth, void of corruption; and that he bring up with him so many of his other servants as wer daily attendant upon him, or (by reason of any charge) had occasion to be familer with the queenes servaunts.
4. That her servaunts be restrayned of somme of their liberty, namely laundresses, and such as have had liberty to resort unto the towne, or other townes.
5. That she be not permitted to ryde farre abroad, but suffred on foote or coche to take the ayre, and somme exercise, by his discretion.
6. That the watchmen in the townes and villages about be encreased, and also watche to be kept in other townes and villages farther of. And some watche in the day tyme also of a smaller nombre. And that watch to be of welthy men them selfs, voyde of suspicion to bee corrupted. The same to be recommended to the care of well affected justices next adjoyning. They to look well to rougues, masterlesse men, and wandring persons, be not suffred to resort to the townes and villages next adioyning to the queenes lodgings.

* The unfortunate queen Mary had been now fifteen years imprisoned in England, chiefly under care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, distracted by the suspicions of Elizabeth, the plots of Mary's partizans, and the domestic jealousy of his own consort, had often desired to be relieved of his charge. He was now summoned to court, previous to the queen's being removed to the care of sir Amias Paulet and sir Drew Drury; and sir Ralph Sadler, sir Walter Mildmay, and Somers, were appointed her temporary guardians in his absence.

7. That the head officers of the townes next adjoyning, do delyver severall notes to the justices of strangers nightly lodging in those townes and places. And upon cause of suspition, as shewing no sufficient reason of their repayre thither, such strangers to be brought before the justices, and they to acquaint Sir Rafe withall before they be released.

8. To advertise the counsell of the ordres he shall take, sending them copyes, to be considered.

9. To let the Scotts queene understand of therles lycence to comme up, and yn his absence the care to be delyvered to yow.

10. If she speake any thing of a treaty lately begon betweene her majesty and her for an increas of liberty, to say, that he was not made acquainted with any such mater. But in your absence from the court, you received your charge from her majesty by (commission). But that you suppose thearle shall bring her ansuer as well therin as in any other her requests.

No. XIII.

*Orders set downe by the right honorable the * Erle of SHREWSBURY, and ar observid within his house, for the garde and sure keeping of the Scottish Queene, under his charge, as followith, viz.*

First, the said erle entertaynith 40 soldyours ordinarily in his house, furnishid with calyvers, pertaysans, and halbards, most of them being

* George, earl of Shrewsbury, had for sixteen years the odious task of being jailor to queen Mary, who was confined at his castles of Sheffield, Tutbury, Wingfield, &c. during that long space of time. When he was summoned to the court, or obtained permission to visit it on his private affairs, Elizabeth sent special commissioners to take charge of his castle, and the custody of the Scottish queen during his absence. Sir Ralph Sadler seems more than once to have had this temporary trust reposed in him. But the period to which these letters refer, is that when the earl of Shrewsbury was finally relieved of his royal prisoner. Sir Ralph Sadler, and sir Henry Mildmay, were then named her guardians provi-

the sons of his tenaunts of good accompt, and otherwise well knowne to his lordshipe to be faithfull to the queens majestie our soverayne, and trusty to him. Besydes two of his yeomen, who, by course, (alwayes two,) do watche and warde at the stayre foote of the said Scots quenes lodginge, from the which there is but one waye.

Ouer those soldyours under his lordshipe, Mr Bentall, a gentleman of good wisdom and good trust by long experience, hath the charge; and being gentleman porter, hathe the care by dayly attendance at the gate to observe all things touching that charge. [At my lordshipes departure towards the court, he took Mr Bentall with him, * and placed Mr Sadler in his roome.]

All the said soldyours within the said house, shall weare their swords and daggars untill they goo to bed. And every gentleman yeoman and soldyor within that house, shall have suche other furniture as shalbe appointed unto him. And his weapons alwayes standing at his beds syde, that he may be ready of offend and defend when occasion shall require.

When the said Scottish quene goith abrode, every gentleman yeoman and soldyor shalbe ready upon warning thereof gyven, with such furniture and weapons as shalbe apointed unto them, by the said erles officer in charge for the tyme being, to attend and wayt upon her. And none to wander or straggle abrode out of her sight, untill she be retournid into her chambre.

None of her people shall passe out of the utter gates without leave; and upon suche licence there shalbe soldyours appointed to gard them, and to observe and see that they use no conference with any stranger, nor delyver or receave any lettres to or from any, and not to goo further than they are lycenced. And that none of the said erles servaunts

sionally, till she should be transferred to lord St John's custody. But that nobleman contriving to evade the commission, the unfortunate Mary was at length put under the charge of sir Amias Paulet, her last and most rigorous jailor.

* The passages within brackets are marginal annotations by sir Ralph Sadler. These orders may be illustrated by Mr Lodge's Collection of State Papers.

use any conference with the said queene, or with any of her people, other then officers for their necessary occasions. The watche and ward shalbe contynually kept about the said house, with 8 soldiors, more or less at the discretion of the gentleman porter, and that suche soldiers as do watch shall warde in their courses accordingly. [Of these, 4 do watch within the house, and 4 without, and go about the house, besides 2 yeomen at the stayre foote, as is aforesaid.]

Every soldier that is to watch and ward, shalbe ready at the sownding of the drom, which shalbe sowned from our Ladyday in Lent, until Michelmas, at 5 of the clock in the morning, and at 8 at night; and from Michelmas until our Ladyday at 6 in the morning, and at 6 in the evening; and the watche being ones charged and set, every watche man to keep his charge and place appointed withyn or without the house, and shall suffer none to passe without the watcheword, or with the officer in charge for the tyme being.

When any alarme shalbe gyven either by the said watche, ward, drom, trompet, or otherwise, all that ar in the said house shall come furthe with all possible speede to answer to the said alarme, and shalbe ready to follow such direction as shalbe gyven by the said erle, or by his officer in charge for the tyme being. And when suche alarme shalbe gyven, that none of the said queens people do comme out of his or their chambre or lodging, upon perill of their lyves, untill they shalbe callid for by name, or specially lycensid by the said erle, or by his officer.

The gentleman porter shall searche and relieve the watch at his discretion from tyme to tyme; [he doth it rightly at 10 and at 2 in the morning.] And if he fynde any default or offence committed by any soldyor, to appoint him suche punishment as his offence deservithe.

The gentleman porter shall delyver the names of such as do watche, and the watcheword, every night by 9 of the clock at the farthest unto the said erle, or to such as shalbe in charge under him. No servaunt within the said house shall ryde abrode, nor lye furthe of the same house, without speciall lycence.

The gates shalbe locked up every day at xj of the clock, and so kept untill all the house have dynid. And in the mean tyme, none to passe too nor fro, unlesse they be necessary officers of the erles, or about the said erles speciall busynesse.

Certen other things thought good by Sir RAFE SADLEIR to be addid.

That all the said 40 soldyórs shall gyve their corporall othes unto the erle of Shrewsbury to serve trulye in the places of their charge, and to be obedyent in suche things and at suche tymes for the quenes majesties service, as in the said erles absence they shalbe commaunded by Sir Rafe Sadleir, appointed in his lordeships absence to take the charge of the said Scottish quene.

That the 2 landresses and cocheman shall gyve the lyke othes, as to the places of their severall services is meet to be requyrid of them. [Note, That the landresses do use to wassh and dry within the house, and go very seldom forth.]

That the justices of the peace and constables of the contrey adioyning be also charged, and the constables sworne, to be carefull in their severall dyvisions and lymits to observe all passengers unknowne; and if any suche comm in troupe, to advertise sir Rafe Sadlier speedely thereof: and that the constables shall increas their night watches in all places by 2 persons mo then usuall; and also shall appoint 2 to warde upon the high wayes of every parishe within their lymits in 6 myles compass. And if they see any suspected wandering parson to pass, be he man, woman, or boy, that such watchemen and wardens shall bring such suspected parson to the next justice or constable, there to be examinid and searchid for lettres and other cariages. And if any suche shalbe founde about them, or other cause of suspition, such justice or constable shall bring suche suspectid parson to the said sir Rafe Sadleir, in the absence of the said erle. The lyke care shall they have of

all other travelers unknowne lodging, or resting in any town or village within their lymits.

The 40 Soldyors names.

Edward Hudson	Rob. Hawkesworth	Tho. Machin
Tho. Harrison	Tho. Chapman	John Heyland
Rowland Longston	Wm. Parker	John Beighton
James Haage	Wm. Moreton	Henry Brownell
Leonard Short	Robert Stone	Christof. Hawkesworth
Thomas Hall	Anthony Parker	Henry Waterhouse
Thomas Ely	Wm. Sparrow	Tho. Greene
Hugh Beighton	Henry Rogers	Richard Frytcheley
Tho. Darwyn	James Key	John Haage
Geo. Roukesley	Tho. Bright	Edw. Brounnall
Nicholas Whetley	Edw. Creswik	Roger Smylter
George Rowland	John Woodhead	Robert Hall
Robert Hall	Ry. Wilcoxon	Robert Harrison.
John Cooke		

No. XIV.

To Mr Secretary, 7th September 1584.

SIR,

The 5th of this moneth I receaved yours of the second, and therewith a *lettre* (parcel) to this lady from the French ambassadour, which hath ben seene as you advised, as by theeffect *therof you see here*

I am very glad to understand from you, that the alarme sent from Ireland of forces sent out of Scotland provith not so dangerous as was first informed; and that the suspycion of the Spanyard *that way* is cleered,

which will make the matter the easier by the lord deputies good diligence. Touching that the king of Scotts hath in this last session forfeited divers noble and others, I did in generall talk as of myself with this queen, let her understand it as a harde course towards such her persons and others, as therby to dryve them to desperation, which might of perillous consequences being so much in the peoples privacy. Farre arre from the course and modesty of other great potentates, who notwithstanding grande occasions offerid many yeres, did forbear to forfeite any, hoping in tyme they might returne to their obedyence, and become good and serviceable subiects. She answered, that by her troth she hearde nothing of it, but if the king, her son, have done so, it may be for example to others, who seeing her sons dealing with these, will learne how to displease him; and that if he shulde have holden a gentler course, others might have taken a more boldnes upon them. Besydes, that these men, she sayde, have had the kings favour and grace ones or twyce before, and wolde not yet beware. This she said was her opynyon in the matter; but I told her playnly, that in myne opynion, it was by the ambicion of these dangerous and nedy ministers about him for ther awne commodite.*

The 6th of this moneth I received yours of the iiijth, wherein was also one to my lord of Shrewsbury, touching her majestys harde opynyon of Mr Bentall the gentleman porter heer, wherupon his lordship hath taken him up with him to avyde offence; though he assured me that for the long experience he hath had of his honest dealing in this charge, and other services, he wulde have trustyde him with his lief and honour. And for my part, I shulde do him wrong, if I shulde not testyfy of his readynes and care to acquyte the trust committed unto him in that charge syns I have ben heere, so far as I coulde perceave; but his lordship will upon occasion let you and others understand from whence this proceedith.

* This conversation refers to the conspirators concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, as it is called in Scottish history. Elizabeth, who saw among them the most zealous friends of England, interceded for them at James's court, with an eagerness which probably precipitated the fate of Gowrie and others of their number.

Yesternight, Sondag the 6th, my lord of Shrewsbury, (and I with him,) resorting to this queen to take his leave of her, after she had delivered some speeches to theeffect of my other lettres, and finding his lordship unwilling to cary her lettres now unto her majesty, complying of the evell wryting of them by reason of a sore mydell fynger on her right hande, which she had straynid, and there sheued it: she prayed me to convey them to her majestie, as I do heerwith, cawsing her secretary Nau erst to reede them to me. And lykewise an other to the French ambassadour, conteyning her request mentionid in former lettres, and among other things, there is answer toching his recommending of archbishop Dowglas, as heere above you may see. Her answer was generall as her goodlyking of him as an honest man. But told me playnly, that though she takith archbishop Douglas* to be an honest man, and whom she wolde be glad to gratiffy in reasonable maner; yet she doth not so estyme of him as to make him her agent, if her majesty her good suster welde admit her to have any suche by her; but wolde have one of her awne choice, who shulde do as good offices as he; one for whome she wolde answer.

This morning my lord departed hence to lodg this night at Leicester. And for gentleman porter hath appointed one Mr Wombwell a gentleman towards his lordship, and of good lyvelihood in this sherere, who in former tymes hath supplied that place in thabsence of Mr Bental.

* Archibald Douglas, a kinsman of the earl of Morton, and deep in his bloody intrigues. He was an accomplice in the murder of Henry Darnley; nevertheless James VI. received him into favour after his acquittal by a packed jury, and named him his ambassador resident at the court of England. He was privately leagued with the master of Gray, who betrayed, in some measure, queen Mary to the axe. And Gray rewarded Douglas as traitors usually do their accomplices, by transferring the blame to his shoulders. What object queen Elizabeth's counsellors had in recommending such a person to be queen Mary's confidential agent, may be more easily guessed than ascertained.

No. XV.

Sir RAFE SADLER to Mr Secretary, 5th October 1584.

SIR,

I have receyved your letters of the last of September, according to the contents whereof I have shewed unto this Scolish queen, that I trust she shall here very shortly of her majesties resolution, touching the sending of Nau* to her majestie ; for that I understonde by a short lettre from you, having now made a specyall dispeche unto me with other private lettres concerning matiers of myn owne, that you fynde her majestie well disposed to yelde thereunto, wherewith she seemeth to be satisfied, and to be in better hope therof than she was before. And to say my poure mynde thereon to you, I thinke it not amisse to assay and prove what she can, and will do, touching her offers which she hath made ; for she affirmith unto me, that her soonne is hollie at her devocion, and will do nothing without her, howsoever men be perswaded to the contrarye ; and that she is sure he wilbe advised by her in all things he may honourable do for the preservacion and contynuance of peax and good amytie bytween thes two realmes, whiche she sayeth is the thing she most chiefly desireth to advance ; for she sayeth there is no naturall borne subiect of this realme that is more affected, or more wissheth and desireth the weale and prosperitee of the same then she doth ; and there is nothing that she doth more reioyce in, and that doth more advaunce her in honour, then that she is come of the bloode and noble progenie of Englande. Such maner and kynde of speeches hathe she had with Mr Somer and me to that effect dyvers and sondry tymes syns our commyng hither in sorte, as we have here-

* One of queen Mary's secretaries, whose evidence, with that of Curl his co-adjutor, was afterwards used in her mock trial.

tofore signified unto you; whereby in outward apparence she maketh grete shew and demonstracion of an inwarde affection, and zeale to perfourme that she promiseth; whereof to make a profe and tryall, can com no hurte in my poure opinion, which nevertheless I referre to the wisdom and grave consideracion of her majesty and her highness most honourable counsell. Furthermore, sir, whereas you wryte unto me, that my lord of Shrewsbury doth make grete sute and meanes to be rydde of this charge,* though I can not blame him therfore, yet I think, that if it be meant that she shall remayn still in this countrey, she can not be taken from him and committed to others without som blemishe and touche of his reputacion and also without moche greter charge to her majesty. And if it be meant to gard her at Tutbury, my lord of Shrewesbury is constable of the castell there, high steward of the honour, master of the game of all the forests, chaces, and parks there, and the hole countrey thereabouts within his rule. So that, as I say if it be meant that she shall contynue in this countrey, there is no man so mete for the charge as he is, and surelie no other man is able to take the charge and to answeere it so good chepe† by the half as he is, considering the grete furnytüre of ale and of provisions he hath for that purpose. Thus have I sayed my poure opinion unto you, prayeng you nevertheless, though I write my mynde therein to you for the better service of her majesty, that yet my lord of Shrewsbury do not knowe so moch; for I wolde be loth to give him any such cause of offence as he shulde thinke I go about to preferre him to any thing whereof he hath no lyking; and so beseching you to have me in your good re-

* Of this the reader may find repeated instances in "Lodge's Illustrations," *passim*. In fact, the charge exposed him both to the jealousy of his Countess and the suspicion of Elizabeth. In one letter he wishes to be honourably rid of a "weighty and cumbersome charge, the care whereof has almost brought me to my grave."—Vol. II. p. 117.

† The allowance to lord Shrewsbury was 52l. every week; less by half, he says, than Elizabeth paid before the queen came to him. But he complains bitterly of the expenses of "keeping this woman;" even the entertainment he gave his household servants was not defrayed, he says, with the weekly allowance, independent of the expense of wine, spice, and fuel, which came not under 1000l. by the year, and many other incidental charges. LODGE'S *Illustrations*, vol. II. pp. 130. 238. *et passim*.

membrement to her majesty, who I trust will not forgette her most gracious promise made in respecte of my yeres and old service, to release me of this charge afore the wynter com, which is now at hande, and I alredy begyn to taste of the coldnes of this unpleasaunt countrey ; I ende with my prayer to Almightye God, long to preserve her majesty in helth, and most feliciouslie to reigne over us to his pleasure and our comforts. Wingfeld, 3 October 1584.

No. XVI.

The King of Scots to the Queene his mother. *

MADAME,

Je suis esbalry de n'auoir receu aulcune response de vous touchant les ticles que je vous ay envoyé desia long temps ya par feu nostre cousin de Lenox. Toutefois j'estime qui cella soit proceddè des troubles qui ont este depuis en ce pays, dequoy je vous ay neantmoins bien voulu aduertir ayant l'occasion de cest ambassadeur qui jenvoie en France vers le roy et nostre cousin de Guise. A celle fin vous ne faillez en toute diligence possible de menuoyer vostre opinion des ditz articles. Vous assurant que pour toutes ces adversitez que jay sousteneu depuis pour amour de vous, je ne suis aucunement rompu ne detourné de mon deuoir et affection envers vous, mais plus tost au contraire s'est accru et augmenté lenuie que j'avois tousiours de vous faire paroistre par effect comment je cognois mon deuoir envers vous aultant que filz du monde vers sa mere. Cependant je vous prie de rechef de me faire entendre vostre opinion des dictz articles et pareillement que vous m'employez en quoy je vous puisse faire plaisir ou service. Ce que faisant vous cognoistrez au moins ma bonne volonté ; et sil plais a Dieu de seconder noz affaires et intentions en jonuyrez aussy du succes, et vous prie aussy de mander à nostre cousin monsieur de Guise quil se veuille

* This and the following letter from lord Seton are letters intended for Mary, but intercepted and decyphered.

employer de tout pouvoir avec nostre ambassadeur en noz affaires. De Sterling, ce 8 de Novembre. Par vostre filz, &c.

No. XVII.

From the Lord SETON * to the Scottish Queene.

MADAME,

Le 15 de ce mois au partement de l'ambassadeur de Walsingham, vostre filz ma certifié quil est determiné de m'envoyer en France en toute diligence. J'apperceois quil est du tout adonné a poursuivre l'amitie et ligue de ce royaume, (France) et de suivre en tout le conseil de monsieur de Guise, et achever le traicté commencé entre vous et luy. Partant si vous donnez bon ordre par de la, j'estime que voz affaires pourront bien aisement estre menez a bon port. La pauvreté de vostre filz est si grande quil ne peult mestre en execution la moindre partie de ses desseigns. Parquoy je vous supplie de tenir la main par vostre moyen et conseil a l'endroit de monsieur de Guise et autres quil soit secouru en cella. Je suis contraint moy mesme d'entreprendre ce voiage a mes despens, ce que ie ne puis bonnement soustenir si vostre maj. ne me faict secourir. Car le principal motif qui me le faict entreprendre est l'avancement de vostre service. Desirant pair le mesme que vostre maj. me face entendre en quoy particulièrement et en quelle maniere vostre maj. desire que je memploye par de la. Walsingham a esté fort mal receu et entretenu. Je vous prie madame de nous faire avoir responce et intelligence, en toute diligence. De Seton, ce 16 Septembre 1583.

SETON.

* George, sixth lord Seton, a staunch adherent of queen Mary, and also in favour with James VI. He was ambassador extraordinary to the court of France in 1583.

No XVIII.

To his very loving frende Mr JHON SOMMER.

SIR,

I send you by her majesties commandement a coppye of a cypher sent out of Scotlande unto the queene of that realme. Yt hathe ben decyphered by Phyllyps, but not fully to her majesties contentement. Yt is wrytten in Frenche, and is but all one lettre, thoughe in the decypher in paper yt may seeme two. Yt should seeme to be wrytten in Marche last. The matter is of great weyght, and therfor worthye of travayle, which I recomende unto your wonted good care. At the coorte, the 22^d of Aprell 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

MADAME,*

La necessité ma constraint destre un peu plus soingeus de recourir l'intelligence i a long tems mort entre vostre ma. et le roy vostre filz. La quelle graces a Diu i ay trouvé par la voy dun honnest homme Anglois qui se fera cognoistre a vostre ma. par sa lettre dans laquelle ie croy quil tesmoignera l'opinion quil a du roy mon maistre, qui ayant entendu ses nouvelles fut tres aisé de visiter vostre ma. de ces trois ou quatre lignes de sa main. Tant pour scavoir des vos nouvelles par la responce que pour assurer vostre ma. de son obeissance et affection filiale, comme aussy pour vous tesmoinger combien bon sa maj. estime le dissing de monsieur de Guise son cousin touchant son entreprise en Angleterre; tant plus il lestime quil letand a la liberté de vostre ma. La quelle il estime plus-

* In the margin, *It was from Mr of Gray by the king's commandment.*

*que l'accroissement de sa grandeur et souhaite plusque la franche liberté de son estat et personne propre. La quelle a la verité a esté ses deux ou trois mois passez en tres grand dangier. Car ses mauvaises subiectes paisez par la bonne royne d'Angleterre cherchent de jour en aultre loccasion d'avoir sa personne entre leurs traiteuses mains. Ce que nous autres taschons par tous moyens dobuier. Totfois noz ennemis sont si vigilants, et les meschantz ministres si soingeuses de parvenir au bout de leurs intentions, que nous estimons le seul moyen contre toutes les ses machines de la royne d'Angleterre sera lacheiurement de la susdite entreprise. Car sa ma. est deliberé de iouer son personage comme son cousin la sien. Et pour mieux faire apres ques sa ma. eust eut les longue experience de l'opinion de Colonel Steward * (δ) sa ma. luy a communiqué toute ceste enterprinse. La quelle le dict δ (Steward) estime plus que mille aultre chose di ce monde. Tant parce quelle sien avant l'accroissement de la grandeur du roy son maistre, que pour avoir la revenge de ce que l'ané passé il receut tant de cassades ralles belles promesses de la royne d'Angleterre, et pour le service de vostre ma. En particulier il promest autant que luy sera possible, le tesmoignage de quoy je vous envoie subsigné et escript de sa main. A la verité jay conseyllé le roy la luy communiquer, parce que a present cest homme d'Escosse qui peult plus faire pour conserver la personne de sa maj. veu quil est capitaine de sa garde. Oultre, madame, le roy a sondé de long tems ceuls de sa noblesse quil estime ses fideles subiects comme les contes Morton, † Herise, Ogeby, ausquels il a communiqué le tout, et au sieur Robert Melvil. Mais pour vous escrire librement de tous les trois quil a plu a sa maj. communiquer la susdite entreprise, le colonel Steward est plus vigilant et soigneux. Car de puis quil la sceu, il a reiecté l'opinion quil avoit de tout aultre.*

Madame, le gentilhomme que jay envoie dernièrement en France de la garde de sa ma. a monsieur votre cousin nest pas aneor de retour, ny nulles nouvelles de l'argent que jay envoie querir pour le payment de sa garde.

* Colonel William Stewart, the captain of James's guard of gentlemen, and at this time a leading favourite.

† Maxwell, earl of Morton.

Si est ce que sa maj. est constraint de faire une levé de trois cens souldats pour demeurer aupres de sa ma. a tout evenement. Mais, madame, comme desia dict est pour delivrer votre ma. et le roy votre filz de tout peril, il ny est point daultre remed que le succes des affaires d'Angleterre. Ce que cause sa maj. de liberer d'envoyer Guillaume Hault, l'Anglois qui esteit prisonnier au chasteau de Lisleburgh, a monsieur votre cousin pour deux principales pointes. A sçavoir de desirer son excellence d'accellerer toutes choses a cause que la royne d'Angleterre est aupres de faire mourir le roy votre filz par ung moyen extraordinaire ; pensant ainsi de couper le chemin au voisins de La Mothe Fenelon, et de vostre cousin monsieur de Guise veu que votre maj. est tousiours subiecte a sa misericorde. L'autre occasion du voiage du dict Anglois est pour faire renvoyer monsieur la Motthe sil est possible que en ambassade, et luy livrer le ving mil escus que monsieur de Guise me fit prometter au roy pour leuer des soldats au temps quil fera sa preparation. Car sans doubte ses mauvaises subiects et ceulx qui se sont embarques avec nos predicants, aussi tot quils voyens le roy et ses aultres subiects ses mettre en armes ils feront contre luy quelque nouvelle remonstrance de luer train du temps passé practiqué a l'endroit de votre maj. Tellement quil est plus que necessaire que la surdite somme soit envoyè en toute diligence.

Madame, le roy votre fils vous supplie de tenir main et descrire par la premiere commodite a monsieur vostre cousin s'il nest pas possible que le dict la Mothe pourra obtenir lambassade. Sa ma. desire affectionement quelque de ses cousins de la maison de Guise pour luy conseiller en ce temps la en toutes ses actions, faisant semblance seulement de luy venir visiter ce quils consentirent faire tres volontiers sil plaira a votre ma. d'y donner votre opinion.

Madame, le roy ma commandé de vous suplier de sa part de prendre quelque bon ordre pour la surté de vostre personne mesmes, de luy participer vostre deliberation en ce temps la. Car sans la conseroation de celle, il ne fait pas grant estat de l'accroissement de sa grandeur, ny de nul autre bien que luy en pourra avenir. Mais de cecy vostre responce l'assurera. Comme aussi de sçavoir ceulx qui sont vos amys en Angleterre et combien vous vous poves fier en iceulx, et esperer ayde.

Craignant, madame, vous estre trop importuné par mon discordant discordant discours, je supplieray vostre ma. de n'espargrer celluy qui n'espargnera jamais sa vie pour vous faire tres humble service, et desir de vous donner quelque sufisante preufue de ma loyalle intention en recevant voz commandements, les quels j'obeiray daussi fidelle affection comme tres humblementje prieray Dieu, madame, quil donit a votre ma. en tres heureuse santé longue et prospere vie, avec l'accomplissement de voz dissings plus desirez. Ce deuxiesme d'Avril de vostre ma. le tres humble et tres obeyssant serviteur,

x :

Madame, dans ma lettre j'ay omis le principal point ne losans monstrier au roy. Il y est un gentilhomme le π (conte de Arren) et sa femme. En eux le roy se fie plus quen nul autre, encor quil ma confessé luy mesme quilz sont de vous fort impudies. Le dict conte est ennemye capitale non seulement a tous les Catholiques, mais a vostre ma. et a tous les vostres, et tasche tousiours indirectement dempescher toute l'amitié qui est entre vostre ma. et le roy votre fils comme depuis peu de jours il a practiqué a l'instance de la reyne d'Angleterre pour le mariage du roy et la fille du roy de Sued. Et sur cecy il a eu quelques angelats, que le roy scait bien luy mesme, mais en cela come aux aultres deportements de ce meschant home, le roy est fort aveuglé. Pourquoi, madame, comme votre ma. desire la conversation de sa vie, advertises le de prendre mieux gard aux actions de ce comte, et de ne laisser point a ce roistre en tel mescontentement de la noblesse et du peuple, pour les tres mauvaises deportements d'un homme qui nest pas trop necessaire en une republique. Car le breuit cour que sa ma. est totalement gouverné par ses menteries, et ensorcelé par la diablerie de sa meschante et efrontes femme. Oultre, madame, il y est le maistre de sa garderobe et quelques aultres de sa chambre qui ont este la mises par ses ennemis, ce quil ne veult pas reformer pour nul conseil de nous autres. Il est necessaire, madame, de luy escrire vostre opinion. Jointc l'autorité maternele, luy faisant a croire que votre ma. la sceu d'ailleurs. Au rest ie me remets a la responce de vostre ma.

Right honourable, Herewith I do returne unto yow, for her maiestie, the cifred lettre you sent, and brought to me upon Thursday last by John Puttrell, messenger ; and my litle travell to make it somewhat playner. By the discourse you shall fynd (as I take it), that it comith from a principall person about the Scottish king, as the erle of Arreyn or coronel Steward. From a Scotts man it is, as his ortography and articles of the gendres shewes in many places, which in the extract I have onely a little holpen, referring to her majesty, as you shall perceive by comparing Mr Philips extract with this. As for the significative notes, somme I have coted in thend of this extract, as the course of the lettre betrayed. The rest I leave to your judgement, whoby further acquayntance can gesse at them.

In the begynning of this next weke, the quarter sessions of Sarum is, wher I have special mater then. The assemble about the long expected generall certificat of the musters wherunto I am specially sommonid, and the next day the mater of *Rochester* brige. So appointed by statute, ar the causes why (as duely wold) I wryte not to your honour with this ; but having discharged my duty therin as much as I can, I trust you conceive the matter, and excuse the man. And so, &c.

	2:	T:	S:	N:	
Likely to	{	Queene of England.	England.	The King.	Monsieur de.
signify.		ω:	δ:	ω:	x
	{	France.	La Mothe Fenellon.	Scotland.	He that wrote the lettre.

No. XVIII.

*To our trusty and right welbeloved Counsellor Sir RALPHE SADLER,
Knight, Chancellor of Duchie of Lancastre.*

ELIZABETH R.

Trustie and right welbeloved councellour. Whereas we have made speciall choice of you, as we have before signefyed unto you by our secretary, to supply the place of our right trustie and right welbeloved cousin and councellour the erle of Shrewsbury in the charge of the quene of Scots during the tyme of his absence ; being, at his long and earnest sute, licensed by us to make his repaire hither to our presence ; for which service, we doubt not but you are now in a readines. We doe accordingly send you by this bearer, our servant Somer, (whom we have also appointed to attend uppon you, and assist you in the saide service,) such instructions as we have thought meet to sett down for your better direction how to execute the charge committed unto you according to our will and pleasure ; wherein, as we nothing doubt but you will acquite your selfe with that care and circumspection that may aunswere the speciall trust and confidence we repose in you, so may you be well assured, that in regard as well of your long service as of your great yeares, we will, for our part, have also a care to ease you of that charge as soone as convenyently may be. Given at our manour of Stelandes, the 12th of Aug. in the 26th yeare of our reign.

No. XIX.

*To our trusty and welbeloved ANDREWE NEVILL, Esq. Sheriff of our
County of Leycestre.*

ELIZABETH R. BY THE QUEENE.

Trusty and welbeloved, we greete you well. Whereas we have nowe appointed our trusty and right welbeloved councillor sir Ralphe Sadler, knight, in thabsence of our right trusty and right welbelovid counsen therle of Shrewesbury, to have the charge and oversight of the Scottishe quene; our will and pleasure therefore is, that yf our said councillor, during the said charge to him committed, shall, by his lettre, at any tyme requier your assistance and aide, you shall furthwith, uppon suche signification, resorte to such place, so accompanied, and for suche tyme and causes, and with suche nombres as he shall appointe and requier youe to doe within your ballywyke, and by vertue and authoritie of your charge nowe in the same. Wherof faile ye not; and theise our lettres shall be your sufficient warante and discharge in this behalfe. Gyven under our signet, at our manour of Stelandes, the 15th day of Aug. 1584, in the 26th yere of our reigne.*

No. XX.

To Mr Secretary WALSYNGHAM.

SIR,

Upon Tuesday the 18th I departed from Standon; and, by suche journeys as I was able to ryde, I came hither this Tewsday the 25th.

* A similar writ was also sent to Rob Markham, Esq. sheriff of the county of Nottingham.

At my comming hither, I understood, by my lord of Shrewsbury, that, by the quenes majesties commandment, signified unto his lordship very expressly by your lettres of the 18th of this monthe, he had determined to remove the Scottish quene from hence to Wingfelde, upon Thursday next the 26th. And, for that purpose, had caused some provysions to be layde yn there, and sent also thither some of this quenes bagages; thinking that I had brought lyke order from her majestie toching that remove. But forasmuche as neyther by myne instructions, nor by any other meanes I have hearde therof, but rather that I shulde have speciall regard (among other things) unto suche persons of this queens as resorted to Sheffelde towne and others about it, and no worde of Wingfelde. And that in trothe I fynde not my selfe well able to travell agayn so sone, thanking God that I am so well comme hither. I have entreated my lorde of Shrewsbury to staye his proceeding to that remove, untill his lordship and I may receive her majesties commandement in that or in any other thing.

And in troth, sir, I must tell you plainly, that, comparing the openesse of the country about Wingfelde to the straightnes of this, and to the which my lord also confesseth, I wolde rather take upon me to kepe her here with 60 men, then there with 300. Besydes that (as his lordship saythe) his provisions ar much farther and harder to be comme by there then heere.

No. XXI.

To Mr Secretary. 2 Sept. 1584.

SIR,

The day after myne arryvall heere, I spake to the Scottish quene; who, after my lord of Shrewsbury and I had let her understande the cause of the quenes majesties sending me hither, according to myne instructions, thanked the quenes majestie, her good suster, that she

had made choice of an ancient counsellour of her acquaintance to attende about her, with dyvers other good words to that end; shewing herself, in words, glad to heere of her majesties good healthe; adding, that now that my lord of Shrewsbury goith to her majestie, he can informe her highnes of her doings whilest she hath ben under his charge; and requyred none other favour, but that he shulde saye the worst of her he coulede. None other thing passed betweene us at that tyme.

The last of August, after I had sent unto her the packet, which that day I had receavid from you for her, his lordship, I, and Mr Somer, went to her upon her owne motion, where she shewed herself not very well satisfyed, that seeing my lord of Shrewsbury was now to repayre to the court, and she to be left in other custody, her majestie had not signified so much unto herself by some worde under her highnes's hande: and feared therefore least her majestie had conceived otherwise of her then she seekith to deserve. Therunto it was answered, that his lordship and I had told her at my first comming that her majestie had sent me to supply his lordships place in his absence; but yet to satisfy her by sight of her majesties hande, my lord of Shrewsbury and I shewed her majesties lettres severally to us for that purpose. Wherewith she rested satisfyed; and told us how much she was bent to do any thing that might lyke her majestie her good suster; and was very sory that her majestie had not answered her to suche motions, as she had made long ago to her highnes, wherein her conscience dothe beare her witnes that she meanith uprightly towards her majestie and this realme, and for the weale of both, which she would make well appeere, as she hath offred before tymes, if her majestie wolde make proof of her. Some other particularities she uttered to this effect, which I have thought good to write to her majestie, not doubting but you shall be made privy to them.

The said last day I receaved your lettre, answer to mine of the 25th, toching the stay of this quene heere, or removing her to Wingfeld, as the quenes majestie shulde be pleasid to commaunde. Wherin I perceive that her majestie, referring the matter to yow, and yow to my

lord of Shrewsbury, and to me, to make choice therof; we consydering one, and that the chefest point mentioned in your lettre, which is for thadvoyding of her intelligences, which, by long contynuanee in this place, may be the easier had heere; and that in your former lettres to my said lord, yow signified her majesties pleasure to have her removed to Wingfeld; we have resolved to follow that course, and to-morrow, God willing, to see her safely conveyed to Wingfelde. His lordship having taken so good order for all things, as though this remove was uncerteyn, yet there shalbe no lacke of any thing meete for her lodgings, dyet, and safety. And she being settled there, his lordship meanithe to depart thence towards the court upon Monday the 7th of this moneth, taking his way by Leicestre, Northampton, &c. With your lettre I received a packet for this quene. I pray you make mention in your next upon lyke occasion, whether I shall open such packets and lettres or no. She having perused her lettres therein from the French ambassadour, fyndeth great want that she hearith nothing from him in answer to her lettres of about the 10th of August, from hence directed to yow for thembassador. They conteyned a request to her majestie, that she might send one of hers to her highnes to treat with her upon the points of her offres, and to procure some resolucion from her majestie. The same request hath she prayd me to make to her highnes on her behalf.

I beseech you put to your good healing hande to heale to relieve me from this care, so sone as it may stande with her majesties good pleasure to have consideracion of my yeres, and the colde weather now at hande. I fynde the posts somewhat slack. I think they measure their paces according to the dyversities of the dyrections on the packetts. Your patent lettre (by your next commodite) to be seene to them all, wolde perhaps quyen them a litle. And now that we shalbe at Wingfelde, there will lack a post at that place, and an other betweene that and Newark, or Grawntham. Thus fare you hartely well, &c.

No. XXII.

To the Queene.

It may please your majestie. Besides that I have now writen to Mr Secretary of our conference with this quene, and of our removing her this day to Wingfeld, I thought fite to let your majestie understand how earnest, with great humilite, the Scottish quene in wordes shewith herself to do any thing that might lyke your majestie, and to do you service, wherof she wold shew good proof, if it wold please your highnes to trust her, and make a tryall of her, whilest she may do yet some good in the points of her late offers to your majestie, wherein her conscience bearith her witnesse (she saith) of her true meaning towards your majestie and your estates, and to stay evell offices which som may perchance devise, not to hurt your majestie, but that may disquiet you in mynde; wherof she protestith before God she hath ben and wold be innocent, whatsoever your majestie may deeme of her; and is most hartely sory, that it hath not pleasid your highnes to send her answer therunto. And heere after she had rehearsed some things of those motions and offres, and wisshing still that your majestie wold make a tryall of her; and then if she wer fownd false, to use her according to her merits, from the which she cannot fly, being heere a good pledge, as she said. She concluded with a request, that it might please your majestie to give her leave to send one of hers to your highnes to delyver you her mynde at good lengthe upon those and other points, and to reply as your majesties answers may gyve occasion, and of your resolution to bring answer. Herof she said she had writen in August last to M. de Maunissiere, to be moved to your majestie; but having no answer or mention in his lettres, which she yesterday receavid from Mr Secretary, she doubtith of the safety of her lettres. She beseechith your majestie further, to permit her to send the same messenger

upon his retorne, or some other into Scotland, to treat with her son from her, yet whilst there is tyme, in the presence of any whome your majestie will appoint, or otherwise; who, besydes her awne charge, shall doo your majesties commandment. Adding these wordes (which she seemid not willing shuld goo abrode, and therefore I thought meete to wryte them to your majesties self,) that if her son wold not follow her counsell, and stay himself upon the good will and amyty of your majestie, which is the thing that in this world she desyred most, fynding your majesties lyke good will and favour to them, she wold take her frends from him; and was sure, that without them he could not do much. When, said she, can be offred more? Heerunto was it said by Mr Somer, that many things happening sins and before these motions wer made, (and there sundry round particularitees were reher-sed,) gave your majestie just occasion to mistrust of her sownde inten-tion towards her; and, emong other things, the late landing of many Scots in Irland, to troble your majesties estat there, did shew some evell meaning of somme great ones in Scotland, and might be an impedi-ment in this mater; and that if she wold have your majesties favour, she must deserve it; and the best way therunto is, not onely to avoyde harkening or encoraging to such enterprises, but to discover them as things dangerous to the kyng, and hurtfull to her self. She answerid, that she was ignorant of dyvers of those things that wer there reher-sed, and wold not answer for other mens doings; and that she had foretold of some things, but was not beleevd; and that now she was altogether ignorant of any of their doings. One other thing she said, which is meete for your majestie to know, that she beleevith the stray-ter she is kept, the more will her son and frends seeke to hold harder courses; which she beseechith her majestie not to impute to her. And as to the landing of Scots in Irland, she knew nothing of it; but said, if she and her son might be sure of your majesties good will, he wold not onely hinder any such transporting, but wolde send of his awne peopell thither to healp your majestie in your actions in that realme. My lord of Shtewsbury can satisfy your majestie in the rest. And

therefore, leaving further to trouble your majestie at this tyme, thinking it my duety to say thus much to your highnes of our doings herin, I pray to Almighty God, that he blesse and preserve your majestie in perfect helth and prosperite.

No. XXIII.

*The effect of the French Embassadors Lettre (to Queen MARY,) 8 Sept.
which is our 29th of August.*

That my lord of Leicestre had very honorably enterteynid him at the huntings in Windesore forest, which he had made for her majestie.

That he had understand nothing by any speeche of her highnes any thing of the Scottish quenes affaires, worthy the wryting at this tyme.

That of late her majestie hath had som suspition and mistrust in him for the Scottish quenes cause (occasion,) thinking that he was to partyall in her causes; but yet, by God's help, he doth not dispayr of some accord betwene the quenes majestie and her; and chiefly if the erle of Shrewsbury do comme hither to delyver this quenes intentions, full of all sincerite and good affection towards the quene her good suster, who (thembassadour) thinkith will resolve at this tyme, to make some honorable conclusion for the weale of them bothe and of all this isle. Wherin the king his maister doth desire to be partaker as this quenes good brother and ally in their contentements and good agreements, when it shall please God to put to his hand, and to bring them all into somme good termes of amity, and to maynteyne his ancyent allyances with Scotland and the king of Scots, and to augment the good intelligence he hath with the quene his good suster, to take away all jalosyes and mistrusts on all syds.

His opinion is, that if this quene wold ask leave of her majestie to send M. Nau, or some other, spedely to her majestie, and that before the erle of Shrewsbury's departure, he thinkith it will not be denyed. And

that it wold serve well to purpose that he came out of hand, well instructed from this quene to satisfy her majestie, considering the great suspition which is conceyved of thambassador in her affaires. Thinking himself unhappy that all his good meanings have ben so evell interpreted ; but God is witnes of the sincerite of the king his maister, and of his.

That the coming thither of Nau wold further all things very much towards a good agrement. That the Scotts king is in good healthe, and that thambassador thinketh that he will send a gentleman shortly to her majestie, which (is) Mr Gray, who was in France a yere agoo, and is now about that king.

In his Lettre to Nau.

That by his lettre he hath advised the Scotts queen to send up Nau to her majestie well instructed as is before. His great desire to see these two princes might be in good amyty together, and the king his maister with them, who lovyth them both as his good susters, and is lykewise desirous of the conservacion of the Scotts king his nephew, as of his awn son, which causith the French king to persist still to give him good counsell by the said ambassador, according to his commission long since sent him.

That Archibald Douglas is entrid into this mater with great affection, to do good service to the queen his souverayne, and to her son. And God willing, shalbe fownd in the end to have ben a good minister in these so difficile maters, to bring them to a point of good perfection ; and thinkith that hereafter there shall not neede towards the queen and king of Scots any better recommendation for the said Douglas than theeffect of his services. That thembassador hath fownd him honest, faithfull, and of as good wyt and understanding as any Scot that ever he saw ; and is capable to be employed in good causes. And that if Nau come hither, he will take pleasure to know that man.

That if Nau come up, hit is necessary he comme before therle of Shrewsbury.

No. XXIV.

*Talk betweene the Scottish Queen and me (Mr SOMMER), riding from
Sheffeld to Wingfeld. 2 September 1584.*

After she had againe uttred her grief of her long imprisonment, having spent her yeres from 24 to past 40, and bycombe and impotency become old in body, she delyvered the lyke grief as she had done 3 dayes past to my lord of Shrewsbury, and Mr Chauncellor of the duchy, that the quenes majesty had no confidence in her wordes, when she told the troth to sir William Meldmay and Mr Beale,* as things have happenid since in Scotland; wherof, and of Mr Secretaryes evell usage and reception in Scotland going thither without her recommendacion, she said she foretold, but could not be belevid. And now that her majestie having found her true in that, if her highnes wold trust her, it shulde appeere yet that she hath meanes and credit to do her good service. I told her (as I had done thother day) that upon further proof, and leaving to practise, and to have unfite intelligence with her son, and som evell ministers about him to the trouble of her majesty, and of her estates, sh might fynde her highnes her good freend. And that their wrytings which ar comme to her majestys knowledge, wherin is spoken of an entreprise in England, tending for her libertie and encressing of her son's greatnes, and so ment to comm to her, hath both greatly offended her majesty, and gyven her cause to think, that she the Scottish quene is a party in that entreprise, whatsoever it is. As for to have in-

* Sir Walter Mildmay secretary, and also Robert Beale, clerk of the privy council, the same who afterwards witnessed the execution of queen Mary, were engaged in a negotiation with Mary, which was suddenly broke off by Elizabeth, under pretence that the Guise family were forming some plan for the Scottish queen's deliverance.

telligence (quod she) with my son, and to estyme of them whome he makith accompt of, as his good servants, and doth so recommend them unto me, I must nedes do that; for if I shuld leave my son, who is to me more than any thing in this world, and trust the quene my good susters favour, which I cannot gette, I might so be without both, and then what shuld become of me? and as for my son, nothing can sever me from him; for I lyve for him, and not for my self. And therefore surely, said she, I must trust to th' one. But, quod she, if I might be assured and fynd to have the quene my good susters favor, and that she wold trust me in the points which I have long offered, and now lately movid, and in other good offices that I wold doo, she shuld fynd good cause to think better of me than she hath don; for, quod she, I have my sons awne hand yet to show, that he offres to be ordrid altogether by me in all things, who also hath sent me certein things to have myne opinion upon them: wherof he hath long callid for answer; but I have of purpose stayd it yet, and done nothing therunto, hoping that the quene my good suster wold have employed me in the good motions I have made. Therefore, quod she, if it wolde please her majesty to be servid by me, it is tyme; for in gud faith Mr Somer, I feare my son will take an other course shortly without my direction. Wherin I shall not be able then to stay him, as I am sure I can do yet. And as to the entreprise you spoke of, by my troth I knew not nor heard any thing of it; nor, so God have my soule, will ever consent any thing that shulde troble this state, wherof I seek the quyet with all my hart; for if any unquietnes shuld happen heere, it wold be layd to my charge, and so might I be in greater danger. And as to an other point, (which in deede I had told her then of an instruction *gyven to ung quidam*, to be sent to the duke of Guise, that he shuld hasten things, because the quenes majesty, as was there written, was about to cause the kyng of Scots to dy by an extraordinary death, (which was to great an indignite and irreparable wrong done to the quenes majestie my souverayn, as most false, and far from her majesties thought,) she said, that in deede my lord Ruthen had told the king her son so, as she heard;

but so God have her soule she suspendid her judgment therin. Well, madame, quod I, you heere what evell ministers do, thinking to do you and your son good service, but it is far otherwise, and therefore deserve small credit by hindering you, and thus to trouble the quenes majesty. But seing, quod I, yow disavow the knowledge of these things, and do offer to do so good offices for her highnes service, and to have her favour, may I be so bold to ask your grace, what you have thought upon the mater in particularite, and what you wold do to have her majesties favour. Mary, quod she, to perswade my son to entre into a good mutuall league, offensyve and deffensyve with the queen my good suster, if she wold so lyke of it, and therin to comprehend the king of France in respect of the ancyent league betwene France and Scotland; and as I know, quod she, the French king hath commaundid his ambassadour M. de Maunissiere to have speciall care of that, if any treaty shulde be talked of between England and Scotland. And such a league, quod she, wold be better for England then for Scotland, because England lyeth more upon those that have ben dangerouse to it then Scotland doth, and so shall those two realmes lyve long in peace, seeing no forayn prince doth clayme any thing in them. This seemith a very good motion, quod I, and a thing which the princes of both realmes have always sought by allyances and other ways. But hath ben oft empeched by forayn practices and ambition of somme of that realme; as namely of fresh memory, the motion of a matche between king Edward 6. and her. Therefore, quod she, it is good to looke to it now, whilst it may be holpen, assuring that her son well harken shortly abrode for a party, as he did already. Madame, quod I, what other thing have you thought upon in this mater, for you have good leasure? In good faith, quod she, Scotland is poore, not able to maynteyn a king, and therfore England must gyve good pensions, for so surely my son is so offrid in other places. And therby the queen my good suster shall gayne much; for by this meanes she shuld save gretly in her charge in Irland, where, if she nedid, my son wold heelp with his folk to get her good obedyence, and shulde not neede (these two

realmes being so united in amyty) to spend her money to maynteyne the warres in other contreys to keepe her awne in quyet, naming what her majesty had done in France, and in the king of Spayne's countreys, who remembre, and have their eys fixid upon her doings. Besides that, quod she, all my kinsfolkes wold be her majesties faithful frends, whome she doth now suspect; and then commended highly the duke of Guise for his valyantnes and faithfullnes to his frends. There is another thing to be done, quod she, in this case, which must be my care, that is, the papes bull against all those of the religion protestant, which I will take in hande to deale in. That in respect of me being a catholik queene, the same shall not tooche my realme, though my son be a protestant, and then none will dare tooche thone realme for religion without offending both. Thus Mr Sommer, quod she, I speake playnly to you, that you may testify of my good will to do good, if it please the queen to trust me. And I wold to God the quene my good suster knew my hart, which in good faith she shall never fynd false to her, so as I and my son may have the quenes majesties favour, as aperteyns, being of her blood, and so neere. Madame, quod I, if yow meane therby any clayme after her majestie as you have been playne with me, so I beseeche yow gyve me leave to be playne with yow: that is, if yow or your sonn speake any thing in the world of that matter, either in any suche treaty as you desyre, or by other discours or message that yow may make or send to her majestie, I know that you shall greatly displease her highnes and her people, and do yourself no good; therefore, whatsoever yow or your son do think therof, leave of to deale therin, and leaving all to God's good will, be content wyth her majesties favour, otherwais if you hope to have it of her highnes, for she knowith by deere experience what it is to offend her majestie in great things. She thanked me for my playnesse and good advise, and said she wold not offend her majestie therin; desyring then that she might have at the least her highnes lyke favour and estimation as other of her blood had at her hands.

Then did I ask her opinion where as she thought, the king her son had fancy to match, and that I had heard of the princes of Lorrain. She said there was such a motion, but thought it wold not be. And said that the duke of Florence had offrid his daughter, being of 14 or 15 yeres, and a million of crownes with her. Why, madame, quod I, do yow think that the duke wold sende his daughter from that warme and deynty contrey of Tuscane into that cold realme of Scotland; yea, I warrant you, quod she. She said also, that there was a motion made for a daughter of Denmark, with great commodite of money and friendship; but that crowne going by election, he was not sure of longer friendship then the old kings lif, and therefore had no great fancy that way. Then did I ask her of any offer of Spayne; she said merily so as her son may have the low countreys withall it wer not amis; but who can warrant that. But truely, said she, I knew of none there. But I am sure, quod she, my son will mary as I well advise him.

Heere falling into other talk, she asked me whether I thought she wold escape from hence or no, if she might. I answered playnely, I beleevide she wold; for it is natural for every thing to seeke liberty, that is kept in strait subiection. No, by my trothe, quod she, ye ar deceavid in me; for my hart is so great, that I had rather dye in this sort with honour then run away with shame. I said I wold be sory to see the tryall. Then she asked me if she wer at liberty with the queens majesties favour, whither I thought she wold go. I think, quod I, madame, you wold goo to your awne in Scotland, as it is good reason and command there. It is true, quod she, I wold goo thither indeede, but onely to see my son, and to gyve him good counsell. But unlesse her majestie wold gyve her countenance and som mayntenance in Englande, wold go into France, and lyve there emong her frends with that lytle portion she hath there, and never troble herself with government agayn, nor dispose myself to marry any more, seeing she had a son that is a man; but said she wold never stay long there, nor wold governe where she hath receavid so many evell tret-

ments : for her hart could not abyde to look upon those folk that had don her that evell, being her subiects : wherof ther ar yet many remayning ; for I had told her that they wer almost all dead. Ever in her talk beseeching her majestie to make a tryall of her, that with somme honorable ende she may lyve the rest of her dayes out of this captivitie, as she termith it.

This have I thought meete in duety to let be knowne to the queens majestie, because heere ar some very materyall points.

No. XXV.

WALSINGHAM to Sir RAFE SADLER, *Knight*.

SIR,

The French ambassadour hath earnestly requestid me to convaye the encloasid to the queen your chardg with speede, which you may cause Mr Sommer to oppen, and to peruse the lettres in the same, as the accustomed order hath ever ben, for that they are not oppenid here.

We had of late an alarm here out of Ireland of some forren intendid invasion by the kings of Spayne and Scotland * in that realm ; wher-uppon there was order taken for the levyeng of forces, bothe of horsemen and footmen, to be sent over to the ayde of the deputy ; but by the last lettres receavid from thence, we learne, that the numbers of Scotts landid in the northe are not so great as the first reporte did make them, that the doubt of the king of Spaynes attempting somewhat against the countrey is cleered, and that the deputy hath taken so good order for thencountering of the enemy, both by sea and by land, as there is great hope that this that are already landid will have litle

* Ireland was in 1584 invaded by a band of Scottish islanders, who were reduced to submission by the activity of sir John Pervot, the lord deputy. In the next summer, they again took arms, and were totally cut off.

cause to take comfort of their comming, and that others of their countrey men will be warnid therby not to attempt the lyke hereafter.

Out of Scotland, we heare that the king in this last session of the parliament hath forfeited dyvers noblemen and other persons of good quallity, to the generall discontentement of all good men in that realm, who do greatly mislyke this his strainge and over straynable kind of proceeding, thorough the only procurement and perswasion of Arran,* who caryeing now the whole sway in that government, and leading the king even at will, is becom so insolent, so offensyve, and consequently so hatefull to all men, yea, even to his owne frends, as yt is thought he will ere long both overthrowe himself, and put his master in great danger of some lyke mishappe. Great outward shewes and protestations are made of pretendid good will and frendship towards her majestie; but yt is thought they cannot be accompanied with good effects nor sound meaning, so long as the king shall suffer himself to be led and possessid with so ill instruments.

For the matters of the lowe countreys, we heare that they growe desperat; the states have sent one unto her majestie, to beseech her to receave them into her protection, but yt is thought to be a matter of greater chardge then her meanes can well reach unto. Wheruppon yt is lykely they will runne the porse of Fraunce, (being resolid by no meanes to agree with Spayne,) which of what daungerous consequence yt may be for this state, I leave to yourself to iudge. And thus having nothing ells to imparte to you at this present, I commit you to God. At Stelandes, the 2^d of September 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

* James Stewart, earl of Arran, one of the most rapacious and profligate favourites that ever infested a court.

No. XXVI.

SIR,

According to my lord of Shrewsbury's, and my lettres to you of the 2^d of this monethe, we have brought this Scotts queene hither, where she is well and safely placed, and all other things well as farre as I can see, with the same order of watche and warde that was at Sheffield, and this day his lordshipe tooke their othes. It is surely a good bande of handson soldyers well appointed, and all shew good wills to serve her majestie, to obey my lordships commandement in their charges, and so do I surely beleeeve of them. Besydes those forty, he leavethe heere about iiij^{xx} of his housholde people, emong whome as officers and good guydes, ar dyvers gentlemen of good sorte, and of very honest behavjour. I send unto you heerwith in wryting, suche talke as passed betwene the said queen and Mr Somer, on the way betwene Sheffield and this place, set downe in wryting by him self, wherein are some very materyall points worthy the knowledge, if it shall please her majestie to harken to them, and to prepare her highness and yourself agaynst the coming thither of a mynister of this queen, if her majestie grant, which she earnestly desyrithe. As we wrote to you in our last, heere will lack a post, and an other at Mansfeld, who from thence shall cary the packets to Newark, and not from hence to Nottingham, and so to Grantham, for that is the longer way. My l. holdith his day to come towards you, and trustith to be at the court upon Friday the xi. And so I take my leave of you, &c. Wingfeld, 4. September 1584.

No. XXVII.

WALSYNGHAM to *Sir R. SADLER.*

SIR,

Finding by such lettres and matter as this day I have receaved from my lord of Shrewsburie and you, that one Bentall is appoynted gentleman porter of the gates where your chardge remaynethe ; I remember one thinge which I should specially have required Mr Somers to have tould you of before your departure, and that is howe hir majestie upon some information, holdethe a verie hard opinion of that man. Hereof I have now written to my lord of Shrewsburie, and to this end, that some other man of speciall trust and discretion bee put into the said Bentall place. I have not yet imparted your lettres to her majestie, and you may be assured I will be carefull to healpe shorten the tyme of your abode and chardge there as much as lyethe in me. And thus I commend you most hartely to God. From the court at Ste-landes, the 4th of September 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XXVIII.

WALSYNGHAM to *Sir RALPH SADLER.*

SIR,

I have ben of late so enterteynid with the lowe countrie causes, and the negotiacion of the commissioners come from thence, as I have hetherto had no leysure to write unto youe, which is the cause that your lettres of the 2^d and 4th of this present have thus long remaynid

unanswerid. Her majestie dothe very well allowe of th' orders and your owne addicion to the same that you have sent, and of the removing of the Scotishe queene to Wingfeld, which she thinketh a neerer place then Sheffeld to keepe her in, for the reasons that I have alleadged unto you in my former lettres ; and doth also verie well lyke of the reporte of the speeches passed betwin the said queen and youe, towching whos request to be licensid to send one hether to her majestie, wherunto she dothe perhappes looke to receave present aunswer, her majestie can growe to no resolucion nether therein, nor in anie other her causes, untill she have first had conference with my lord of Shrewsbury. For such packets of the said queenes as passe to and from, youe shall do well to cause Mr Somer to oppen them all as they have ever ben accustomed to be, though yt is well enoughe knowen that no other matter is conteynid in the same, then such as they would perhappes have to be seen then otherwyes, have other secreat by meanes of conveyaunce for their matters of secrecie. Towching your request to be relievid of that chardge, bothe me self and the rest of your frends will be myndfull to do therein what we may when tyme shall serve ; her majestie being of herself gratyously disposid to have consideracion of youe in that behalf as soone as convenyently may be. For the speedie conveyaunce of the packets to and from, youe may direct Mr Somer to take order the two posts may be placid where youe desyer with th' allowance of 20^d a peece by the daye, which I will procure, shall be allowid to youe agayne.

Her majestie doth very well lyke the reporte of the discourse passid betwin that queen and Mr Sommer, and alloweth as well of his wyse and discreete aunswers made unto her, as also of the questions that he propoundid to her, being right glad aswell in respecte of the furtheraunce of her own service, as for your better ease and assistaunce, that she made choice of him to accompany youe. And thus having nothing ells to imparte unto you at this presant, I commit you to God. At Barnelling, the ixth of September 1584.

Your assured friend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XXIX.

From the same.

SIR,

I cannot yet draw from hir majestie a resolution touching the Scottish queens request for the sending up of Nau. Mr Somer knoweth that we are long in our resolucions here, especially in matters subiect to ieaousy which humour dothe dayly increase. Her majestie doth mervayle that the said queen should like so well of the hard proceading in Scotland against so many principall persons of that realme ; for although she may allow thereof in respect of the dislyke she hath of the said persons : yet considering the hard event that violent counceles are accompanied with all, (especially in that realme,) she should for the savety of the king hir sonne, howsoever hir own passion carryeth hir, both wish and advise that a more temperate coorse might be heald.*

Besides hir majestie seing hir lyke well of so hard measure, yelded to such as are knowen to be affected to the amity of this crown, as a thing most beneficiall for the king their master, cannot but interpret it as an argument of little good will, born towards hir by the said queen, notwithstanding the great protestationes she maketh of hir love and devotion towards her majestie. It was rather looked for at hir handes that aswell in respect of the safety of hir sone as for the recovery of hir majesties good opinion towards hir, she should have offred to have interposed hir authority and credit with the said king, by advising of him to take a more temperate coorse in his gouvernment, and not to suffer him selfe to be caryed by such violent counsellors, as ether for their particular feedes, or the desyre they have to en-

* This alludes to the proceedings against Angus, Mar, Glamis, and other lords, concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, who were declared guilty of high treason, and driven into banishment. These nobles had been chiefly attached to the king's faction in the civil wars.

rich themselves with the spoyles of others, doe nothing regard the mislyke and hatred they throw him into of his subiects, which in the end cannot but worke their ruyne and his perill, wherof there have been over many dolorous examples in that cuntry.

Hir majestie, by the use of these and such lyke reasones could lyke well that she were drawen to offer to doo all good offices of mediation between the said king and his subiects; so as it might be wrought, not as a thing proceeding by direction from hence, but by way of discourse betwene hir and you, as one that wisheth the causes of iealousies between hir maiestie and hir were removed, and that good frendshippe might continew between the two crownes, whereof you see no lykelyhood if the hard coorse be heald on towards such as are noted to be well affected to this crown. Now, sir, you see hir majesties disposition in this cause, I referre the ordering thereof to your good and grave consideration.

The erle of Shrewsbury is very gratusously used by hir majestie, who is very desirous to compound the controversyes between him and the lady his wyfe, a matter that will not be performed ouer easily.

I hope within 8 or 10 dayes to give you some comfort, touching the release of the charge now committed unto you; for my lord of Shrewsbury doubting to be surprised by his auncient enemy the gowt, will employ both his own creditt and his frendes to procure his speedy dispatch hence. The greatest impediment wilbe the sute he maketh to be discharged of the custody of the lady remayning now in your handes, which difficulty I hope wilbe removed.

Of late, one Creichton, a Scottish jesuite, was taken by a shippe sett forth by the admiral of Zeland, and sent hither by him unto hir majestie, abowt whom was found a very dangerous plott sett down abowt two yeares past in the Italian tongue for the invading of this realme. And although it was torn in peeces, and divers parts therof lost, yet have we gathered the sense thereof, which I sende you hereinclosed. Your charge there was made acquainted withall, and the young king hir sonne, and as we are enformed, gave their allowance thereof, which had been executed if Lennox had lived; and as by the same, Creichton

is confessed there is an intent and meaning when the king of Spain shalbe ridde of his low cuntries trowbles to proceed to the execution therof. *

There is of late a matche concluded between the duke of Savoy and king of Spaines daughter, a matter that dothe greatly offend and grieve the popish faction, for that they sought to match hir with the young king of Scotts. I thinke when the queen his mother shalbe made acquainted therewith by you, she well not rest the best satisfied withall. I know she hath for the space of these 12 yeares inclined more to Spain then to Fraunce. We find in all the plottes and discouveryes that have come to our handes anie tyme these two or three yeares, the French king hath no way been a party in them, which ought to move the queene the rather to accompt of his frendshippe, which is lyke to continew sound. So long as the howse of Guise shalbe no more inward with him then they are, of whose ambition the said king hath taken so deep and hard a conceipt, as men of judgement thinke, they shall enioy no extraordinary portion of his favour.

The state of things in the low cuntries groweth to very hard termes. Gant and Viluord being already yelded into the enemyes handes, and it is likely that Brussels and Machlin will not long hold out, for that they doe already begine to enter into parley; so as if we doe dayly consider how our forrain healpes beginne to weare away, and our inward corruption doth dayly increase, we shall then see iust cause to feare the continewance of our happy peace that we have so long enioyed. I pray God it may prove a vayn feare, to whose protection I committ you. From Stelandes, the 16th of September 1584.

Your most assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

* It is said to have been a plot for the invasion of England by the king of Spain, or duke of Guise.

No. XXX.

Copy of CURLE'S Lettre to BALDWIN.*

Trusty frend and cousen, by this bearer I must advertise you, that I have understand of late the viage of the merchant of Newcastle beyond sea, (the removing of the Scottish queene,)† to bee intended and resolute upon the procurement of the factour at London, (the erle of Shrewsbury,) whoe we heare hathe been verie earnest thereunto. And the sayd merchant of Newcastell, his wyfe, (Mr Secretary,) is the principall dealer in the matter. Take heed of deceit in that poynt, as well of my cousen (lord Thresorer) as of the neighbour. (the erle of Leicestre.) The carier and his man, (Mr Chancellor, Mr Somer,) seeme most ready to convey safely what I doe committ to them, as they lyke nothing at all of the pedlar's doyngs (countesse of Shrewsburies;) but for all this I will not trust them for the viage beyond sea (removing of the Scottish queene;) for the which, I pray you to consider well what you have to doe. For the fayrest weather is not allwayes the surest. Let mee know your mynd and resolution of all with suche convenient speed as you can. For accordingly I have to provide in tyme to prevent what thereof may fall owt. This howse the merchant of London (queene of England,) meaneth to borrowe for the merchant of Newcastell's (Scottish queene) usage, but he lykes not of it. And so, takyng my leave, I cease. This 20th of Sept. 1584.

Your frend and cousen at power,

(GILB. CURLE,)

WILLIAM WILBECK.

Superscribed thus—To my cousen and most deare frend, Thomas Wilbecke, (Baldwyn) gyve theise with speed.

* Curle was one of Mary of Scotland's secretaries.

† The words in parenthesis are the disguised passages elucidated by another hand.

Inclosed in the same copy is this illustration.

Queene of England,	1. The Marchants of London.
Erle of Shrewsbury,	2. The Marchants factor.
Queene of Scotland,	3. The Marchants of Newcastell.
King of Scotland,	4. The Marchant, his nephew.
Erle of Leicestre,	5. The neighbour.
Lord Thresorer,	6. My cousin.
Mr Walsyngham,	7. The marchants wyfe.
Sir Raffe Sadler,	8. The carrier.
Mr Sommer,	9. The carriers man.
Letters,	10. Stoffes.
The Scottishe queenes remove out	
of my lords hands,	11. Viage beyonde the sea.
My lady Shrewesbury,	12. The pedlar.

Exempli causa. Yf I will write the Scottish queene shall not be removed, then to write, the marchant of Newcastell shall not goe beyond the sea, &c.

No. XXXI.

To Mr Secretary.

SIR,

By your lettres of the 16th of this monethe, which I receaved the 19th, I perceaved that the quenes majestie had not then resolved upon the Scottish quenes request, for the sending up of Nau. Which the same evening I imparted to the said queene. And least she might theruppon conceive that it wer refusid or insperat, I told her that this depeche was made upon her majesties first conference with my lord of

Shrewsbury of the mater, wherof nevertheless you had frendly advertised me ; and that before, or at my lords returne, which you did put me in good comfort shulde be shortly, her highnes wold send her resolucion. She answerid, that when she remembrith so many fruteles answers as have ben made to her good offres and sincere intentions towardes the queenes majestie her good suster so long since, (though they wer not accepted,) she fearith still that through some crosse meanes she can hope for no better, using most earnest protestacions of her sincere meaning towards her majestie, whose long lief and prosperite she wisshed with all her hart ; delivering also great grief, not without many teares, in that her majestie wold not use her service, and prove her in her offres whilest there is tyme for the benefite and quietnes of her majestie and realme. Then I told her that many dangerous intentions discoverid, and now this other day agayn by th' apprehension of one Creighton, a Scottishe jesuit, bounde by sea towards Scotland, had done muche hurt to the mater she sought for at her majesties handes, and then told her what was found about him. Therunto she protested deeply, that neyther by her self, or by any other by her meanes or knowlege, she had at any tyme dealt with that man, or with any other of those maters, nor did know him otherwise than by report, that one Creyghton was a good scholmaster to bring up children in learning. Humbly beseeching her majestie to conceive no hard impression against her for any such mater, for God knowith her conscience to be far from any such thing as is therein mentionid. Then did I remember unto her agayn her sons hard proceeding in Scotland, which (her majestie was infourmid) she lyked well, and further as in your lettres is noted ; she answerid, that if she had ben beleevd in tyme, she wolde have interposed her credit and autorite to have done good. But how coulde she then or now do it, having no waye to send to her son ? and as for her well lyking of that hard course against those noblemen, she said that she had not said so, but remembrid her former answer to the same point, that she knew nothing of her son's particuler dealing therin. But said, if her son had don so, it might be for example of

others, and to take away from other the lyke encoragement to offend their soverayn, and that these men have had their grace ones or twice before. This, said she, was her opinion of the cause of her son's proceeding in that sort with them, and referred to her majesties own conscience what was meete to be don to subiects that stoode up against their prince. Her son is king yn Scotlande, and for suche wolde be obeyd. Therto I said briefly, that these noblemen were well known to be well affected to the amitie of both realmes whiche they sought, and for that cause it is thought they fared the worse, though not so directly at the kings hands, as by the ambition of some malicious and needye folks about him. She said that she wolde not answer for them that ar greatist about her son, for she had not appointid any of them to him; and as for the other, she referred to her son the offence done against him. But for her self, though they had offended her, she did with all her hart forget and forgyve them all, as she had ever done to all them that wolde acknowledge their offence when she ruled, hating nothing in the world more then shedding of blood, protesting that she is yet of that mynde, and with God's grace wolde so contynue. Therunto I answerid, that I was glad to heare her of that good mynde, and trusted that she wold gyve counsell to her son to take the lyke good course, which wolde to the lyking of his people and safety of his person, remembring the ends of violent princes in Scotland. And that seing we wer fallen into that purpose, I wished that she wolde offer to the queenes majestie to doo good offices of mediacion betwene her son and these noblemen, and others his good subiects, (and that needith some speed.) I will do it (quod she) if I may have leave to send, so as the queenes majestie my good suster wolde answer for them, that hereafter they shall contynue good subiects to him. And so as her highnes will accept of her and her son as beeing to princes so neere of her blood as they ar. The same to passe emong other things in the treaty; for it wer no reason, she said, for her to procure such favour for them that have ben so unkynd to her and to her son, and yet be still eloignid from her majesties favour.

Now you see, sir, what she offrithe, (according to her majesties lyking mentionid in your lettre,) to mediat for these noblemen of Scotlande, if she may be suffrid to sende. Which being refused her, as she partly seemith to despayre of it, she dischargith her conscience before God to have done her duety, lyke a true and faythful meaning freende to her majestie, to have her favour now fowre or five tymes at the least. And besechith her majestie not to charge her with any evell dealing to comme from her self, which shall never be found in her: For synce she gave all authoritie by autentick pour to her cosyns now 5 or 6 yeres past, to do all things that might be for her commodite by their discretions, she hath almost left dealing with any thing wherin she findeth great quietnes; yea, hath reiected some that have offrid to deale in matters, as some will do so long as she shall remayne here in this sort, wherof she saythe she will never beare the wyte. And that if she be found contrary, she is heere in her highnes hands to answer it, being weery to have so enlarged her self and her hart, as she hath done lately to me and to other with a sincere hart to her majestie, and can see no good comm of it; and therefore desireth her majestie to consider hir ranck, and to treat nobly with her, (that was her word.) I told her that I wold make her highnes acquainted ones agayn with her requests.

I made her acquainted with the matche concludid betweene the duke of Savoy and the daughter of Spayne, whereat she made no matter at all in shew.

For a conclusion for this time, she humbly beseechith her majestie, in case she will permit her to send Nau to her highnes, that she may also have leave at that tyme to wryte to her son lettres that shalbe seene heere, onely to let him heere from her, by that meanes to heere from him agayn, which may serve to entertayne him a while, and may perhaps stay some hard dealings untill things may grow to a further good course; and that these lettres may be conveyd by my lord of Hunsdons meanes, or otherways as it shall please her majestie to appoint. Thus am I bold to delyver our conference at some lengthe, and also this queens requests, wherof if her majestie doth mislyke I will for-

beare hereafter to do it so, upon knowledge of her highnes pleasure.
21. September 1584.

No. XXXII.

The Erle of SHREWSBURY to Sir RAFE SADLER.

Good Mr Chancelour, * I do hartely thanke you for your lettre, being gladd to understand that all things ar well where you are ; and for my retorne unto you, as yett I can write no certaintie, but am in good hope very shortly to receave some resolucion in that behalf. In the meane tyme I canne but desier you to take in good worth that your hard entertaynement. And so with my harty comendacions I leave you to the Lord Almighty. Stelandes, the 28th of September 1584.

Your assured lovinge frend,

L. SHREWSBURY.

No. XXXIII.

From the same to the same.

Good Mr Chancelor, I do accompt me self very greatly beholden unto yow for youre frendelye letter. I have ben trobeled with the sciatika and and not able to stoore abroode for certayne dayes past, in which it did please her highnes to send me her phisicians, and on Saterday last to visite me in person to my greate comfort. As toyching yoore continuance in that partyes, I do thincke yooe have some full resolucion from Mr Secretary before this present, and therefore I will

* Sir Ralph, it will be remembered, was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

forbeare to troble you any longer, and so with my hartiest commendacions unto youre good selfe, and to Mr Somers, do wishe unto yowe all hapines. From the coort at Stelandes, the 30th of September 1584.

Yowre assured lovinge frend,

J. L. SHREWSBURY.

No. XXXIV.

From Mr Secretary.

SIR,

For that I fynd by your lettres, that you are verie desyrous to know her majesties resolucion, towching the queene your chardges request to be licencid to send Nau hether, I have thought good to let youe understand, that her majestie meaneth to deferre the same untill she have conferrid with Mr Davison, who is now come to London, and be by him thoroughly informid of the present state of things in Scotland. And yet her pleasure is you should entertyne the said queene with hope of the granting of the saide request very shortly, which you may say youe fynd by my lettres, as in deed I fynd her majestie verie well disposid to yeld therunto, wherof I thincke you shall heare more within three or fowir dayes after Mr Davison hath ben at the courte ; but least she should conceive some doubt and suspicion of the matter, for that my lettre doth nowe bringe youe no full resolucion of her majesties pleasure, her highnes thincketh yt therfore meete you shuld let her understand that the cause of my present dispatch, was only to convey unto youe certen pryvat lettres of your owne, wherwith I thought good to signify unto you so much of the lykelihood of the granting of her request.

Towching the present state of things in Scotland, I learne by Mr Davison, that they are now about annother parliament held in the strangest sorte that ever was heard of. The king being loth to be

him self present at yt, hath appointid Arran to supply his place in the quality of viceroy, with full authority to proroge or dissolve the said parliament as to himself shalbe thought meete, the lyke president wherof was never seen before. For other matters we are enterteynid still with promise of the coming of the Mr of Gray, with full instructions touching the kings mynd and resolucion, by whom we shalbe hable to iudge what reconning we may make of thamity of Scotland.

But of other forren parts we have heard nothing of importaunce of late, saving that thos of Gaunt have concludid their peace with th' enemy. And thus having nothing ells to imparte unto you at this present, I commit you to God. At Barnellins, the 30th of September 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

The 8th of the next, her majestie meaneth to have a full consulta-
tyon, towching the coorse that by advyce of cownsell shall be thowght
meet to be helde with your charge here ; for that the earle dothe great-
ly presst her majestie for hir dyscharge. Uppon the resolucyon that
shall be then taken dependeth your own release, wherof her majestie
is carefull.

No. XXXV.

From the same to Sir RAFE SADLER, Knight.

SIR,

Her majestie fyndethe by the interceptyng of certeyn letters * that
the queene of Scottes is verry curyouse to understande her majesties re-

* The letter from Curl to Baldwin.

solutyon by somme of her secreat frendes here, towching the changing of her keper, which she feareth greatly. Her pleasure therefor is, that you shoold howld a vygylant eye over her, lest uppon dowbt of the chaynge she myght perhaps have some dysposytyon to seeke her owne lybertye. Her majestie notwithstanding woold have the matter so carryed as she might have no cause to thinke that she is mystrusted.

She woold be glad to understande what number of men you have there, and with what weapon they are furnished, and what gentlemen of strengthe and truste dwell nerest you to assyst yf need were.

I cannot yet get her majesties resolucion towching Naue coming up, which I suppose myght yeld that contentement, and remove from her sooche ielousyes as may perhaps drawe her to take some extraordinary coorse.

There is somme cause to dowbt the sowndnes of one Salter, a servaunt of the erle, whoe, as I suppose, supplyethe the place of gentleman porter; you shall therefore doe well to observe his doings. And so being commaunded to dispatche thes letters in hast, I commyt you to God. At the coorte, the 5th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XXXVI.

From the same.

SIR,

Her majesties pleasure is, youe should presently send up one Loggin, late servaunt unto my lord of Shrewsbury, who dwelleth within two myles of Wyngfeld, well known to all my lords men, and yet in no other sorte then with good words and incouragement, directing him with a lettre to me self. I thincke yt would do well that Mr Sommer should talke with the party, and use some comfortable speeches unto him. There is also one Hawkesworth a gentleman, well affectid, that dwellith within 2 myles of Sheffield, one much mislyked of the queen

of Scotts, and that is thought can discover many particulartyes of the state of things thereabouts. You might do well to direct Mr Sommer to growe into some acquaintaunce with him uppon some apt occasion, and to use the best meanes he can to drawe from him that which may be worthy the knowledg. Yt weare also to good purpos that the gentleman should be perswadid to make his repeire up hether him self, and so I commit you to God. At the corte, the 6th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNHAM.

Loggin is to be dealt withall in sooche sorte as his commying up may seeme to proceade from himselve, and not by dyrectyon from hence. I suppose when the place of his abode shall be knowen, some one of your men may most aptly deall with him for his commying up.

No. XXXVII.

WALSYNHAM to *Sir RALPHE SADLER.*

SIR,

A. servaunt of the erle of Shrewsburyes, named Baldwyn,* being dyscovered to have secreat intellygence with the queen there, is apprehended; and for that yt appeareth, by a letter sent unto him from one of her servaunts there, that she is very curyose to understand whether she shall be removed from the erle's custodie. Her majestie thinketh yt meet, as I dyd yesterdaye advertyce you, that you shoold have a watchfull eye over her; and that yf your owne servaunts that attend on you there be not furnished with dagges,† or petronells,‡

* Thomas Bawdewyn appears from several letters in Lodge's Illustrations, Vol. II. to have been a confidential agent of the earl of Shrewsbury.

† Pistols.

‡ On one occasion Mary complained, that Shrewsbury's men had entered her presence armed with pistols. The earl was exculpated, and his conduct approved by Elizabeth, who

that then you shoold in secreat see to procure somme furniture, to be sent unto you from some of the well affected gentlemen in that countrye. I suppose none could better furnishe you then Mr Adrian Stokes; but that he dwellethe somewhat far of. Yt is also thowght meet, that you shoold underhand learne howe the well affected gentlemen, next adioyning to the place where you now are, are furnished, in case uppon a sodeyn there shoold be any use of ther servyce, and so in hast I commyt you to God. At the coorte, the 6th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XXXVIII.

Sir RALPH SADLER to WALSYNGHAM.

SIR,

This morning I depeched unto you, and withall sent a great packet of this queenes for the Frenche ambassadour, and 'made mention in myne of the contents, as well therof as of a severall packet sent from hence for the larde of Baronbugall* in Scotland. The post of this place in his way met with yours of the 5th; by the which I perceave that the queenes majestie fyndith (by meanes) this queenes curyous seeking to understand her highnes resolucion, toching the change of a keep, and fearith it greatly. And that therefore I shulde have a vigilant ey over her, lest vpon doubt of the change she might perhaps have some disposicion to seek her awne libertie.

And toching the change of her keep, she hath often heald talke

probably would not have been sorry if an *accidental* fray had given opportunity for using them in her chamber. *LODGE'S Illustrations*, p. 25.

* Moubray of Barnbougil in Mid-Lothian. The family were attached to the queen's party in the civil wars of Scotland. See *BANNATYNE'S Journal*, p. 338.

with me therof, because she understoode by my lord of Shrewsbury himself his desyre to be unburdenid of this charge after so many yeres. And also for that dyvers winters past his lordship hath ben constraynid to keepe his chambre and bed for the gout, or other sycknes. And I assure you, (so farre as I can perceave eyther by her speeches or gestures at any tyme,) she wayethe not the change, so as she may be well used, and her person in safety ; wherof (she sayth) she hath had some cawse of mistrust in former tymes. But yet is well assured of the queenes majesties great care for the health and safty of her person, as hath well apperid by suffering phisicians to comme to her on her neede, and by gyving her lycence to goo to Buckstones * when she requyrid it, wherin she thinkith her self also muche beholding to you. And as for any disposicion to seeke her awn liberty, (who so ever be appointed to be her keeper,) the tenderness of her body, subiect to a vehement rheum upon any colde, which cawseth a plentiful distillation from above downe unto her left foote, wherwith (resting there) she is much paynid, and is sometyme a lytle swolne ; and also the strength of this howse, having two wards, † the gentleman porter ever at the one with 4 or 5 in his company, and dyvers soldyers at the other. The watche in the night of eight soldyers, wherof 4 at the least ar alwayes under the outwarde wyndowes of her lodgings, and the rest walke about, which ar visited nightly at 10 and at 2, and furnishid with shot and halbards, besydes two that watche and warde day and night within at the doore going to her lodgings. And further, the hard passages in this contrey, which is compassed on every syde with wylde mowntayns and high rocks, and the villages about keeping watch. And the distance of this place from suche great frends, (I trust,) as ar able

* For licensing Mary to go to Buxton, Shrewsbury incurred queen Elizabeth's displeasure. When leaving the Baths, Mary is said to have taken her farewell in this distich, which is an alteration of Cesar's verses on Feltria :

*Buxtona, quæ callidæ celebrare nomine lymphæ,
Forte mihi posthac non adeunda, vale.*

† Guarded entrances.

or do entende to do any suche thing. And besydes all this, the dwelling of so many honest gentlemen upon the wayes of passage on every side, I cannot see any danger of perfourming any suche attempt, unlesse the strongest part of this company wolde be hers, which I nothing mystrust, being such as my lord of Shrewsbury will answer for his, and I for myne, as hath ben severally signified unto her majestie and to you.

As toching the gentlemen of strength and trust dwelling nearest this place: * Sir John Zouche is on the east syde, sometyme at Codner, † 4 myles, and is now at Afferton, ‡ 2 myles hence. Sir Thomas Cokyn || 8 or 9 myles on the south syde. Mr John Manours § towards Buckstons, 8 myles on the north west. Mr Curson the high shrif, ¶ 10 myles on the south syde. Sir Godfrey Fuljambe ** 7 myles, besydes Chesterfeld on the northe, and Mr Basset, besydes Darby. †† With all these, saving with Mr Fuljambe, ‡‡ I spake at a muster of the horsmen of this shire, about 4 myles hence, and do fynd them ready with all theyr meanes to serve her majestie when so ever they shall have any warning; and

* To Wingfield, a castle and manor now belonging to the earl of Shrewsbury. It was founded, says Camden, by Henry lord Cromwell, *tempore* Henry VI. "who built a very stately house considering that age."

† Codnor, or Contenere castle, anciently a seat of the Grey family, but which came into that of Zouch by the marriage of John de la Zouch, second son to William de la Zouch, with Elizabeth, heiress to Henry Grey.

‡ Or Alferten, said to have been founded by King Alfred. The castle had lords of the same name, and afterwards past to the Chaworth family.

|| At Ashton, where the family of Cockain long flourished.

§ John Manners, active in the persecution of recusants. See LODGE, Vol. II. p. 372.

¶ The Cursons, or Cruzons, an ancient family of gentry, had seats at Keidelston and Croxton in Derbyshire.

** The ancient family of Foljambe, were settled at Walton, near Chesterfield.

†† Of the Bassets I believe of Braillesford.

‡‡ Sadler perhaps suspected sir Godfrey Foljambe, on account of the religion of lady Constance Foljambe, who was a catholic. If so, he did sir Godfrey the more wrong, for he was not only first to apprehend as a recusant this old lady, who was his grandmother in law, but moreover refused to restore her possessions, when she was discharged after a long confinement, and left her destitute in her old age. See LODGE, Vol. II. p. 372. 375. In the last, sir Godfrey says, "I have apprehended the lady Constance Foljambe my grandmother, and now have her in my custody, whom, by God's help, I will safely keep," &c.

to be watchfull in their severall lyimits over all suspiciouns. The lord Darcy * is 18 myles hence, besydes Sheffeld, to whome I sent her majesties lettres, which were received most joyfully as a singuler comfort to him, with lyke dutyfull offer of his ready service.

Towching myne awn servaunts, I have heere 43 men, every man his sworde and dagger, some pistollets, and some long shot ; and in every chambre where they lodge, (all within this house,) there ys for every man his halbard, or partwysants. And heere ar of my lords and of myne, and at my commandment, good horses and geldings standing in the stables within the base court of this castell, all to be ready upon a very short warning.

As for Mr Salter, now gentleman porter of this place, I have only knowne him synce his entrance into that charge, which my lord did meane to Mr Wombwell, as I wrote to you ; but the gout kept him hapely from it, being so paynfull and thankles an office. And surely as for Salter, I see no cause to misdoubt him ; he observith his charge in shew very carefully ; he is ever at the gate. If any other than ordinary repayre thither, he suffrith none such to comme in or to depart without my knowledge, and hath the report of my lord's oldest servaunts to be a very honest gentleman, and good servaunt to his lordship. And namely so reported by Mr Stringer, his lordships steward, † whome I fynde so carefull and serviceable, as he deserveth to be right well thought of. It is to be suspected, that the same parson who informid against Mr Bentall, late gentleman porter, may perhaps cast somewhat also in this mans way. If my lord have not told you of it, I can informe you of the trothe at my retourn ; and yet I will observe his doings according to her majesties commandement.

* John lord Darcy, who had served with the earl of Essex in Ireland. He died 1587, COLLINS, Vol. VIII. p. 405.

† This gentleman was the son of John Stringer of Overthorpe, according to Lodge, and died in the 30th of queen Elizabeth. He founded the family of Stringers of Sharlestone, near Wakefield, whose estate came by an heiress to the Beaumonts of Whitby Beaumont, and from them to the present family of Westmoreland.

By myne of the thirde of this month, I wrote unto you myne opynion, that her majestie admitting Nau to comme to her from this queene, cowlde (as I thought) do no harme: * of that mynde am I still; for there must be an end of this mater, either by the death of this lady, or by some honorable composicion. Of the former, I see no other lykelihoode, but that she may lyve many yeres. For the other, I referre it to the wyse consideracion of her majestie, and of suche other as can look into the Scots kings disposicion; his caryeng at home, and by whome; his yeres; his kynsfolks, and frends abrode, (by whome, perhaps, and by other motions of allyances he is sought;) the respect also to the quyetnes of her majesties mynde, which I wishe with all my hart, and feare is too oft greeved with maters, growing by reason of this queene, and of her frends in favour of her, which this lady saythe still she will healepe if it wolde please her majestie to trust her, and to use her meanes and servuice, yet whilest there is tyme; and still sayth, that she beleeveth her son will do no thing of moment without her consent.

Thus you may see how muche I desyre her majesties quyetnes of mynde, a very precious thing to us all; and wishe that her majestie might be assured of Scotland, which by my knowledge many of her highnes predecessors in all the tymes of my service have ever sought, but wer still impechid by those meanes, which now may faile, if the oportunitie now offerd in part, and her majestie greatly sought upon, be not overslyppyed. And thus, &c. Wingfeld, 8th October 1584.

* Robertson has well characterized this species of intercourse between the queens. "Elizabeth was carrying on one of those fruitless negociations with the queen of Scots, which it had become almost matter of form to renew every year. They served not only to amuse that unhappy princess with some prospect of liberty, but furnished an apology for eluding the solicitations of foreign powers in her behalf, and were of use to overawe James, by shewing him, that she could at any time set free a dangerous rival to dispute his authority. These treaties she suffered to proceed to what length she pleased, and never wanted a pretence for breaking them off when they became no longer necessary."

No. XXXIX.

*Sir RALPH SADLER to WALSYNGHAM.**Oct. 14th 1584.**Copy.*

SIR,

According to the queenes majesties pleasure, signified unto me by yours of the 6th of this present, I have sent up unto you Danyell Loggin, who departing this morning, may be with you within a day after this. By reason of his absence from his house, I cowde not speake unto him untill yesterday; upon conference with him, I fynde, that (as he saythe) there was unkyndnes betweene Lewes the gentleman of my lord of Shrewsbury's horses and him; for that he infourmid his lordship, that he had caryed lettres from Lewes to Godfrey Fuljambe, and Tunsted of Tunsted: † wherof my lord hath hearde the whole discourse by way of examinacion, and did then put the same in wryting, wherunto, and to the parties owne report, I referre you.

Toching William Hawkesworth, at my sending for him, he came yesterday to me, from 6 myles beyonde Sheffield. And after Somer had assured him of the good opinion which was conceavid of him above for his good affection in religion, and dutyfull obedyence towards her majestie, wherof he ought receave great comfort; he entred further with him to move him to discover som particularities what he knew, or had heard of the doings of this queene, or of any other in her favour in the tyme of his service with my lord, or syns. He answerid to the mater, that upon his allegiance to her majestie, he knew not of his awn knowledge of any particuler, or certeyn evell intent by the said queene, nor of any others in her favour; and began with his first service with his

* Tunstall of Thurland Tunstall, in the county of Lancashire.

lordship as a soldyour 6 yeres, then as long in the charge of Yeoman Porter in company of Mr Bentall gentleman porter. And that in the tyme of this last service there was some unkyndnes betweene Mr Bentall and him, which he sayth grew upon these occasions ; that he being not so fully instructed of my lords pleasure as Mr Bentall was, as it fell out syns, did look more straightly to the passage of a groome of this lords stable, who had oft recourse to fetche provynder and other horsemeate for the Scots queenes horses. That he wolde not suffer one man to go so oft by the queenes horse when she rode abroad to take the ayre, for she had always one of the soldyours by her to lead her horse in. That he wolde not suffer the Drum-slawgher passages having skyl in surgery to resort so oft to a Scottishe boy, who had a verye sore leg, as it was required. And finally, for that he infourmid his lordship that Mr Bentall went sometymes to the chambers of Nau and Curle, the said queenes secretaries, which he learnid after he did by my lords commandment, to see to the safetye of their wyndowes, and their walls of their chambres. These maters being brought before his lordship, he examynid them theron, and can make report of the whole ; and synce that he knew not of any thing worthy the speaking of it.

Being demanded why was he discharged from my lords service, he answerid that it was at his humble sute to be quit of that office of yeoman porter, seing Mr Bentall and he cowlde not agree ; and that my lord did offer to enterteyn him in the place of a yeoman among others, which he refused, unlesse his lordship wolde set him about some other thing withall. And therupon with his lordships good leave he departed, and lyved a while with his father, an old man, untill towards Mychelmas following, and then was enterteynid in service with sir Godfrey Fuljambe, wher he contynued not a moneth by reason of his father's sycknes, about whom he contynewid untill he dyed ; and ever syns hath dwelt with his mother, an old woman of above *iiii^{xx}* (80) yeres olde, being made coexecutours to his father.

Being moved by good reasons to repayre to the courte, that both the

good opinion which was conceavid of him might be confirmid, and also to cleere thes matters whilest my lord was yet there; he sayde, that he was bownde in ^{iiii^{xxii}} (801.) to pay certayn legacyes, about Alhallowtyde, and was not all provyded to do it, the losse wherof wolde be his mothers, and his mothers undoing. Besydes the troble it wold be to his mother, being so old and weake woman, to have him so long from her; but protested, that he remaynid, and so wolde contynue her majesties obedyent subject, wishing himself to be hanged, if he wolde conceale any evell thing that were mete be uttrid to her majestie, or to any of her mynisters, and with that mynde did he serve his lordship.

Afterwarde I spake with him, and to me did he reherse and conferme all this above wryten of him. Craving humbly pardon that he might not be compelled to go to the courte, consydering his awne causes above alledged. But nevertheles offrid, that if he shalbe commaundid herafter to repayre up, he will obey it.

This queene thinkith the tyme very long, untill she may heere some good answer to her honest and lyberall offres, made with a good harte to doo good, and so beseechith her highnes so to think of her, (such as her awn words). And the rather, because I did by direction from you put her in good comfort, to heere shortly of her majesties inclyning to her request for Naus comming up. And so I long as muche to be rid of this charge, wherof I trust that God and her majestie will delyver me shortly.

No. XL.

Secretary WALSINGHAM to Sir RAFE SADLER.

SIR,

I have receyved sythenne I last wrote unto you two sundrye lettres from you. The first gave her majestie good satisfaction, understanding by the same, the strength of the place, how well you are accom-

pagned with your owne men, and the assystaunce you may have at hande of the well affected gentlemen in thos partes uppon any doubt of wrong measure. Towching your latter letter, which I receyved this daye in this towne, I have not in respect of my absence from coorte acquaynted her majestie with the contents therof, whoe I knowe wyll well allow of your manner of proceeding.

To the end you may see what hath passed between Baldwyn and Curle; I sende you a coppye of Curle's letter, together with the cypher that passed between them. By the which yt appeareth, that Baldwyn is verry inwarde with them; and that they desyre greatly to knowe whether that queen shall be commytted to a newe keeper. Her majestie hath for sundrye wheyghtie causes sommoned her parliament ageynst the 23^d of the next moneth; but pryncypally for the dysablying of soche as pretending tittle to this crowne, shall seeke to dystorbe her present possessyon during her majesties lyfe; yt is meant yt shall not contynewe myche above twenty dayes. The only cawse of staye of her majesties not assentyng unto Naus repeyre hether, hath growen by the attending of the master of Grayes coming, whoe is daylye looked for. Her majestie would be lothe that Nau and he should have any dealynges together, eyther openly or under hande; for that he is a devoted servaunt of the Scot queen,* and in relygyon altogether addycted to poperye, and yet is he meant to be sent hether from the king her sonne, as an espetyl chosen instrumēt for the knyttynge up of somme strayter amytye betwene the queenes majestie and him. I am of opynion, that without that queenes assent, (whoe dothe altogether dyrect the king,) ther will be no howld taken of Scotland. And therfor I am (as I have ben always) perswaded, that ther should be somme tryall made of her offres, with sooche cautyon as she promysethe to give, wherwith I see no cawse but that her majestie should rest satysfied. The impediment growethe pryncipally thorowghe a iealowse conceypt,

* How extremely Walsingham was mistaken in this supposition, the after conduct of Gray made sufficiently manifest.

that eyther of the two prynces hathe of other, which I see will hardely be removed. As thinges shall fawle out, I wyll not fayle to advertyse you; and so in the meane tyme I commyt you to God. At London, the 17th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

I praye you, sir, I may be commended to Mr Sommer, whoe I knowe is wearre of ease. *

No. XLI.

Sir RALPH SADLER to WALSYNGHAM.

Oct. 20. 1584.

Copy.

SIR,

This queene being very desirous, seing she may not sende so sone as she wold, yet to wryte unto her majestie, for that the tyme, she sayeth, will not suffer her to stay any lenger, hathe required me to sende her lettres in suche sorte, as they may passe unsene of any untill they be safely delivered unto her majesties owne hands; and also she hathe now written a speciall lettre unto you, I thinke partely to that end, and another to the French ambassadour, which you shall do welle to loke into, if you so thinke good; for that it hath not ben opened here. And therefore I have thought good, at her earnest request, to make this present depeche unto you. She is marvelouslie greved with the countesse of Shrewesburie; † for the foule sclaunders of late raised

* Vide Curle's Letter, p. 402.

† Elizabeth Hardwicke, the "wicked and malicious wife," as he himself terms her, of George, earl of Shrewsbury. She was proud, furious, selfish, and unfeeling; sometimes herself intrigued with Mary, sometimes accused her husband to Elizabeth of doing so in every sense of the word.

upon her by the said countesse and som of hers, as she sayeth, which having touchid her so nere in honour and reputacion abrode, she saieth she can no longer susteyne, trusting that her majestie will suffer her to have iustice; and that the said countesse may be forced either to prove, or to denye that she hathe sayed and don in that behalf; so that this queene either may be clerid and her honour saved, or ells convinced and used according to her deserts. Many other things she sayeth she can and will charge the said countesse withall, which she will first disclose to her majestie onely, and afterwards will avowe the same in sorte, as it shall please her majestie to permitte her. This, as I perceyve by her speches utterid unto me in generall, without declaracion of any particular, is the principall cause of her writing to her majestie at this tyme.

Your lettres of the 17th of this present, I receyved the 19th of the same, together with the copie of Curle's letter to Baldwyn, and of the ciphre bytween them; upon consideracion wherof, it semeth unto me, that these words (Mr Somer, letters) conteynid in the saide ciphre, to signefie the caryer and the carriers man are not rightly taken; but that the same words should rather be, as I thinke, som names of som other of the erle's men mete for the purpose; the trewthe wherof, upon examynacion of the said Baldwyn, I thinke wolde easelie be founde out. Wherefore, it may please you to loke better upon the originall of the saide ciphre, and to let me understand whether I may conferre thereupon with this queene; and also with Curle, or otherwise as yow shall advise. Mr Somer, though he be very angrie with Curle, and so am I, as we have good cause, for that he hathe falsely belyed us both; yet I fynde Mr Somer, having a clere conscience, to be never a whitte troubled with the matier. In dede, his sinceryte is such, and so well knownen to all that well knowe him, that the sclaunderous reports of such false varletts as Curle ys, and Baldwyn, can not blemishe nor impaire his credite, wherof her majestie hath had good tryall by long experience. For myn owne part, I nede not to say much for his iustification in this matier; but in few words I will pledge my lyfe for him,

that he is a perfite, honest, faithfull, and good servaunt to her majestie, wherof he hath shewid a good profe and tryall by his former service, as you knowe by good experience. * Let Curle and Baldewyn be as they ar, pevish, lewde, and false felowes, and their words and dedes be reputed, estemed, and accompted of thereafter, for they will faile when honest men shall prevaile, *quia veritas liberabit*.

I wolde gladly know what other matier shall fall out uppon the examynacion and confession of the saide Baldewyn, who I lerne is a very subtile and lewde person, and I feare there be some other of the erle's men as ill as he, which I wolde fayn knowe. And yet for those which be here, both gentlemen and yemen, I assure you I fynd them so honest and duetifull in all outwarde shew, that I cannot accuse or suspecte any of them. But if they be otherwise inwardely, which I cannot see, then is it not mete that this lady should remayn in this place, nor in this garde; for in that case, if they be false, it can not lye in me to discharge and answer this charge according to my good will and duetie, though I be, and will be no lesse vigilant and carefull thereof then of myn owne lif. And therefore, if it be meant, that the erle shal be discharged of her custodie, the soner it be don the better it will be in my powr opynyon. This castell of Tutburye † might sone be put in a redynes to receyve her, if by warrant and commaundement of her majestie, order may be given to the shreif of the shire, where the lord Pagetts house ‡ is, to convey and bring all his housholde stuff, plate, and naprie, which is at hande, to Tutburie, and there to delyver the same by inventarye to such of her majesties officers as may be sent thither from thens, and appoynted to receyve the same to her majesties use, wherof I have thought good to put you in mynde; for that, if it be meant, as I say, that the erle shalbe discharged of her, then I thinke it not mete that she shoulde remayn in any of his houses, but that she shoulde be re-

* Somer was, and had long been, secretary to sir Ralph Sadler.

† Tutbury, or Stutesbury castle, was founded by a Norman warrior, Henry de Ferras.

‡ Lord Paget had fled to France on the discovery of Throgmorton's conspiracy. In compliance with what is here recommended, directions were given to the sheriff to transport the furniture from his seat of Beaudesert to the castle of Tutbury.

moved, and all his servaunts discharged as sone as may be conveyently. And as I have lerned syns my comming hether, the castle of Tutburye is a farre better and a more conveyent and safe place to garde her in then this is, and she may be sone removed thither, being within 14 myles of this house, whensoever order shalbe given to that ende, which I referre to be better considered where the resolucion and good expedicion therof doth rest. And so trusting that her majestie will remember her most gracious promise in respect of myn yeres, to release me of this charge, which I daylie expect; for that in dede myn olde and feble body is not able to indure the same; I ende with my most humble and hartie prayer to Almighty God, for her majestie most healthfully and prosperously to live and reigne the yeres of Nestor. God kepe you in helth, &c.

No. XLII.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM to Sir R. SADLER.

SIR,

This bearer I have examined; he confesse the somewhat more then is conteyned in the examynacion taken by the erle of Shrewsburie, which shewethe the unsoundnes of Lewies. Her majesties pleasure is, that you shoold geve order for the apprehensyon of a certeyn owlde man, that this bearer chargethe with conveyeing of lettres betwen Lewies and Tunsted. He dwellethe, as the sayd bearer informethe, not far from Tunstead. You may use this mans servyce in the apprehensyon of him, for that he knowethe the place of his abode. I have geven him thre pownde for his charges, and for that which hath ben layde owt by you employed uppon him, I wyll procure the repayment therrof at your retourne; and so in the mean tyme I commyt you to God. At the coorte, the 23^d of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XLIII.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM to Sir R. SADLER.

SIR,

Her majestie is now resolved touching Naue comming up hither; and to thend that under collour of comming, onely to deliver the queene his mistresse mynd unto hir majestie, he should not practise under hand with the ill-affected here. Hir pleasure is, that you shall send some well chosen and trusty man of your own with him, that may oversee his doings, and not permitt him to have any speach or conference with any in his way hitherwardes, as also during the tyme of his abode here to looke unto him, according to such direction as he shall receive at the time of his accesse to this court. And to thend, the sayd quene may not mislyke with this straight manner of dealing, to have hir servant passe under a kind of gard, hir pleasure is, that you should acquaint hir in what sort she is contented to permitt him to come hither; and withall to advise hir, that seing it pleaseth hir majestie to extend this extraordinary goodnes towardes hir, as to suffer a man of hers to have accesse unto hir, and freely to communicate such thinges as he shall receive in charge from hir; that she doe straightly command him that he have no dealing under hand, and that he doe very carefully observe such order and direction as hir majestie shall give for the usage and carriage of himselfe during the tyme of his being here; wherein if he shall fayle, as hir majestie shall have iust cause therby to deny any lyke favour in tyme to come. So, in case he shall carry himselfe to hir majesties lyking and contentment, she may therby be provoked to condescend hereafter to the lyke requests, and to extend towardes hir some more favour then heretofore she hath don.

Hir majestie is also pleasid, that you shall deale with Curle, and charge him with his indirect dealing, as appeareth by his late lettres

he wrott unto Baldwyn, under the name of Welbeck, and to require him to explaine such points of his lettres as are written in doubtfull termes. But for as much as it is lykely that he will refuse to make any aunswere to any such thing as you shall demaund of him, concerning the contents of the said lettre, the same being written not without his mistresse direction, and will alleage that he is none of hir majesties subiects, and that he is not otherwise to aunswere any thing that you shall demaund of him concerning the said lettre, then as he shalbe directed by the said queen. Hir majestie therfore doth thinke meet, that you should acquaint hir with his dealing underhand, (which because she cannot thinke but it hath proceeded from hir direction,) it might have given hir iust cause to have denyed hir request, touching the sending up of hir secretary; but that hir majestie considering hir earnest protestations that she hath made unto you since your repaire thither of the earnest and great desire she hath to be restored unto hir good opinion, and that the icalousy and distrust that heretofore she hath had of hir may be removed, hath put on a determination to make some tryall what effect these protestations will yeald. And thereuppon hir majestie thinketh you may take a very apt occasion to presse hir, by shewing of hir Curles lettres written to Baldwyn, to know what resolution she wold have taken in case hir majestie should have thought good to have removed hir out of the custody of the erle of Shrewsbury, and what cause she hath to thinke (in case hir majestie shall committ hir to the custody of some other) that she will not have as great care of hir safety and good usage in tyme to come, as heretofore she hath had, wherein it is thought meet you should presse hir in some kind sort to deale playnly with you in delivering unto you the cause why she should mislyke of anie such change as she doubteth. But touching this point of the lettre, hir majestie wold not have you in any case to deale with hir therein, untill such tyme as you have lett hir understand that hir majestie doth yeald to the repaire up of hir secretary; for that hir highnes conceaveth otherwise, that the knowledge of the intercepting of this lettre will put hir so farre foorth out of tune, as she

will not be easily drawn to deale playnly, touching the contents of the said lettre, and to deliver a true exposition of the text.

Hir majestie wold have you in some pleasaunt sort to lett hir understand, that both she and hir majestie are little beholding to Curle, by abasing them so farre forth as to bring them within the tytle of marchants, and especially the basest sort, that have to do with pedlars as retaylers.

It is also thought meet by hir majestie, that in the examining of Curle you should ask him what other lettres he hath written to Baldwyn, and what lettres he hath receaved from him; wherein if he shall not deale playnly, then hir majestie wold have you to move the quene his mistresse to require him to acquaint you with the whole coorse of proceeding that hath passed between them, wherin you are to lett hir understand, that if she shall deale plainly, hir majestie shall have iust cause to thinke well of such protestations, as she hath lately made of hir earnest desire of hir favour; whereas, on the other side, in case she shall shew to have more care to couver Baldwyns errors than to satisfy hir majestie, then shall she therby give hir majestie iust occasion to continew that ielousy and distrust that she seameth now greatly to desire to be removed.

Thus, sir, I have lett you understand hir majesties disposition, touching the manner of proceeding with that lady, which notwithstanding she referreth to your own great iudgement and discretion, to be ordered in such sort as by you shalbe thought best. And so I leave further to trouble you. From Hampton court, the 28th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Thes letters had ben with you thre dayes soner, but that I stayed for the sygnyng of her majesties letter dyrected unto you. I pray you returne the cypher enclosed, and Curles lettres to Baldwyn, for that these are the originals.

No. XLIV.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM to Sir R. SADLER.

SIR,

It seameth, both by a letter written by yourselfe and Mr Sommers, that you should stand in some doubt, that the view of Curle's letter should minister some cause of iealousy of some extraordinary favour extended by you to the quene your charge, which I doe assure you is nothing so. It were a very hard usage and an ill requittall of the fidelity of you both, (confirmed by so long experience of sound service,) in case uppon so weake a ground there should be so much as any little conceipt had by any here so greatly to your disadvantage. For the wordes in the lettre that may seame any way to concern you, agreeth with the direction receaved from hir majestie; which was, that you should safely send and deliver from tyme to tyme such lettres as were to be conveyed hither unto me, which being interpreted as a favour, is no other then was meant by her majestie. And therfore, sir, I hope that as it can not trouble you in respect of your innocency, so lett it not minister unto you any cause to thinke that you are so ill frended here, or so ill thought of, as anie such misconceipt should be had of you.

I have not of late been unmindfull to put hir majestie in mynd of hir promise made unto you, that you should not long be continewed in that charge. I have acquainted hir uppon the report of Mr Henry Sadler, with the coldnes of that cuntry, and of the fowlnes thereof by situation, wherby you are debarred of your wonted exercise, which hath been the chief and principall preservation of your health, which being accompanied with an extraordinary care in respect of the charge now committed unto you, cannot but shorten your dayes. Hir majestie thereuppon groweth to some resolution to take present order for your

relief, for which purpose I have receaved order to send for the lord St John, * to whom hir majestie meaneth to committe the charge of that lady. It is also meant, that direction shalbe given to the sheriffe of Staffordshire, who is presently at London, for the removing of the lord Pagit's stuffe to Tutbury. There shalbe also some body appointed for the making of the provisions of wyne and beare, wherein if we goe not so speedely forward as you looke for, I pray you remember that there is nothing so rare here as resolution, wherewith if you were not acquainted you might condemne your frendes of unmindfulnes and lacke of care of you; and so I byd you hartely farewell. From Hampton court, the 28th of October 1584.

Your assured loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XLV.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM to Sir R. SADLER.

SIR,

I had forgotten in my other lettres to signefy unto you, that the lords and others of hir majesties privy councell being given to understand sundry wayes how some wicked and ungodly plottes should be devised and layd, for the attempting and putting in execution some devilish practise to the perill of her majesties person, (whom the Lord long preserve,) uppon an opinion conceived, that no revenge wilbe taken thereof; have therefore, for the prevention of such ungodly and devilish purposes, considered how convenient it were to be knowen, how ready all good subiects are and ought to be to labour to withstand the same. And thereuppon, uppon a common consent among themselves, have devised a certain instrument of association for the preservation of

* John, second lord St John of Bletsho. He contrived to get himself excused from so delicate an office.

hir majesties person, whereunto they have sett to their handes and seales, and taken a corporall oth uppon the holly Evangelysts, for the due observation of the contents of the same. The knowledge thereof being come abroad to the knowledge of divers good and well affected subiects, as the judges of the realme and the city of London and other gentlemen of divers countyes, they became humble sutors to their lordships, that they might be permitted in their severall charges and professions to subscribe and sett their seales to lyke instruments, which duetifull motion of theirs being by their lordships allowed of; there were by their order copyes thereof delivered unto them, as it is lyke-wise meant that any that shall voluntarily seake the same, shall also have copyes of the said instrument; whereof I have for your better understanding of the particular contents thereof send you one, and so byd you hartely farewell. From Hampton court, the 31st of October 1584.

Your assured loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Hir majestie could lyke well that this association were shewed unto the quene, your charge, uppon some apt occasyon, and that ther were some good regarde had bothe to her countenance and speeche after the parusyng thereof.* The two inclosed packets from the Frenche ambassadour I have not perused, referring the same to Mr Sommers, whoe for the present hathe more leysure then myselve. The Mr of Graye† is arryved at Kyngeston; when he hath opened his packe I wyll then let you understand what stoofe he bryngethe.

* This memorable association queen Mary justly regarded as her death-blow, at least the avowed exclusion of all her hopes of succession to the English crown.

† This faithless ambassador was soon gained by queen Elizabeth's bribes and promises to act as a spy on the Scottish queen, to sow division between her son and her, and finally to connive at the murder, against which he had his sovereign's orders to remonstrate.

No. XLVI.

*Association of the Nobilitie, &c. of England.**Oct. 1584.*

Forasmuch as Almighty God hath ordained kinges, queenes, and prynces, to have domynion and rule over all their subiects, and to preserve them in the profession and observation of the true Christian religion, according to his hollie wourde and commandements; and in like sorte, that all subiects should love, feare, and obey their souveraine prynces being kinges or queenes, and to the uttermost of their powers at all tymes, to withstande, pursue, and suppress all manner of persons that shall by anie meanes intende and attempte anie thing dangerous or hurtfull to the honors, estates, or persons of their souveraignes: Therefore we, whose names ar or shalbe subscribed to this writinge, being naturall borne subiects of this realme of Englande, and having so gracious a ladie or souverayne Elizabeth, by the ordynance of God, our most rightfull queene, rayninge over us these manie yeares with great felicitie to our inestimable comforte; and fynding of late, by dyvers depositions, confessions, and sundrie advertisementes out of forraine partes, from credible persons well knowen to her majesties counsell, and to dyvers others, that for the furtherance and advancement of some pretended tytles to the crowne of this realme, it hath ben manifest, that the lief of our gracious souverayne ladie queene Elizabeth hath ben most traiterouslie and develishlie sought, and the same followed most dangerouslie to the perill of her person, if Almighty God, her perpetual defender, of his mercie had not revealed and withstood the same, by whose life, we, and all other her majesties loyall and true subiects, do enjoye an inestimable benefitt of peace in this lande, doe for the reasons and causes before alleaged, not onlie ac-

knowledge ourselves most iustlie bound with our boddie, lyves, landes, and goodes in her defence, and for her safetie to withstande, pursue, and suppress all such mischevous persons, and all other her enemies of what nation, condition, or degree soever they shalbe, or by what coullor or tytle they shall pretend to be her enemies, or to attempte anie harme unto her person ; but we doe also thinke it our most bounden dueties, for the greate benefites of peace, wealthe, and godlie governe-mente, which we have more plentifully receaved these manie yeares, under her majesties govournemente then our forefathers have donne in anie longer tyme of anie other her progenitors, kinges of this realme, to declare, and by this writinge make manifest our loyall and bounden dueties to our said souveraine ladie for her safetie. And to that end we, and everie of us, first callinge to witnesse the hollie name of Almightye God, do voluntarelie and most willinglie bind ourselves, everie one of us to the other, ioyntly and severallie in the bonde of one firme and loyall societie. And do hereby vowe and promise, before the majestie of Almightye God, that with our whole powers, boddies, lyves, landes, and goodes, and with our children and servaunts, we, and everie of us, will faythfullie serve and humblie obey our sayd souveraigne ladie queene Elizabeth, against all estates, dignities, and earthlie powers whatsoever, and will, as well with our joynt as particular forces duringe our lyves, withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by force of armes, as all other meanes of revenge, all manner of persons of what estate soever they shalbe, and their abettors, that shall attempte by anie arte, counsell, or consente to anie thinge that shall tend to the harme of her majesties royall person. And we shall never desist from all manner of forcible pursuite against such persons, to the uttermost extermynation of them, their comforters, ayders, and abettors. And if any such wicked attempte against her most royall person shalbe taken in hand or procured, whereby anie that have, maie, or shall pretend tytle to come to this crowne, by the untymelie death of her majestie so wickedlie procured, (which God for his mercies sake forbydde,) maie be advanced ; we do not onlie vowe and bynde our selves, both ioyntlie and severallie, never to allowe, ac-

cepte, or favour, any such pretended successor, by whom, or for whome, anie such detestable acte shalbe attempted or commytted, or anie that maie anie waie clayme by or from such person or pretended successor as is afore said, by whom, or for whome, such an acte shalbe attempted or comytted as unworthie of all government in any Christian realme or cyvil societie; but doe also further vowe and protest, as we are most bownden, and that in the presence of the eternall and everlyvinge God, to persecute such person or persons to the deathe with our joynt or particuler forces; and to take the uttermost revenge on them that by anie possible meanes we or anie of us can devise, and do or cause to be devised or donne for their utter overthrowe and extirpation. And to the better corroboration of this, our loyall bonde and association, we do also testifie by this writinge, that we do confirme the contentes hereof by our oathes corporallie taken upon the hollie Evangelistes, with this expresse condition, that noe one of us shall, for anie respecte of persons, or causes, or for feare or rewarde, seporate ourselves from this association, or faile in the prosecution thereof duringe our lyves, uppon payne to be by the rest of us prosecuted and suppressed as periured persons and as publicque enemies to God, our quene, and our natyve contrie; to which punishment and paines we do voluntarelie submitt ourselves, and everie of us, without benefitt of anie exception to be hereafter challenged by anie of us, by anie coullor or pretext. In witnesse of all which premisses to be inviolablie kepte, we do to this writinge put to our handes and seales, and shalbe most readie to accept and admitt anie others hereafter to this our societie and association.

No. XLVII.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM to Sir R. SADLER.

SIR,

Her majestie woold be glad, that the present resolutyon of the Scottish quene remove shoold be kept as secreatly as may be, untill Naues * arryvall here. And therefore some dexterytye is to be used, bothe in prepanyng of the howse, as also in the inquyerye that is to be made towching the poyntes wherin her majestie desyerethe your resolutyon, which I refer to your good iudgment and dyscretyon. I suppose the first provysyon of beere is to be made in some of the erles howses next adioyning to Tutberry. Yf her majestie hathe not woods of her owne abowt the seyde house, the provysyon of wood and coles wyll be verry chargeable. And so for the present I commyt you to God. In haste, the thirde of November, 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XLVIII.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM to Sir R. SADLER.

SIR,

The quenes majestie is now growen to a full determination for the remove of the Scottish queen, which is meant shalbe performed abowt the 23 or 29 of this month; at what tyme the lord St John, to whom

* Naue, queen Mary's secretary, had in vain offered to Elizabeth terms, implying more entire resignation to her will, than his mistress had yet been brought to submit to.

the charge of hir shalbe committed, shalbe sent down, accompanied with some gentilmen of good countenaunce to assist him in that charge. In the mean tyme, the erle of Shrewsbury hath promised to see the said quene, yourselfe, and trayn that attend there, furnished with all necessaryes. You shall doe well, in the mean tyme, to give present order for the putting of Tutbury in a readines, and that there may be some provision made of wood and cole. It is meant, that there shalbe sent from hence out of hand, one of the officers of the howshold with money, and certain purveyors to attend him in this service, as also one of the wardrobe to see the howse dressed up, and to receave such stuffe as shall be sent by the sheriffe of Staffordshire thither. In the mean tyme, I have thought good to send you a note of such points as hir majestie doth desire to be resolved in, wherein she desireth expedition.

By my last, I forgot to lett you understand, that hir majesties pleasure is, that you shall take such order with Edward Toky, * lately apprehended, either in the retayning of him, or releasing of him, as by you shalbe thought meet.

The master of Gray had audience upon Sunday last. He propounded no particular matter, but proceeded altogether in generallities; in shewing how greatly the king his master desired hir majesties frendshippe before all other princes. As he is yong in yeares, so is he in iudgement, and therefore not best chosen to deale in great matters. It is thought that the king standeth now better affected towards him then to any other man in Scotland. I leave to you to iudge what frutes will follow of that government, that is guided by a yong king, and by yong counsell.

I wold be glad to understand aforehand when Nau doth sett forth, to thend I may prepare for his lodging, and give order for his usage otherwise at the tyme of his repaire hither. And so I leave you for this tyme. From Hamptoncourt, the 3 of November, 1584.

Your assured loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

* See his examination, pp. 347, 348.

No. XLIX.

A Note of certayn Points to be resolved by Sir RAFE SADLER.

5 Nov. 1584, at Wingfeld.

1. What nombre of persons will suffice to garde the Scottish queene at Tutbury?

1. There ar at Wingfeld, at this present, of my lords servaunts, gentilmen, yeomen, and officers, about 120, and of sir Rafe Sadlers about 50, and soldyours 40, together 210. Although Tutbury house be much larger then this, yet I think that 150 men will suffice to gard her there, and not under, for 15 or 16 must watch ther nightly; and if there be feuer, their turnes to watch wold come to oft about.

2. Whether it shalbe necessary to have any soldyors for the garding of hir, or whether the ordinary servants of the noblemen that shall have the custody of hir, may not suffice, without any further charge to her majestie?

2. I think it necessary, that of the said 150 men, 40 or 50 of them at least must be soldyours.

3. If it shall be thought meet to have soldyors, then how many, and whether it were better for the ease of hir majesties charges, to gyve them the ordinary wages of 8^d a day, or meat and drinke, with some allowance of wages?

3. The first part is answered before; and for the seconde part, I think it better for easing of her majesties charge, to gyve them meat and drink, and some allowance of wages.

4. Whether the said soldyors may be lodged all within the castell?

5. What number of horses were fit to be kept by the noblemen that shall have the garde of her?

6. Whether the said quene hath any horses of hir owne to serve for hir coche and her gentilmen that attend on hir, and at whose charge they ar kept now?

7. What nombre of persons the said quene hath attending on her?

8. What nombre of chambers shalbe thought meete to be furnished for the said quene?

9. What stufte she hath of her awne, and how much remaynith serviceable of that which was sent unto her from her majestie, whereof I send you a note, and how much were necessary to be supplied?

4. There is roome inough, as I heare, so as there be beds provyded.

5. I think 40 or 50.

6. She hath 4 good coche horses of her awne, and her gentilmen have 6; whereof the 4 coche horses are kept at my lords charge.

7. 48, viz. herself; 5 gentilmen, 14 servitours, 3 cooks, 4 boyes, 3 gentilmens men, 6 gentil women, 2 wyves, 10 wenches and children.

8. She hathe heere for her self 2, and for her maydes 3, besydes 2 for 2 women that have their husbands heere, and 8 for her gentilmen officers and meane servants; in all 15.—Note, That the 2 secretaryes, master of her houshold, her physician, and De Prean, have severall chambres, and so have always had.

9. She hath no stuff of her awn, neyther hangings, bedding, plate, napery, kychin vessell, nor any thing else, but occupyeth all of my lords; and what is to be supplied, I cannot iudge, not knowing what shall be brought from Staffordshire; and as for the quenes majesties stuff which was sent unto

this quene, it is told me that there is in a manner nothinge of it ser-vyceable, saving the hangings and a chayre or two, but is worne and spent; besydes much of the erles stuff that is also wasted and worne, as his officers saye.

10. What the quene of Scots ordinary dyet is, both fishe dayes and fleshe dayes?

10. About 16 dyshes at both courses, dressed after there awne manner. Sometymes more or lesse, as the provision servithe.

11. How many messes besyds her awn dyet ar served to the rest of her trayne; and in what sort the said messes ar furnished, both fish dayes and flesh dayes?

11. The 2 secretaries, master of her houshold, the physicion, and De Prean, have a messe of 7 or 8 dishes, and do dyne alwayes before the quene, and there awne servants have there reversion; and the rest of her folk dyne with the reversion of her meat. Also her gentlewomen and the 2 wyves, and other mayds and children, being 16, have two messes of meate of 9 dyshes at both courses for the better sort, and 5 dishes for the meaner sort.

12. How the messes be furnished?

12. That is answered next before.

13. At what rates and prises vittells may be provyded in those parts, as also provision of horsemeat?

13. Wheat is at about 20s. a quarter; malt about 16s. a quarter; bief, a good ox, L. 4; muttuns a score, L. 7; veal and other meates reasonable good charge, about 8s.; hay about 13s. 4d. a

- lode; otes the quarter, 8s.; pease the quarter, about 12s.
14. What stable roome there is at Tutbury castell? 14. Within the base court of the castell there is, as I here, for about 40 horses; and in the towne hard-by, good rome enough.
15. By what tyme the house may be put in a readines? 15. I do not heere but that the house is in reasonable good repayracions, saving glasing and some other small things, which shall be don out of hand; and for the tyme of readyness, that restith upon the tyme of bringing the stuff and provisions thither.
16. In what place neere Tutbury beere may be provyded? 16. At Burton, 3 myles off; and if Mr Henry Candishe brewhouse in Tutbery may be borrowed, sufficient quantite of beere may be brued there, and so the contrey much eased in caryage, besyds the readiness. Heere is to be considered to have provision made of sufficient plate, napry, and kyching stuff, and all other implements of housholde, as for the buttry, pantry, chambres, &c.
17. What proportion of wyne is spent by the said queene and her trayne yerely? 17. About 10 ton a yere.
18. As toching wood and cole, mentioned in your lettre; the quenes majestie hath woods, good store, harde ioyning to Tutbury, whereof cole may be made. As for sea cole, which is much used in this contrey, and compted their best feuell, there ys none neerer than 6 miles from

Tutbery, and order is already this day sent to make ready wood and cole there.

No. L.

Sir RALPH SADLER to Mr Secretary.

6 November.

Copy.

SIR,

According to the queenes majesties commandment, by her lettre of the last of Octobre, which, with yours, I receavid the thurde of this present, I imparted to this queene her majesties assent, that her secretary Nau shall repayre to her highnes, and other points of that lettre, according to her majesties direction. This quene accepted that her highnes favour, with very harty thanks, and earnest words of her sincere meaning towards her highnes as might be spoken, and shewed great grief of mynde, that by reason of a distillacion fallen into her right arme, which also possessid that hande, and for the which she had kept her bed then iij dayes, and lytle mended, she cowlde not wryte that which she had promysed with her awne hande so sone as her hart wished, but wold make her stay her man ij or three dayes the longer in hope of more strength; which happening not, she wolde cause Nau to wryte it, and wolde subscribe it, and so sone as by health and strengthe she coulde, she wolde confirme the whole with her awne hande. In deede I found her in that state which she spared not to shew, besyds the distillacion into her left legge and foote. Also, according to your direction, I prayd her to charge Nau to cary himself in such even sort as by any indirect dealing he might not procure her majesties mislyking, but by intending only the matter of his charge, he shulde mak good his mistres earnest protestacions and further as you wrote. She promysed faithfully that she wold not fayle to gyve him such charge.

He hath ben also particularly dealt withal in that point; so as, I trust, he will remember the danger that may ensew of the contrary. Nau thinking to depart hence vpon Monday or Teusday next, and traueling vpon his own horses, and some hyred, in all vi or 7, thinking to be at London about Friday or Saterdag following, I haue appointed John Dauet to go vp with him for the cause you wrote, and will direct Dauet to some inne in Brutes-street; and vnlesse he fynde there other direction from you the next day to Kyngstone, there to stay in some in, untill you shalbe therof advertised, or be otherwise directed. But vpon the certeyne day of his departure, I meane to aduertise you therof by post.

As toching Curle and that pevishe dealing, like himself, he hath ben delt withall in apart and before the quene his mistres, about the lettre and cipher so vaynly sent to Baldwyn, and both sheued and read with good leasure. But, for any thing that can be sayed, or friendly threats, with extraordinary speeches, he standith to the denyall, to be none of his doing. And as to herself, she sueareth by her troth she knew nothing of it, saying, that she comandid, that if her majestie did deale therin with Nau, he should satisfy her highnes so farre as he knoweth. But Curle, being charged with his knowledge and consent to it, though not of his doing, he ansuerede but fayntly to that, saying, that if it had ben don with her knowledge, he culd not be blamed, for it conteyneth nothing that may be construed in evell part; conteyning no mater against her majestie or her state, or practise for the queen his mistres. And as to these words, "for accordingly I have to provyde in tyme to prevent what therof may fall out," he sayth he can make no evell exposition of them; for that the party might meane he wolde seke to be in the hands of such as he might not suspect of evell devotion towards him. So as heere is nothing to be gotten, seing they all ar ashamed to confesse it, but yet you may see hou neere he is drawne to it. Then did I demande the quene in mery sort, what she meant to be so curious to know of her remoue, because it was so mentioned in that lettre, praying her to deale playnly with me, what she

wolde do if any remoue of change happened. She answered agayn, that as concerning that lettre, she knew nothing; but touching her doubt of remoue, she said she wolde be loth to be in the custody of some: but wayed not the departure from my lord of Shrewsbury's custody, so as she might be in safety in an honorable place, vnder the custody of some honourable person, who, by his meanes and credit, might be able to defende her against all harmes, and that wolde make accompt of her to the quenes majestie her good sister; of whose good favor towards her she said she neuer doubted, but was assured of her for her part. I did assure her for ansuer for the place and person such as she desyred, and persuaded her as much as I coude, to renunce from her mynd all such vayn suspicions which did hunte her. And so I left her, being much payned with her prest, and weakened for lak of sleepe and by abstynence, and yet somewhat releved therof, and in hart much comforted, through this her majesties fauour towards her. I haue yet forboren to shew her the association of the noblemen vntill she be in better strengthe.

The vth of this present I receaued others from you of the 5^d, shewing her majesties resolution to haue this queen remoued to Tutbury on the xx or 22 of this month, and her highnes pleasure to sende my Lord St John thither about that tyme, and another gentleman of good countenance, to assist him in that charge, signifyeng also, that my Lord of Shrewsbury hath, by her majesties ordre, assented to furnishe all things here yet xx dayes longer; directing me also to gyue present ordre to put Tutbury in a readines; and also certeyn maters toching that seruice, whervnto her majestie wolde be answered from hence. To the first, as very welcome to me, I am most hartely glad, and do thank her majestie that it hath pleased her to take such a resolution as I trust now will shortly and joyfully bring me to her ma^{ties} presence. For the provisions here, Mr Stringer, my lords steward here, hath signified so moche to me, which shalbe perfourmid, saving for horsmeat, which can not be furnished so long; for some must be reserved against

my lords retorne. And therefore I must be fayne to make all provision for my horses, saving for vi or viii, to remayne at my lords charge.

I haue sent this day a discreet and skilfull person of myne to Tutbury, to joyne with Mr Agarde there, to take order for the glasing, and such other things to bee amended there as the tyme of the yeir and shortnes of the tyme will suffer, and ar necessary to be done. And as to the said maters, vpon conference with my lords officers, I haue set down seuerall ansuers to them all, so far furthe as I am able to doo for the tyme.

Toching Edward Toky ; by this tyme you haue seen, by lettres which I sent to you, ii dayes now past, that he hath ben besyds himself, and of that humour remaynith he yet in som sort, bot not very easy to be decernid but by vse and muche questyon with him. And therefore, vpon your lettre, leaving the stay or release to my considera-cioun, I meane to pray Mr Shirif to delyuer him, and to take order that he be conveyd from one offycer to another, tyll he be delyvered to his father, to be ordered as he knoweth by experience to be meete.

Vpon your lettres broght to me by Danyell Loggen, I sent for the party, who he said was a conveyer of lettres betwene Leues, my lord of Shrewsbury's man, and Tunsted, and was broght to me vpon Thursday last, by Mr John Wamers meanes, who took the paynes and care ther-of. By his examinations herwith sent, you shall see that he denyeth all ; which, to confirme, he was ready to take an othe, vpon the Byble being offred him. But because I doubted of his dessembling, I wolde not suffre him to take his othe. My doubt grew for that he denyed to haue at any tyme seen Loggyn, or ben yn his companye, who, neuertheles, rehearsed sundrie particularities of their being together at Robert Tunsteds house, and drynking together at Sheffield, all within this twelvemoneths. Heervpon I committed him to Mr Shirifs custody vntill he shall heare further from me. Wherin it may please you I may vnderstande what I shall do farther.

This Q. saythe she knoweth not the Mr of Gray, nor of what state

or credit he is in Scotland; that she was very yong when she came out of that cuntrey.

This afternone, vnderstanding that the Q. was somewhat better of her arme and hande, but yit kept her bed, I thought good sende Mr Somer vnto her, to know of the tyme that Nau might be ready to depart hence. She answered as I haue wryten, that she trustyth Teusday shuld be the furthest, and her hand waxed strong to write to her majestie the things she had promised. And wheras Nau had moved that he might go by Londen, Mr Somer thought good to advise her to commande Nau not to pass that way, least the French ambassador might mislyke that he saw him not, and to avoyde the ambassadors evell opynion therin advised with this queen, that Nau shulde lodge a few myles short of Londen, and then ryde streght to Kingstone, without entring into Londen vntill he had ben with her majestie. She lyked very well therof, and said she wold so direct him. Herof you shall be further certyfyed, at the tyme of his departure hence. Then Mr Somer did by my appointment, according to your direction, make her acquainted with the association of the noblemen. She gaue good eare to it, and sayde it might be drawne to meane her by many of the words therof, as *some pretended titles to the crowne, by what color or title they shall pretend to be her majesties enemys*, and such lyke wher these words ar rehearsed, sayeng, that some evell person may quarrell with her vpon suche wordes to be her majesties enemy, and so do her displeasure. It was answerid, that she fynding herself cleere, and not meaning any such attempt, nor to make open shew of such pretence, neede not mistrust her majesties care of her, wherof she hath good proof, for the words wer generall, and did restrayn others that wolde perhaps be as busye as she that way, if they wer not thus restrayned. Therefore, vpon some discovered lewde ententyons and practises, this was voluntarily sought and dyvysed by the nobilitie in this dangerous tymes, to meete withall such indifferently and generally. And when it came to these words, *all maner of persons, &c. and ther abettors, that shall attempt, by any art, counsell, or consent, to do any thing that shall tend to*

the harme of her majesties royall person, she sware that she lyked it so well, as she wolde with all her heart, being assured of her majesties fauor, subscribe to that point, and wold stande as fast by her majestie, and serve her in as good stead as any subject her highnes hath in England, by healing to suppress both books and any other things that might be practised abroad against her, if any wer; which she spake with great earnestness, and said she wold specially instruct her secretary to holde purpose therof to her majestie.

I haue thought good to remember vnto you, that at my last coming to Sheffield to tak this charge in thabsence of the E. of Shrewsbury, which I signified by speche onely to this Q., and for her better satisfaction, was fayne to shew her majesties lettre writen to his lordship, and an other to me to that ende. She thoght much, that vpon suche change of garde and place, it did not then please her majestie to let her know so much by some writing to herself. And therfoore, now that his lordship is to depart quyte from the custody of her, and she to be under the charge of others, and to be removid to an other place, before such tyme as she shalbe removid to Tutbery, if it please the Q. majestie, by her majesties owne lettres, though not written with her majesties owne hand, but signed with her highnes sign manuel, to signifie vnto her som cause of her removing, and to whose custodye she shall be commytted, wherof surely she is very jealous, surely she wold take it very kyndely and most thankfully, and we should fynde her the more willing and conformeable to remove; otherwise I feare we shall have more ado with her then I wolde wishe, to induce her willingly to remove, vntill she may vnderstonde her majesties pleasure by her highnes owne lettres, which I referre to her majesties good consideracion.

No. LI.

*Copy of a Lettre to the Sherife of Staffordshire, from my L. Thesaurer,
Mr Secretary, &c.*

After our, &c. Hir majesties pleasure is, that according to such direction as shalbe sent vnto you from Sir Rafe Sadler, you shall see conveyed to Tutbery castle so much of the L. Pagets howshold stuffe committed to your custodye, as he shall signefy vnto you to be needfull for the furnishing of the said castle; where you shall find certain persons ready to receaue the same at your handes, sent specially from hence for the purpose, as one of her majesties wardrob, for such percels as belong to his charge, and one Bryan Cave, gent. one of the cofferers clarkes, for such other implements of howshold as the said Sir Rafe Sadler shall thinke needful to be employed there, who shall deliuer vnto you by byll indented, a sufficient discharge for so much as shall come into their seuerall charges. And for the more speedy conveyance of the sayd stuffe, we have prayd Sir Rafe Sadler to send vnto you his commission which he hath vnder hir majesties hand, to take vp so many caryages as you shall need. And so referring you to his further direction, which you are in all points concerning this seruice to obey, we byd you farewell. From London, the 7th of Nov. 1584.

No. LII.

*From the Lord Thesaurer, Mr Secretary, and Mr MILDMAY,
to Sir RAFF SADLER.*

After our harty commendations. This bearer, Bryan Cave, gent. one of the coferers clarkes, is sent down, by order from hir majestie, to

make such prouisions at Tutbury castle as shall be by you vppon conference thought meet to be made, both for the dyets of the Scots queen and the nobleman that shall haue the custodye of hir. For which purpose there is deliuered unto him five hundred poundes by way of imprest, to be employed that way, as also a commission to take vp the said prouisions at reasonable prices. It is also thought meet to send down with him one of her majesties wardrob to prepare the house, and to take into his charge both the wardrob stuffe of hir majestie which is there already, and such other as by you shalbe thought meet to be used of the L. Pagets, being in the charge of the sherife of Staffordshire, whereof you shall also herewith receaue an inventory; and vpon the receipt thereof, we haue ordered that he shall deliver vnto the sherife a discharge for the same; for which purpose, the enclosed lettre is directed to the said sherife, to signefy vnto him hir majesties pleasure for the deliury, as well of the wardrob stuffe vnto hir majesties said servant of the wardrob, as of all other necessary implements of howshold that you shall thinke needful to be vsed, vnto the said Cave, gent., who shall give him a discharge for so much as he shall receave, by byll indented. And for that it is conceaved, that for the conveying thereof from the L. Pagets howse vnto Tutbury, the sheriffe shall need some healp of the cuntry for carryages, it is thought meet that your commission which you have vnder hir majesties hand, should be sent vnto him to serve his turn for the tyme that he shall need it. And so we byd you hartely farewell. From London, the 7 of November, 1584. Your very loving frendes,

W. BURGHLEY.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

WA. MILDMAY.

No. LIII.

Sir FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM, to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

Your lettres of the viith of this present I have receaved, though not yet communicated the contents therof to her m^y. And where, by my former, I did put you in hope that the L. St John would be there with youe by the xxth or xxiii^d of this moneth, yt falleth out nowe that he cannot be there so soone, for that it wilbe the nynetenth or twentethe ere he come to the courte, being but verye latelie come out of his dyet; wherof I haue geuen knowledge to my lord of Shrewsbury, to thend he may geue order for thenlarging of his provisions accordingly.' This day there setteth forth from London one Cave, a gentleman belonging to the coferrer here, as his clerk, to make prouisions in thes parts for the howshold and garrison that is to attend vppon the queene. I thinke it were well at his cominge to youe, that there weare an estimat set down of the chardges that the allowaunce will arrise vnto by the moneth and by the yere. Thus much I haue thought good to make you acquainted withall, vntill I haue impartid the contents of your lettres to her majesty, at which tyme you shall heare further from me. For forren newes, we vnderstand that bothe the kynges of Fraunce and Spayne haue of late ben very sicke, and, as it is thought, in some danger; the first of an impostume, that is broken out at his eare, and thother of a burning ague. And thus, having nothing ells to imparte vnto you at the present, I commit you to God. At Nonesuche, the xth of November, 1584. Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Indorsed: From Mr Secretary.

R. 13. p. post.---Toching my L. St Johns coming; a longer supply at Wingfeld.

No. LIV.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

I have impartid vnto hir majesty the contents of your lettres of the viith of this present, who doth verie well like of the manner of your proceeding with the queene, your charge, as also of her aunswers, especially those that concerne the matter of the assocyatioun, wherein Mr Sommer dealt with her, and is nowe vere desyrous to understand thos things that Nau is further to delyver vnto her.

Your postills to the points wherein I desyrid your resolucioun, I have not yet made her majesty acquaintid with all, but only shewed them to my L. Thesaurer, who is of opinion, in that point concerning the number fitt to be appointed for the said queenes garde, that fortye men addid to the trayne of the nobleman, which is to consist of as many more, wilbe sufficient for that turne, in a place of so good strength as the castell of Tutburye is.

We did consider whether it weare best to vitall the souldiours, or to allowe them their whole pay of eight pence by the daye, and haue found yt more conveyent for the ease of the cuntrie, and avoyding the trouble of dressing of meate, to allowe them their wages in monye, no great oddes appearing besides betwin thes two kyndes of allowances. And therefore it will be well, that Cave, at his coming to you, do set downe an estimat of the monethly and yerely chardges for a portioun for forty of the noblemans trayne, and so manye more as are to be addid to that number that attend vppon the queene. The ward-robbe man that I promised to send vnto you to receaue the stuffe, is fallen sicke, and there is not any other now that is fitt for that purpos; therefore you shall do well to appoint some apt seruaunt of your

owne to serue that turne. And so I commit you to God. At London, the xith of November, 1584. Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. LV.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

Thorder for the remouing of the Scotishe queene being referrid over to the consideracioun of the L. Thesaurer, the earle of Leycester, and meselfe, theis points following haue ben therein concludid:

That she should be remouid at the tyme by you mencionid, yf the same might convenientlye be done, the howse being put in a readines for that purpos. There is order taken for the sending downe of plate, sheetes, and naperye, for the furniture of the howse; and because thos things cannot well be sent downe before the tyme of the remoue, the earle of Shrewsbury shalbe mouid to furnishe the plate in the mean tyme, which yt is thought his L. will willinglie doe, to thend he may be the more speedily easid of the chardge he is presently at. And for the furniture of lynnen, you are to imploy your credit with the gentlemen in that countrie, and her m^{ties} tennaunts. And there wilbe order taken the same shalbe sent down by thend of this moneth, so as yt is hopid they will make the lesser difficulty to supply the want, by the loane of their owne for so short a tyme. It is thought meete, for the better garde of the queene, that youe should leaue forty souldiors amongst her m^{ties} tennaunts there, by virtue of your commission, which number is thought sufficient to serue that turne, considering the strength of the house; th' increace wherof, notwithstanding, is referrid to your discrecioun. And that yt shall suffice that six doe watche nightlye, some two of your servaunts being appointid to ouerlooke them; wherein youe are also to vse your discretioun as you shall see

cause. For thinterteynment of the said souldiors, yt is left to your owne consideratioun to allowe them wages, or meate and drinke, with some portioun of monye; wherein yt is thought there wilbe more trouble then in geving of them wages, in respect of the dressing of their meate, and the pestring of the howse; for the ease wherof, yt is also thought meete, (yf by yourself yt shall be so found conveyent) that the said souldiors (saving the number appointid to watche) shalbe lodgid in the towne; and for th' easing of her majesties chardges, and the pestering also of the howse, yt is thought meete you should move the Mr of the queenes howshold to take order for the disposing elsewhere of the ten children, wherof there is mencion made in the postills sent by youe. Towching the cocheman of whom you write; for that he is discouered to haue ben a caryer of lettres, and otherwyes vn-sound, yt is orderid that annother shalbe sent downe from hence to supplye his place. For the fynding of her cochehorses, yt is thought meet the Mr of her howshold should be mouid to take order therein. And yt is agreed, that a lettre shalbe out of hande sent downe to the said queene from her m^{ty}, to acquaint her with the remove, and the cause thereof. It is well allowid, that youe should require th'assist-
aunce of the sherife, and the gentlemen by youe mencionid for the removing of her. And her m^{ty} meaneth to appoint a gentleman porter to haue the chardge of the souldiors, and to looke to the watches, for which purpos capten Shute is namid.

Mons^r Nau commeth this day to London, where her m^{ty} hath thought meete he should be lodgid at your house; but his dyets and enterteynment to be defrayed at her chardges. And so I commit you to God. At Hampton corte, the xvth day of November, 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Your opinion for the discharging of th' earles people at the tyme of the remoue, is well allowed of.

And yt is thought meete you should send for so many weapon and

shott of the L. Pagets mencionid by youe, as you shall haue occasion to vse.

No. LVI.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

Your lettres of the xvth of this present I haue receauid, by the which I am sorye to vnderstande that Mr Cave was not yet come to you at the tyme of the writing therof, doubting for that he caryed th'inventory of the L. Pagets howshold furniture with him, that Tutbury howse cannot be made ready tymelye enough to perfourme the remoue the xxiii^d of this moneth, as yt was appointed. And therfore the earle being, as yt seemeth, unwilling to beare the chardges of a longer prouision, yt shall do well that youe appoint Mr Sommer to conferre with his L. officers for a newe supply, to be had at her majesties chardges, by some reasonable encrease of thallowaunce of thirtye pounds the weeke, which the earle now hathe.

I will not fayle to hasten what I maye, the dispatche of the L. St John, wherby you may be the sooner easid of that chardge, not doubting but youe shall haue him there with you by thend of this moneth, or within fower or fyve dayes after, at the farthest. His trayne, as I tould you before, will not excede the number of forty persons, comprehending thos that shall attend vpon thother personages assotiatid with his L., which wilbe but half a score; for yt is thought meete that my L. shall leaue the fortye souldiors in his owne cuntrye, among his tennants and frends; who, by suche meanes, being the more at his commaundement and devocion, he shall therfore neede the lesse number of howshold servaunts. And for the manner of the allowaunce to be geuen to the said souldiors, I am still of opinion, that yt will ease the howse of muche trouble and pestering, yf they be rather allowed

their whole wages, then any part therof in meate and drincke, wherein there may be some way deuised to have their turne served ether by a vittaller, otherwyes so as they maye not scatter themselues to farr to seeke the same.

Tomorrowe I meane to send youe two lettres of her majesties; thone directed to the Scotishe queene, to acquainte her with thintended remove, and the cause of the discharging of my L. of Shrewsburye, and annother to yourself, to authorise you to make the said remove; which lettres I would haue dispatched this daye, had not the vsuall solemnity hinderid the same. And so I commit you to God. At St James, the xvii of November, 1584.

Your assurid frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. LVII.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

Her majesty being made acquainted with the contents of your lettres of the xvth of this present, and fynding by the same that the queene, your chardge, is yet in verie weake state of bodye, by reason of hir aches and indisposicion of healthe, hath therfore deferred the signing of the two lettres to her and to yourself, mencioned in my former, (which, notwithstanding, she promisethe to dispatche this night or tomorrowe,) being verie lothe the said queene should be vsed with so little regarde as to be removid yet to Tutbury in this case she is, vnles she herself shall so be content, and lyke well therof. And therefore I fynd her majestie disposid to referre the tyme of the removing of her to your owne discrecioun, with the consent and good lyking of the said queen, while she shall continew thus indisposid of her healthe. As her majestie doth also looke you should have a spetyall care, that

by this change of the manner of her chardges in keeping the said queene, th'increase and burthen of the said chardges be no greater then the necessity of her seruice shall requier. The L. St John is come to the corte, but hath not yet had accesse to her majestie. There shalbe care had of the dispatching of him as soone as conveniently maye be.

Monsieur Nau had his first audience yesterday of her majestie, who seemith to rest verye well satisfied with the conference she had with him, which moveth her to haue the greater care of the queene his mistress. And so I commit you to God. At St James, the xix of November, 1584. Your assurid frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. LVIII.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

My L. of Shrewsbury hath nowe sent me word that his prouisions at Wingfelde will stretche to the last of the moneth; during which tyme her majestie shall not therefore neede to be at any extraordinarye chardges that waye. And afterwards, yf that the queene be to be continued longer there, order may be taken with my lords officers for a further prouision, in that sorte that I haue before written vnto you.

The two lettres her majestie dothe yet deferre to signe.

Herewith I send you my L. of Shrewsburies lettre to his servaunt Stringer, for the furnishing of the plate that is desyred. And so I commit you to God. At St James, the xxth of November, 1584. Your assurid frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Nau desyerethe that the Q. may not be made acquaynted with the resolutyon for her remoue, vntyll his retorne; for that otherwyse he

dowbtethe yt wyll bread sooche iealousye in her, as may woorke somme chaynge in that good resolucyon he hathe taken, to be altogether (as he protestethe) at her majesties devocyon.

No. LIX.

Mynute of a Lettre [from Sir RALPH SADLER] to Mr Secretary, of the xxvi of November, 1584.

SIR,

Vnderstanding by a lettre from my son, Henry Sadler, how frendely you deale for me to relieve me of this charge, I do acknowledge myself most bounde to you for the same, and shall lacke no good will to requite your curtesie therein, if it may ever lye in my power. Also vnderstanding by his said lettre, that if you coulde bring it to passe, my L. St John shoulde com hither to Wyngfelde and convey this queene from hens to Tutbury, I have thought to signefie my poure mynde vnto you in that behalf, which is, that I thinke it wolde be moche more commodious for him, and not incommodious for me, that he shoulde either fynde her at Tutburie at his coming thither, or elles be redy to receyue her there when he shall com thither, both for that his iourney shalbe the shorter by xiiii or xv myles, very foule wayes; and I also shalbe so moch the nerer home. And besides that, which is the worst if he do com hither, he shall fynde here neyther meate, drynke, nor good lodging for himself, ne yet any at all for his folkes, nor mete, ne yet rowme for his horses, our provisions here being almost spent, and will indede be at an ende within thes viii dayes, if they last so long, having no good meanes to renew or supplie the same, specyally for bere and wyne, as I haue already aduertesed you. Here is no place of any good receipte for my L. St John and his folks; this house, and the village here, which is litle and poure, being full with my L. of Shrewesburies men and myne, and at this present neither horse mete nor mannes mete to be had in the same; so that I am fayne to sende about

all the countrey to make provision for my horses, which I pay well for. Wherefore I thinke it best that my L. St John do com dyrectly to Tutburie, wher the house wilbe redy out of hande; bere and wyne, woodde and cole, already laid in, and Mr Cave there redy to make all other provision vpon a very short warnyng, the countrey there being farre better, and a grete dele more able to furnish al maner of provision then this is. And also, I fynde this quene here being in good helth of bodie, though her fote be so as she can not well set it to the grounde. I will not say it is the gowte, yet, without any gret payne, very willing to remoue whensoever she shall vnderstonde the Q. majesties pleasure therein, by her majesties owne lettres. Mary she semeth to be somewhat desirous to stay, eyther vntill Nau shalbe retorned hither to her, or at the least, vntill she shall here from him. But I doubt not to remove her with her good lyking and contentacion, whensoever it shall please the Q. majestie to appoynte the tyme, which must nedes be within this viii or x dayes at the furthest, for longer I see not how we can abyde here; and onles it be meant that she shall remayn still in the custodie of the erle of Shrewsburie, I see no cause whie she shoulde tary there any longer, but the soner she be removed from hens the better, in my poure opynyon. There is no cause of stay for respect of her helth or indisposicion of her bodie, onely her fote is a little sore, which may be layed on a pillow in her coche, without her disease, as she herself fyndeth no lacke in the same, but is indede very willing to remoue whensoever yt shall please the Q. majestie to aduertise her thereof.

No. LX.

Sir FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

My lord St John doth now attend here for his dispatche; but by

reason as well of the parliament, as of the present negotiations with Nau and the Scottish ambassador, and of other weightye causes that are in hand, I thinke her majestie shall have no tyme to resolute therein vntill the next weeke. In the meane while, Nau desyreth that his mistress maie not be remouid vntill his returne, and her majestie is willing to assent therunto; wherof I haue thought good to geue you knowledge, to thend youe maie take order for some prouisions to be made for ten or twelue daies longer, at her majesties chardges; for th' easing wherof, notwithstanding, you shall do well to consider howe some of th' earles people, wherof there is no necessarye vse, may be dischargid.

Th' estimate of th' increase of chardges sent by youe, that her majestie shall now be at about the rate allowid to my L. of Shrewsburye, I thinke will greatlye hasten the treatie.

Till yesterdaye, Monsieur Naus negotiation was pryvat with her majesties self, the purpos wherof I thinke did cheefely concerne my lady of Shrewsburye, and thos causes. Yesterdaye he had conference with some of my lords of the counsell, to whom he made three requests: The first, that the treatye might go forward with his mistress; the second, that she maye not be remouid till the finishing of the said treaty, or, at the least, till his returne; and the third, that my lady of Shrewsbury, and her two sonnes, might oppenly confesse thvnturthe of thos imputations that haue ben layd to his said mistress, which towche her lyfe and honnor, before the French ambassador himself, and some of the counsell. And thus, with my harty commendacions, I leaue you to God. At St James, the xxvith of November, 1584.

Your assurid frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. LXI.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

Presently vppon the receipt of your last lettres, I procurid my L. of Shrewsbury to be dealt withall for a new supply of prouisions to be made, which he hath agreed vnto shalbe for a fortinnight more, at her majesties chardges, as every thing shall cost, and no longer. And therfore I praye youe to set downe an estimat of theis newe chardges, after the number of my L. men shalbe diminished, by so many as are vnnecessary attendaunts, for that his L. dothe fynd the rate, as yt may now growe at onè hundreth pounds the weeke, which would perhap- pes ouerhasten the remove.

The two lettres hir majesty hathe not yet signid, but promiseth to dispatche them this day, and to referre the tyme of remove to your discrecion, according to your owne request. Monsieur Naus dispatche hence shall nowe be hastenid with all convenyent speede. And so I commit you to God. At St James, the xxviiith of November, 1584.

Your assurid frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. LXII.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

By hir majesties ownr act, that will come to you in this dispatch, you shall perceauie that there is full power given you for the removing of the queen, your charge, which, if she shall seake to delay by collor of anie pretended sicknes, she shall not shew herself well aduised; for that I know the same will be taken in ill part of hir majesty, as one

the other side hir H. seameth disposed, if the said queen shall conforme hirselfe to such coorse as she shall take with hir, to extend more fauour towardes hir than heretofore she hath found.

This day hir majestie hath also deliuered hir resolution to the L. St John, for his repaire to Tutbury to receaue the charge at your handes, whom I will hasten downwardes as much as I shalbe able, to thend that you may be the sooner returned to eat your Christmes pye in season. And so leaue further to trouble you for this tyme. From the court at St James, the iii^d of December, 1584. Your assured loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Sir,—I hope her majesties owne letter wyll remove the dowbt you have of late conceyued towching your longer abode here, then I have heretofore acquaynted you withall.

No. LXIII.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

Nowe her majestie hathe declared her resolve pleasour vnto the L. St John, I doe what I can to hasten him, who is forced to proceade the more slowly, for that her majestie woold have him carrye himselfe in a kynde of secreacye in his preparatyon; a thing vnpossible to be don, and sverly altogether vnnecessarye, were yt not her majesties pleasure to have yt so. Naue gevethe owt, that his Mrs is growen to a great myslyke with Tudberrye, which shewethe she hathe no wyll to remove thence where she now is, having there fourmid fitt persons to serve her torne, which the chaynge of place and keper wyll bereave her of; and therfor I dowbt greatly you shall hardely drawe her to remove before Nau's retorne, which I wyll hasten as moche as I may.

Owre parliament hathe not yit browght forthe any matter woorthy of your knowledge; we begyn to conceyve somme good hope of the Mr of Grayes negotyatyon, whoe proceadethe more playnly and syncearly then we looked for. The assotiatyon between that Q. and her sonne, so constantly avowed bothe by her and her mynister here, is nowe dyscovyred not to be so forward as was geven owte to serve her torne.

Ther is a great spyte growen between the Mr of Graye and Nau. The cause therof hathe growen thorowghe certeyne ill offices don against the seyd Mr of Gray, by one Le Fownteyne, brother to Nau, sent into Scotlande by that queen. Ther hathe ben great travayle and conning vsed, to hyde this dysagreement between the seyd partyes, but yt wouold not be. I suppose that Nau dothe greatly complayne of the Mr of Graye vnto his Mrs in the letters which I now sende. And so in hast, I commyt you to the protectyion of the Almyghtye. At the coorte, the vth of Decemb. 1584.

Your assvred frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

You may discharge Fvrnes vppon his owne bande, having no further matter to charge him withall.

I wyll take order to send downe the matters you desyre, together with the plate.

No. LXIV.

Sir RALPH SADLER to the Queen's Majesty.

MOST GRACIOUS SOUERAIGNE,

Your lettres vouchesafed vpon so poure a man as I am, being one of the pourest subjects of that degree which I am called vnto, and specially thos few wordes of your highnes owne hande, conteyning this precept, "Vse old trust, and new diligence;" together with your most

gracious promise shortly to relieve me of this charge, have not a litle comforted me, which precept I will not faile faithfully to performe towards your majestie whilles I have breth; the former part thereof I will performe both with bodie and mynde, and the later parte also I will wante no good mynde and will to performe, wishing that myn old bodie were as able to indure such payne, and to vse such diligence as I haue a good mynd and will therevnto. But I assure your majestie, on my fydelite to your H., that I do fynde meself most vnhablle to indure this life which I leade in this seruice, trusting that therfore your majestie will the soner release me of the same, according to your most gracious promise; so that now, in myn olde dayes, for the short tyme I have to lyve in this world, I may serve God and your majestie at myn owne home, with such rest and quyetnas as myn olde yeres do require; which I do most humblie crave at your majesties hands for Goddes sake, to whom I will incessauntly pray for your majestie, according to my most bounden duetie. And now, to say somewhat touching this Q., I fynd her moch altered from that she was when I was first acquaynted with her. This restraynt of libertee, with the greefe of mynde which she hath had by the same, I thinke hath wrought some good effect in her. And if she do not gretly dissemble, trewly she is moche devoted and affected to your majestie, most desirous of your gracious fauor, and good amyte, afore all the princes of this worlde, which she will seke and deserue with all the good offices she can or may do to please your majestie. Thus she sayeth and protesteth afore God; and as it is the part of an honest man to judge the best of all princes, so do I thinke that she hath an intencion and meaning to perfourme that she sayeth, which vpon profe and tryall tyme will discouer and make manyfest. Not doubting but your majestie will so procede and deale with her as, if she meane not so syncerely as she protesteth, the lacke thereof may retorne and fall vpon herself, without any grete aduantage to be left vnto her agenst your majestie, which I leave to the consideracioun of your majestie, and of your grave counsailers, which, I doubt not, will sounde the matter to the bottome, ac-

ording to the weight and importaunce of the same. And, touching the alteration of her custodie from therle of Shrewsburie, though I fynde her not to myslyke the same, yet is she very vnwilling to remove vntill suche tyme as she may receyve som answer from your majestie by her secretarie, Nau, to such spèciall poyntes as she sayeth she gave him in charge to move vnto your highnes on her behalf, touching this alteration; wherein she desired to be satisfied, either by the retorne of her saide secretarie, or by his lettres, or otherwise, as shall please your majestie to let her receyve for satisfaction, touching the saide poynts from her said secretarie; we shall then, with the more facilitie, procede to her removing to Tutberie, the house there being almost in good arredynes to receyve her, in sort as I trust shalbe with her good lyking and contentacion. And so, &c. Wingfeld, 7 Dec. 1584.

No. LXV.

To Mr Secretarie, 7 Decembris, 1584.

SIR,

By the queens majesties lettres to the Scotishe queene, and to me of the thurd of this moneth, which, with yours, wer brought to me the vth, I see that her H. hath gyven me commission to remoue the said queene to Tutbury, when, by my discretion, I shall think it fitte and conveyent, with respect to the state of her body. After she had read her majesties lettres, and delyuerid her good acceptation of them, and of the words written with her awne hand, she marveylid muche that she heard nothing from Nau by that dispatche. And that, as she wolde be ready to obey her majestie, her good suster, and had deliuerid good testimony of her duety to her, so seeing she had her man there, she looked to haue ben also aduertised by him of her H. pleasure, as well in that as in other speciall points of his charge. Having gyven

him in commandement to vse all meanes and dilligence to procure her majesties answers thervnto; and therewith to returne to her, which she looked to vnderstand and to see him as she was promised, before her remoue hence. And that done, how paynfull so ever it wolde be to her, she wolde furthwith willingly remoue hence. Hervnto I sayd, that tooching her remoue, she cowlde have no certayner knowledge then by her majesties own lettres; and that there was none intention to remoue her without her awne consent, wherein her majesties favorable and princely consyderacion of the state of her body shulde be regardid. And as for other maters, she might haue answer to them by Naus returne to Tutbury, as well as hither; and yet I thought she shulde haue Nau heere shortlye. Therto she answerid, that her man had gyven her aduertisement of this her majesties intention to write to her toching her remoue, which she takith very thankfully, but yet looked to be more fully satisfyed in other points of the remoue, as the place, the parson, being not namid in her H. lettres, and his abilitee to answer for her. Wherin she hath gyven her man specyall instruction to beseech her majesties good consyderacion, and seemid to be much offendid that he hath not written to her by this your last dispatche, delyvering furth woordes of mistrust, that his lettres haue not had good passage, as she fownde by their dates. All these dowbts and mistrusts were answerid, to satisfy her in reason, as they had ben before at other tymes. But yet she seemid not so well satisfied as of late she hath ben, which proceedid in effect for that she heard not at this tyme from her man Nau, which I sayde she might haue ben sure to haue done, if you had had his lettres when that dispatche was made.

Vpon my L. of Shrewsburys order to his officers heere to make provision for a fortnight, which will end with Monday, or Tewsday the xv of this moneth, Mr Stringer hath taken order therein accordingly, and for no longer. Therefore, in case M. Nau returne not before that day, or that this Q. be not then in case to be removed, as yet surely she is not, by meanes of her foote and syde, wherein she sayth she feelith but little amendid, I shall be fayne to send for Mr Cave to come

hither to make provysion at the Q. majesties costes, which wilbe a harde mater to do, seing how the contrey lyeth, no good towne neere by viii miles, to serue beef, mutton, &c., nor no pasture to keep them, if any shulde be boght; also my L. hereabout being spent by horses and bullocks, with this long lyeng here. Cole being the chief feuell, wherof is spent xvi or xvii loads wekly, wilbe a matter exceeding troublesom to the contrey, broght 3 myles by wayne; which, if the ryver be vp, as vpon any great rayne it is, their bullocks, having none other, do swyme through, to the great grudging of the people, besydes the exceeding foule and deepe way.

No. LXVI.

To the Same.

SIR,

This Tewsday morning I receavid your lettres of the vth of this monethe. And forasmuche as you make mention therein of Naus lettre to the Q., his Mrs, which I founde not, I haue thought good to make this light dispatche vnto you, that if the same lettres be not yet come from you, they may be sent with all speede. For she compting this the xii day syns the date of any of his comme to her, I haue muche adoo to keepe her in tune of patyence, not without greatly taxing him; which is the sooner moved in this tyme of her doulor, not yet able to strayn her left foote to the grownde, and to her very great gref, not without teares, fyndeth that being wasted and shrunk of naturall measure, and shorter then his fellow, fearing that it will hardly returne to his naturall without the benefite of a naturall hot bathe. I thinke you gesse partly aright (as I have ben a good whyle of that mynde) of the cause of her mislyk to go to Tutbury; for in deede I mynde, (as I have writen and is allowed of,) that all olde acquaintance shall tary beside; and yet she saythe still, that vpon her mans returne,

or satisfaction in wryting from him of the Q. majesties pleasure in that behalf, and of the personage to whom she shalbe committed, she will remoue without further delay. Therfor, I humbly beseeche her majestie to satisfye this lady, and that the L. St John may followe him at his heeles, whom I do very muche long to see, or to heere of his dispatche from you, that I may by myself gyve you thanks for the care I fynde and beleewe you have of me.

The proceeding of the Mr of Gray more playnely and sincerely for his Mr, may moue her majestie to thinke the better of his master's meaning towards her, without the mothers intervening, whom, I haue found, was of the matter somewhat jelouse, from the first coming of Gray to the cort without her knowledge, or meanes made to see her, though she did not so playnly discouer herself. And if this pyke contynew betuene these mynisters, and stretch furth to their Mrs, the Q. shall perhaps fynde it good to be a medyator, and get honor and commoditie, and make them both beholding to her.

I vnderstand that all is ready at Tutbury, saving this Q. to go thither. You see what will hasten her, without excuse.

The plate, napery, and maters, I perceauē shalbe sent downe thither with speede. But now that we are within vii dayes of the ende of the fortnight, which, by my L. of Shrewsburys express commandment, must not be muche exceeded in this place, as I haue at other tymes past vpon the lyke dowbt moved, so haue I thought good now agayne to say and desyre to be considderd: That in case of necessite, either by lack of Naus returne by that tyme, which is ever alledged as a stop, or by reason of this queens carefull excuse by her indisposition of body, she cannot be removed hence; and that my L. officers will not in manner of purveyors, vitell for the company which is then to be founde, at the Q. charges, to be payd for as they cost in ready money, which I fynde they ar vnwylling to do, so long as she shall remayn in my L. house; (I must needs testifiye well of Mr Stringer as truely he deservythe, who hath respect to the Q. majesties fauor, and to his masters honor, but must conteyn himself within the lymits of an honest offi-

cer,) in that I cannot see but my L. must be dealt withall both for his houseroome, vse of his stuff, and, if it be possible, for some longer continuance of provysion, so long as, vpon such necessite, this Q. shall be dryven to abyde in this place, or vntill certeyn dayes after Naues returne, without suche lymitacion of precise tyme as hath ben heretofore; which hath ben very troublesom to this contrey, specially for being thin of feuell, as I wrote last to you. My L. officers do desyre very earnestly that his L. may be moved herein; as, vpon an earnest conference with them, they haue this day sent away a man of my lords to vnderstande his plesure therein, if any suche thing be mouid to him from her majestie. And so, &c. From Wingfeld, 8 Decembre, 1584.

No. LXVII.

To the Queenes Majestie.

Yt may please your majestie. After that the Scottishe Q. had read her lettres, come from Nau the viii of this moneth, and prayed me to come to her in the evening, she delyvered her very good lyking of his vsage there, both by your majestie and by your highness counsell, with whom, she said, he was entrid into talke of some points of a treaty; and that he desyred her speedy answer to certeyn things propownded vnto him, whervnto, though he had answerid somewhat according to his instructions, yet desyrid to be further instructid and cleerid by her, which she sendith now vnto him herwith.

Then she entrid into a discourse of the Mr of Grayes doings, so farre as she cowlde get knowlege of them from Nau; and fyndithe, that whereas by her meanes, he was sent this voyage to your majestie, vpon his earnest promesses by his lettres, to treat and deale for her if she wolde procure her son to imploye him, and to seek to speake first with her in his voyage; he now takith another course, and semithe to deale for her son without her. And that this hath ben contrived

among some evell ministers about her son, whome she fyndith to be evell led, and his good nature abused by them, and do make this yong man their instrument, who hath gotten good credet with him, vnder his former dissembling with her; bewayling with many teares this evell caryeng of her son, of whose welldoing, she sayth she is more carefull then of hir self. And to thende this disguising of the Mr of Grayes, and her honest dealing with your majestie, as he hath vowed, may somewhat appere, she sendith now to Nau a lettre which the said Mr of Gray hath writen vnto her, and came now in th' ambassadors packet, though writen before Naues comming to your majestie, subscribed in ciffer, and endorsed onely by is Nota, to be by Nau imparted to your majestie; beseching that it may be kept secret, least it hinder the comming of an other more ample, which she promiseth very shortly in a more secret sort, because his playn hande is well knowne, which she will also impart to your majestie. She sayth that this yong gent. is a creature of the B. of Glascoes, and hath ben brought vp in the schooles of the Jesuites, who seeke to serve their turne by him about her son; but protestith very earnestly, that if it wolde lyke your majestie to trust her, and gyve her leave to sende shortly into Scotlande, she wolde make appeere what she coude do with her son, whom she saythe she hath fast bownde to her devotion by his awne wryting, as Nau shall shew your majestie, whatsoeuer Gray say to the contrary, and that he hath oft desyrid hir counsell, which he hath fownde the best of all others; and that, if he refuse to be ordred by her, she wolde soone bring him in case to make him seeke your majestie, for his meanes besydes hers, and her frendes, are small, and otherwise is so poore, (and the worse by those needy folks about him) as he hath oft sent to her for money to by himself clothes and apparell for his pages and lackeys, which she hath caused to be furnished of hers out of France, when she might euell spare it. And that the 6000 crownes which he gat lately from the duke of Guise, wherof she thinkith this yong gent. hath had the more part himself, to set himself furth in so good shew, seemith to giue a good countenance to the matter. And

that she may the better work this with her son, she wishith, that by some coulour, he may be enterteyned in Englande, and not dispatched home vntill she may haue first sent into Scotlande. She sayth still, that when she hath brought her son to a good point with her majestie, and setlid some wise men about him, which he cannot do himself now, she will not trouble him in his government in Scotlande, though most of her enemyes there be dead, but will not faile to keep him from meanes to trouble your majestie.

She delyverith these vowes and protestations of her sincere intention towards yovr majestie, with as great earnestnes as is possible to be vttered by words.

God graunt the discouery of the evell where it is suttelly meant, and that the best way may be taken now whilst things are in some shew of towardness, to his glory, and benefite and quyet of your realme, and of your majestie, our gratiouse soverayne.

No. LXVIII.

To Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

The 8th of this moneth I receavid your packet, and therin iii to this queen from the French ambassador, and 2 from Nau. After she had seen her lettres, and preyd me to com to her that evening, she delyuered by good speeches her very good lyking of her secretaries there, both by the Q. majestie, and by her counsell, and namely, by yourself, of whome he had gyven speciall testimony to her good contentment. And there healde other purposes to me toching certeyn points propownded vnto him by my lords, whervnto he desyred her speedy answer, which she sendith now, and prayeth thefore speedy delyuery of her lettres; and other words of her mislyke of the Mr of Grayes dealing with her highnes in the name of her son onely, omitt-

ing her, contrary to her sons promes made to her, wherin she sayeth he is evell counselled, and led by some persons particular to themselves, and also contrary to his awne assurance gyven her when this voyage was first entendid, and by herself moyeind for him, as I haue at more lengthe deliuered to her majestie, wherwith you shall be acquainted, and therfore the rehearsall heerin shulde be superfluous.

I trust you do remember how the tyme of the fortnight wearith away, and the hard meanes to contynue heere much longer, without yet a further contynuanace of my L. good meanes, as by myne of the sixt I wrote to you. And also that this Q. stayth vpon Naues returne, which, if ye contynue, your treaty cannot be so soone as was thought; therefore, in case of lykelihooode of his stay there any tyme, if it wolde please her majestie to resolve with Nau of the personage who is to take the charge of her, and that therof, and of her H. pleasure for her remoue, he do aduertise her, wherof she lookith to be certifyed from him. I think she wilbe then the willinger to remoue, though her foote remaynith still at a stay, and not lyke to be well vntill it be comforted by warmer weather, or by better meanes of hearbes and drogues to make fomentations, then can be had heere among the monteynes, where gardens are skant knowne. I vnderstande from Tutbury, that there lack dyuers bedds, and many hangings, that wer the lord Pagets; and that by answer from the late Mr Shirif, they ar in such hands as they will not well be gotten out of them, which I referre to your good consydderacion. For without the whole complement, or very neere, of these beds, I cannot see how this company can be furnished, as it is meet for xlvij of this queenes people, of whome, besydes herself, v. have severall beds, and xlv others at the least, vnlese the want be supplied at her majesties charges, which will not be so readily had; besydes, that x or xii of those beds that ar brought yn thether, ar very meane, as I haue writen, and some lack holsters, supposed to haue ben changed. And thus, &c. Wingfeld, 9 X^r, 1584.

No. LXIX.

Sir FRANCIS WALSYNGHAM, to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

The last dispatch that came from the Q., your charge hath bread some stay of Naus return, whereof I fear will follow a stay of your remoue. I fynd the E. of Shrewsbury noway mynded to furnish any further proportion of provision. The enclosed I am desired to convey with speed vnto you. Hir majestie doth accept very well of your late lettres, the contents whereof doe serue to very good purpose, which hir majestie will vse with the secrecy that is desired. And so in hast I leaue you. From the court at St James, the xiith of December, 1584.

Your assured loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. LXX.

To Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

This servith only to send away this queenes answer to Naws last lettres, which she received from him the xijth of this present. These being wryten with her awne hande, and one to her majestie, as she saythe, hath ben the longer in doing.

And yet, by this commodite in answer to yours which I receavid then, I haue thought to saye, as I have oft writen before, that we ar lyke to be dryven to a great strait of provision here; for though you wryte, that after the last accordyd fortnight, which endid this day, Mr Cave shulde then comme hither and make a new supply heere at her

majesties charges, for x dayes, (Nau being not yet ready to returne) when I consider still the seate of this wyld contrey, whereof I haue wryten before vnto you, namely, by myne of the vijth, not able to yelde by the vulgar meanes, and not otherwise, without longer forecast, and plots frendly layd from afarre; for almost all the contrey herabouts ys in the hands of noblemen and other parsons of great qualitie, in parkes and other demeanes; and that my L. of Shrewsbury, the greatest of them all, hath had his meanes of prouisions from Sheffield, Rotheram, Worsop, Rufford, some from Chatworth, and other his manors, besides good hedges for bullocks and sheepe, brought from afarre, and kept ready here, whilst the pastures wolde serue, which ar now spent by so long stay; and that now without his L. commandement, there must no more be brought hither of his store, muche lesse to be solde here to him that shulde mak the provysion at the Q. charges; and that his L. hath gyven no direction for any longer tyme, nor that Mr Cave is able to do that seruice heere so soone this tyme of the yere, who sayth also that this money is well neere spent in provisions made at Tutburye. I fynde that we ar vnlyke to be smoothe heere, without any provision, wer it not that vpon my very earnest entreaty Mr Strynger, fynding also this our harde state, doth of himself adventure for all this weeke, with greate toyle to the contrey, and incommodite for my lord in his needfull provysion for himself, the wayes being very sore, as in deede they ar, with protestation that it can be for no longer, if so long, for then they all go to Sheffielde. And therefore I haue fully resolved to sende away parte of our stuffe this weeke, and to leaue this house bare, sauing this Q. awne lodging, and to persuaide her, as moche as I may, in the tearmes wherein we stande, to departe hence vpon Monday the xxjth of this moneth. Vpon which day I have prayed the gent. heere about to be heere with me, to attend with her to Darby, viij myles, for further can she not be caryd that day, the wayes being so exceeding evell; and vpon Teusday to Tutbury, vii myles, not so foule as the other. But happening that she, eyther relying vpon her majesties order and promes not to haue her remoued vntill Naues returne, or that

her estate of her body, specially her legg and foote, will not, or cannot, be removed without more strayne to her than is her majesties will, wherein I wolde not offende. I see that then we are lyke to be in a great strayt, though my lords men ease this company somewhat by their departure to Sheffield, and yet will there remayne here vpon the point of xl persons. And in that case is also to be considered, what we shall do for some plate for myself, vessell for the kychin, napry, and other needfull things, which we have now of my lords. And besyds all this, and the lak of drink, we ar lyke to set acolde, for the weather and wayes ar suche as no fewell can almost be brought hither, and reylie it is to the poore people and their teames, haryed as they ar. And as for olde wood, whereof there is store standing, and none other, that is but sory geare to be vsed in chambre, in kychin. I see, to healpe all, or a good part of this, no readyer meanes to leaue heere, then to send Nau away, or that he wryte to his Mrs the Q. majesties pleasure for her remoue, which answer to some speciall point she expectith from her majestie by or from him. If it haue pleasid the Q. majestie to deale with my L. of Shrewsbury for the continuance of his prouision, so long as this Q. must needfully remayne heere, or vntill certeyn dayes after Naues returne, as I haue writen by myne of the viiith, and not for a day prefixed, I doubt not but his L. will yelde to hit; wherof I shall then heere shortly. I beseeche you, sir, healpe this mater, as much as the short tyme will gyve leave. I will very you with one other vnpleasant thing, and not the lest important to me: in this contrey, which yeldeth very litle corne, I fynde none other litter for my horses than ferne, which being spent as fast as they can be cut, ys brought yn moyst, which hath almost marrid all my horses and geldings, none of them being free from the cough. They shulde not be so out of this place. Wingfeld, 14 Dec. 1584.

No. LXXI.

To Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

You shall receive herewith such lettres as this Q. hath wrytten to her secretarie Nau. But her frowardnes to remoue from hens is such as putteth vs here to our shiftes to make prouision in this place; therles store being spent, and his officers will not make any further prouision, neyther for loue nor money; having charge and commandement from therle, their Mr, to depart hens, with all his housholde, to Sheffelde, where they ar provided for; and so they ar now departing, and leave the hole charge of the provisions here vpon me, wherevpon I am forced to sende for Mr Cave to com hither from Tutbury, and to bring with him some parte of such provisions as he hathe made thereof, beffes, mottions, and other things, which must nedes be had to serve vs here, vntill she will conformance herself to remove to Tutbury, where she may be better vsed, and where she is better provyded for, then we can accomlishe here. The cause why she will not remove, she alledgeth to be the lamenes of her leg, and the greefe of her fote; but in dede the cause is, that she will not till Nau returne, nor then neyther, I thinke, and therefore she is lyke to fynde it in her dyet, and yet we well provyde as well as we can; but, do the best we can, we ar lyke to kepe a colde Christmas; for, as I vnderstande, Mr Cave hath almost spent all the money he brought downe with him, and without money no provision can be made here. For myne owne part, I assure you, I have scant so moche lefte as will bere my charges homewards. I kepe xl horses here, and have moche ado to gette meate for them, and yet pay derely for it. Therle was content a while to let me have som helpe therein of his store, but was sone wery of the charge; and therefore alledging that all his store was spent, gave me leave to provide at myne

owne charge both hay and straw, which, with suche other charges as I have ben, am, and shalbe at daylie in this seruice, I fynde more chargeable to me than I am able to bere, trusting in your good helpe to haue it allowed and repaied at my retorne, according to reason. Here be xl souldiors, which now that therles officers and housholde seruants do departe hens, wolde also be gon, or at the leest, the most parte of them, and I haue no warraunt to discharge them, ne yet can we kepe watche and warde here without them as we haue don; wherefore I pray you let me knowe her majesties pleasure therein, with all the speede that may be, vntil which tyme I will do what I can to stay them. Wingfeld, xv Decembris, 1584.

No. LXXII.

To Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

Though your lettre to me of the xxvth, which I receavid the xxviiith of this moneth, mentioning, among other thinges, that Mr Nau was to depart from thence the next day, doth not require very speciall answer; yet, to keepe the posts in brethe, being payd working or playeng, I will not omit to let yow know how much I wishe to see him heere, and therby some better effect by his perswasion for his Mrs remoue hence, knowing the Q. majesties resolucion and assurance that she is quit out of the erle of Shrewsburys custody, then I can perswade her vnto yet. But I am right hartley sory to vnderstande now, of the doubt of my L. St Johns comming downe to take this charge, seeing he did so long agoe accept it, as I made full accompt vpon your aduertisements to me, and speeche to my son, to see him so, as I and this yere, now both almost at the last case, shulde together take our leaue of this lady. If her majestie had allowed of my lords excuse at the beginning, another might by this tyme haue ben in more forwardnes

then I see his L. is, vnlesse it wolde please her majestie to do as you wryte she will. For before another of qualite can be callid, ready from the corte, and from his awne domesticall causes, (remembring withall the example of others former excuses) I leaue to her majestie to consider how many weekes, yea monethes, will passe over. But yet I do so muche relye my self vpon the assurance which her H. gaue me before and synce my comming hither at seuerall tymes, as nothing shall deter me from my opinion of her gracious promesse, but that I shall very shortly see the effect therof.

As toching her majesties pleasure, that I shulde have a speciall care of conversacion and dealing betueene this Q. seruants and myne, I will see to it, God willing, so much as I can ; and haue that opinion and confydence in all myne, as I trust little warning will serue. But so long as these soldyors shall contynue heere, who, (or the more part) for their long contynewance together, ar as muche to be doubted that way as any of the other company that is departid, I cannot see how the suspition and meanes of passages betweene these folk can so well be removid, as by our remoue hence, when I meane to leaue all these soldyors behynde, if it shall so stande with her majesties good allowance. In which point, as also how I shall levy other soldyors at my coming to Tutbury, of her majesties tennants and others thereabout, according to my former lettres, and how many, vntill other may be brought by my L., as hath ben heertofore aduised, I desyre answer, and her majesties warrant, or knowledge of her H. pleasure. Some other Englishmen ar heere in this Q. housholde, as seruants to her principal officers ; as one with Nau, one with the physicien, one with Melvill, but he commith to our seruice, one with the Q. in her wardrobe, a taylor, admittid as I heare by the earle. These may be temporised withall, vntill our comming to Tutbury, and then some other course may be taken with them and with her cocheman, (if any other be sent) vnles her majestie will tollerat them. 29 Dec. 1584.

No. LXXIII.

To Mr Secretarie from Mr SOMMER.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Mr Chancelor looked for better comforte of my L. St Johns redynes to redeeme vs then he toke by your last to him, but yet trustithe that your next will revyve him, wherof surely he hath nede, as I fynde sensibly in him syns his coming hither. By his lettre he hath now answered you, toching his care to looke to his folk, over whome I knowe he hath dyvers eyes of his trustiest. For my part, I will (as my duety byndith me) be as heedfull as lythe in me. And wer all these olde acquainted soldyers discharged, which cannot well be done so long as this Q. is heere, all passages to and from these people might, I think, be better obseruid, though hard to be perfourmid in all points, and at tymes where so many ar, and where the Q. people may walk in the corte at all tymes, and resort to the offices for ther necessities, which was neuer forbidden them. And yet ar they all very carefully heedid, specially at the gates, not suffered to go furthe without the company of ii soldyors, nothing brought to the Q. or any of hers, but is openid and visited. Toching the orders for the custody of this charge, Mr Chancelor observith the same that wer vsed before by my L. of Shrewsbury, with some additions at his first comming to this place, which he sent vnto you about the begynninge of September. This one thing is now addid, that, in consideracion of these very colde and long nights, of xiii or xiv howres, the soldyers watches coming about ones a weeke, was thought very muche, is helpen to be but ones in x nights, by vsing the service of v contrey able men euery night, of the tounes herabout, with so many of these soldyers; wherof iii ar a standing watche vnder the wyndowes of the Q. lodgings, and thrie go about, and iiii ar within the corte and in a garden; besyds ii yeomen that watche nightly in

the great chambre, which watche at the one ende to the vttermost lodging, where her gromes lye, wherin is a doore and bolts.

No. LXXIV.

Lord Treasurer BURLEIGH to Sir RALPH SADLER.

After my most hartie commendations. I am ashamed that this long tyme past I have not wrytten to you; but truly I was more greved that I cold not wryte that which I myself desyred, and that should have bene most comfortable to you. And though yet to this tyme the difficulte remayneth to releve you, wherof I am most sorry, yet truly ther hath bene no wante in your frends, to my vnderstandyng, to sollicite your releff, nor yet that I could perceave any contrary disposition in hir majestie to have you releved. And then it war reason to lett yow understand what is the lett as I tak it, which now I hope is almost spent and at an end. Her majesty, as yow have bene informed, intended long afor Christmas that my L. St Jhon of Bleshoo should tak that chardge, and so I was perswaded that he shuld have bene ther also afor Christmas. But now, vppon Mr Secretaryes absence, his majestie conferryng with me vppon Bryan Caves coming hyther with a report of his accompt, I told hir majestie that it was mete my L. St Jhons war hastened away, which she so lyked, as she willed me to send for hym, and so I did, and moved hym to appoynt his jornaye; but he, lyk a stranger almost to the matter, answered me directly, that he cold not, nor wold go to vndo himself, and so he sayd he had answered Mr Secretary long tyme past. I found this answer very strange, and advised him to tak hede herto, for I knew that hir majestie made full accompt that he shuld goo, and that he might fall into no small displeur if hir majestie shuld vnderstood his answer. Well, many arguments passed betwixt hym and me. I was loth to report his answers, and so passed 3 or 4 dayes, in which tyme I sent to my L. of Bedford

to perswad hym better. I did the lyk with my L. of Leicester; they both cold not prevayle in the end. I told hym I must mak report to her majestie, and, for ought I cold do by any advise, he forced me so to do, although I did it not flatly, as he gave me cause. Hervvpon hir majestie fell into great displesur against hym, affirming, that at hir first speking, he did only excuse himself by lack of sufficiency for such a chardge, but yet he yelded to it, and required respeat for 3 or 4 wekes. I then required hir majestie that my L. of Leicester and I might roundly command hym in hir name; so she was willyng. We did very rovnndly, but it avayled not. He sayd he wold abyde any extremite rather than to go in some sort; he alledged discreditt that he shuld be accompanied with another. In the end, after many debates, my L. of Leicester, and my L. Chamberlain, had chardg to tell that hir majestie wold mak an example of hym, by punishing hym for his wilfulness, and though he wold assent to serve in the roome, he shold not. This tale we told hym this afternone, and then he yelded to obey hir majesty, as forced by hir commandement, but not with his good will. We reported this to hir majestie, and fynding hir so much offended, as she bad he shuld not goo; we advised her majestie otherwise; and so her majesty in the end, hearyng of my report that yow war sick, she semed gretly to pite yow; she sayd, that yow shuld not fayle to be releved as soone as yow cold remove hir to Tutbury.

Thus farr of this matter; which, though I have vttered in manny lynes, yet I assure yow the passadg hereof hath spent at sondry dayes long debates. But yet yow may say all this helpeth not yow, and I also must saye, I am as sorry for the lett as any frend yow have.

Hir majestie wold gladly have hir removid, and she wold have both nombres and charges deminished; and to that end, by hir majesties express commandment, I have informed Bryan Cave some manner how to do it. Wherof I have also gyven hym some notes in wryting, referring the longer explanatyons therof to hym, as I have also many other thynges; and so thynking that yow shall be weary with readyng, as I am with wryting, the matter being no more comfortable to yow,

I end, wishing that my next wryting may be spedily better. From Grenwych, the v of Janvar. 1584. Yours assured, as any of your own.

W. BURGHEY.

6 Janr. Postscript.—I have stayd Cave for to get monny for hym, as he can not yet come afor Friday, I feare.

No. LXXV.

To Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

The xxixth of the last moneth Mr Nau returnid hither. By this Q. speeches and countenance to me vpon Naus report of his negotiations with the Q. majestie, and his honorable entertaynment there with her H. privy counsell, being favorable heard in all his doings, she seemithe to be very well satisfied in all things, and promisith to deserue all the favor which it may please her majestie to bestow vpon her, when it shall please God to graunt her meanes to shew it heere, and in all other places wher, with her H. good lyking, she may be, and ende the rest of her yeres. She sendith now heerwith her answer (she sayth) to certeyn points which wer not cleerid at his comming thence, and other things depending vpon her negotiations with her majestie; whervnto I, having not ben made pryvy any way, can say nothing but pray to God that all may tend to his glory, and her majesties contentment, as her humble and dutyfull servants and subjects desyre. She consentid to remoue hence to Tutbury as vpon Monday next, the xith of this monethe; but, by reason of the quarter session holden at Darby vpon that daye, where all the gentlemen of these partes wilbe, of whome I haue appointed some to attend vpon her to Tutbury, the remoue is put of vntill Wednesday the xiiith; and vpon Thursday following, I

make accompt, God willing, to be at Tutbury out of this vnpleasant place, for this tyme of the yere, as myself and almost all this company hath felt, by taking cold and murres, notwithstanding any provision.

I vnderstande that the plate, linnen, and matters sent down, com-
mithe to Tutbury as this night. Emong the which I fynde by the
inventory, that there being but lx. payre of sheets, they will be oc-
cupyed almost all at ones; so as there must be necessarily as many
more for a change, eyther to be provyded there with you, or heere of
such clothe as this contrey doth yeld, which wilbe fownde good.
Wherein I pray you answer by our next to me; as also her majesties
commandment for the levyeng of soldyors to watche and warde at
Tutbury, wherof I wrote to you by my last of the xxixth of De-
cembre. My desyre to be redeemid from this charge increassith daily
vpon just cause. Therfore I humbly beseeche her Ma^{ty} to haue such
considderacion of me, as I may shortly see the effect of myne assurance
and stay vpon her majesties promes, so farre as with my duety I may
beseeche it; for the state of my body doth now moue me to be earnest
therein. The state of this Q. body is mucche amendid, but is yet lame,
not able to goo alone. I truste you will healpe Mr Cave to his dis-
patche downe agayne, for the store of money left by him heere is gon;
and without money our case will go hard, we lyeng heere altogether
vpon the peny. And so, &c. Wingfeld, vi January, 1584.

No. LXXVI.

To our very lovinge frend the Sheriffe of the Countye of Derbye.

After our hartie comendacions. Whereas the Scottish Q. doth re-
maine at this present vnder the custody of Sir Ralph Sadler, knight,
chauncellor of the Duchy; who, by order of her majestie, is to remoue
her out of hande from Wingfeilde, where she now remaineth, unto the
castle of Tutbury: and forasmuch as it may be that the said Sir Ralph

Sadler may, for the safer conducting of her in the removing, haue occasion to vse your assistance, or somme conuenient number of some gentlemen of that shire: these are therfore to requyre you, and in her majesties name to commande you, that you fayle not (accordinge as you shall receaue direccion from the said Sir Ralph Sadler) eyther yourself, if he shall require, or els by virtue of these our lettres, to require such other gentlemen as yow shall thinke good to make choice of in that shire, to be readie at such place and tyme as he shall appoint, to accompanye him, and to follow such other direccions, as he shall in her majesties name signefee vnto you and them, for the furtherance of that service. Whereof we earnestlie require both you and them, that there be nae default, as yow tender her majesties service and favor, and will awnswere to the contrarie. From Grenewich, the xth of January, 1584. Your verie lovinge friendes.

W. BURGHLEY, C. HOWARD, J. HUNSDON,
F. KNOLLYS, JAMYS CROFT, CHR. HUTTON.

No. LXXVII.

To our verie lovinge freinde the Sherife of the Countie of Stafforde.

After our hartie comendacions. Whereas the Scotishe Quene is presentlye to be removed vnto the castle of Tutbury, there to remayne vnder the custodie of Sir Ralph Sadler knight, chauncelor of the duchye, by her majesties appointment: these are to requyre yow, and in her majesties name to charge and commaunde yow, accordinge to suche direction as yow shall receyve from the said Sir Ralph Sadler, to assist him, as well at the time that he shall conducte the said quene from Wingfelde, with such number of gentlemen and others of that shire, and with such provision for carriages or otherwyse, as the said Mr Chancelor shall appointe; as hereafter likewise at all other tymes to be ready, vpon such lettres and other directions as yow shall

receive from him, vpon all occasions to gyve him such assistaunce for the furthuraunce of that servyce there, and the safe keepinge of the said lady, as he shall requyre. And if he shall think it convenient, that yow yourself shalbe there at the removinge of the said queene to the said castle of Tutbury to accompanye him so conductinge of her, that yow fayle not therin to accomlishe and performe that you shalbe requyred on that behalf: as also to followe all other directions yow shall receyve hereafter duringe his aboade there, and while he shalbe employed in that charge. Whereto we requyre yow to have especiall care, as yow tender her majesties servyce, and will answer to the contrarie. From Grenewiche, the xth of Januarye 1584. Your very loving frendes,

W. BURGHLEY, CHR. HUTTON, J. HUNSDON,
F. KNOLLYS, C. HOWARD, JAMYS CROFT.

No. LXXVIII.

To Mr Secretarie, from Mr SOMMER.

Right Honorable,

For answer to your lettre of the vith of this moneth, toching the laird of Ester-Weames sute and stay for answer from this Q. I ave sollycited Mr Nau, according to your appointment, for his mistres answer, without naming you, for so by your former you aduisid me; but as recommendid to me by a good freande, who had dealt with him therin at his being in London (for I had hearde that Mr. Wade had done so,) and so did he vnderstand it. He answerid, that his mistres was well persuaded of the said lairds good devotion to her service, and would therefore be ready to gratify him in a better sute when occasion might serue; and that he being altogether about the B. of Glasco in France, might watch for some such meanes. But that for this sute being a small graunte but of ii^s franch, (xx^s sterling) she had

bestowed it before Naues returne vpon one of her gentlewomen who came first with her into Englande, namid Janette Kenethy. In this answer he addid, that he was neuer moved by-me from you theryn. Which if he had ben at that lairds first comming into England, he wolde haue writen therof to his mistres, who he supposed wolde willingly haue granted it, and a better, vpon your motion.

Toching the other points of your lettres, as the ordres to be obserued for the custody of this lady, which ar yet referred to Mr Chancelors discretion, and her majesties commaundement to my L. St. John to accept of this charge, they ar now answered by Mr Chancelers lettre. Toching Sir Amyas Pawlet to be tryed in this charge, the weak state of his body, wherof you judge well, and the distance of his duelling, I think ar to be allowed as a sufficient supersedens. And in case my L. St. John wolde be content to haue some joynid with him (which Mr Chancelor hearith this L. wolde take as a discredite,) if it wolde please her majestie to make choice of ii of these gent. of these parts, sownde in religion, fast to her majestie, besyds their neere duellings, their credit and knowledge in this counties, good healpes of meanes of maintenance and other healpes at hande, and will not alledge excuse to be from their wyues, nor seek to haue them with them, viz. Mr John Maners, Sir John Zouche, Sir John Byron, Sir Thomas Cockayn, one of these to attende with his L. and in his absence for a tyme, by her majesties leaue, to be both vpon the charge, her majestie might be well serued, they by turne easid, and so the burden not fownde over grevous. Pardon me I pray you for saying this myne opinion. Motions must be made befor any thing come to effect. Heerwith I sende yow a copy of thinventory which yow sent to me, of the Q. majesties stuff sent to Tutbury at this ladies first comming thither for her use. And now vpon breaking vp of this house, and devyding that stuff from the earls and now sent to Tutbury, I sende vnto you a note of so much as is fownde heere of her majesties, by the report of his L. officers, and a note of the wants, to be vsed and callid for as shalbe thought meete. It is thought that one

Lawrence Steele, a servant of his L. and now there with him, en say most of all his men, what is become of those wants. Herewith ar also lettres from this Q. to the Queenes majestie. And so, &c. Wingfeld, the 13 of January, 1584.

LXXIX.

Sir RALPH SADLER to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

The ixth of this moneth I receavid yours of the vith, fynding therein, to my greate greef, your absence from the corte thorough the cause of your olde disease. But I trust, that by your experience and practise of the former meanes to restore yow to ease, yow shall not be long vnder the hands of them that wolde not be well at harts ease if all men were at ease. I perceaue by yours and by one from my Thresorer's, that my L. St John is with much difficulty browght to accept of this charge by commandement, but not with his good will, and that yow haue ben a good remembrancer for me therin, for the which I most hartely thank yow. God graunt that there be no change herin, but that I may shortly heare of his dispatche from the corte, and gyue some processe of the tyme of his coming hitherwarde, for the which I call by cowing through cold lowder then is myne ease. I fynde also, that a proportion of lxx^l by the weeke is set down as sufficient to defrey all charges for this Queenes dyet, and occasions depending on this charge: and so I beleue it will doo, and some spare, being skilfully husbandid, so as my L. St. John and his company to comme with him besyde the soldyors do not excede muche about xl. persons, as you haue writen it shall not. Within a while after my comming to Tutbury, I may perhaps sende yow some notes of meanes to ease the charges wherof Mr Cave had some remembrance in part, and may saue the signing of so many warrants, as otherwise ar to come from her ma-

jestie. This day we depart hence towards Tutbury, this night to Darby, the whole journey of xvi miles being now to long, specially for the first day, after lyeng so long still in a place, accompanied, as by my last former I haue signified. Ther is nother fite way then by Darby by reason of the hills and woods, and yet this very evell. I have gyven strait order to the bailifs and others of Darby to provyde that there be no assemble of gasing people in the streets, and for all quyetness as much as may be done. She hath a small trayne of her most necessary people with her; all carriages and other impediments being gone before, and ar already at Tutbury with some of myne to attende on them. Toching new ordres to be from hensforthe observed at Tutbury for the garde and safety of this charge, which (yow wryte) is not yet agreed vpon by her majestie by reason of your absence, and is therfore referred to my discretion for the tyme, as is signified in your lettres to Mr Sommer: I meane to obserue the former ordres, according to the places, tyme, and company. And for the nvmbe of soldyers, vntill I shalbe otherwise commaunded by her majestie, I haue already gyven order, by vertue of her H. commission, to haue ready at Tutbury tomorrow, Thursday, xxi soldyors to remayne and serue as her majesties ordinary retynewe, in dayly pay there of viii^d a day, and vi honest hable men to comme nightly out of the villages adjoyning as their turns will come about; who with iii of those soldyers (whose turn will thus come about but every seventh night) shall watche nightly in fit places. And for the daily warde, the soldyers being daily in the howse, some of them shall supply that service. And one of my folk, namid Richard Smythe, a man of good trust and lyke personage, to be gent. porter, as he hath ben syns the departure hens of the erles people. And the watche to be set by James Fenton, who hath serued in Irland, and syns his discharge, as before that service, hath followed me. This I trust will suffice for the tyme vntill her majesties commandement further shall be brought thither by my L. St. John. Thus being ready to goo to our horses in a fayre day, I take my leave of you, &c. Wingfeld, 13 January 1584.

No. LXXX.

Sir RALPH SADLER to my L. Tresorer.

Please it your good L.

Your lettres of the vith of this Januarie I receyuid the xth, and upon consideracion of the same, do fynde meself most bound vnto your L., not only for the curteous maner of your writing to me both largely and playnelie, but also for your favourable and most friendlie dealing to releve me of this charge; which your great favor and gratuyte I shall neuer be able to requite, but yet shall neuer want good will thereto; for all that I can or shalbe able to do for your L. or any of yours, your L. shalbe most assured of, with my harte prayer and service during my lif; and so for this matier of my reliefe, as I see I nede not further to presse your L. to contineu your care of me therin, being of yourself so favourable inclyned towards me, so I leave it as the thing which wolde be most comfortable to me, to your L. good furtherance, as your best oportunyte may serve. And where your L. writeth in thende of your saide lettre of her majesties desire to cut of as moche as may be the charges of the dietts and other charges incident to the garde of this Scottish Q., wherein I perceyue your L. hath had som conference with Mr Cave, and delyuered vnto him som notes, whereby we may the better lerne how to accomplish her majesties pleasure in that behalf, I assure your L. that for my parte, whills I am here I will not faile, though I coulde neuer skill of good husbandrie, yet to loke vnto it with such care as her majestie shalbe put to no superfluous charge as moche as in me is. And truly if a frugel and discrete man had the care of the provisions of all things for and concerning the said dietts and other charges, I think the allowance which was first allowed to the erle of Shrewesbure wolde fully supplie the same, as by iii or iii

monethes experyence will appere, wherein after Mr Caves arryvall here, vpon consideracion of your saide notes and some conference to be had therevpon betwixt Mr Sommer, Mr Cave, and me, we shalbe better able to signefie our poure opynyons vnto your good L.

This day we remove this Q. to Derby, and to-morrow to Tutburie, the wayes being so foule and depe, and she so lame, though in good helth of bodie, that we can not go thorough on a day, meself also being more vnhablle then she is to travaile, for that I haue not ben well this moneth and more, ne yet shall, I feare, recouer so long as I remayne vpon this charge, whereof I long to be delyvered when it shall please God and her majestie. And so being loth to trouble your L. long, alwaies occupied with great affaires, with the reading of a longer lettre, I beseche Almighty God to preserve and kepe your L. in long life and good health, and to increase you in honor and vertue.

Postscripta. Ymediately after I had closed vp this lettre, your L. of the xth of this estate arryued here, by the which I perceyve your L. carefulnes of my libertie and delyverance from this charge doth still contynew; for the which I am most bownde to your L. And touching the placing of Sir Jo. Zouche in my rowme, trewly I thinke him as mete a gentleman as can be chosen to assiste my L. St John in this charge. But as touching Henry Skipwith, though I knowe him to be a very honest gentleman, and mete for that purpose, yet do I knowe also that he is not acceptable to this queene, because he had the garde of the late D. of Norffolk in the Tower, and that therfore she will have grete mislyking of him; wherfore, in my poure opinion, now that she loketh to have more libertee then she hath had, and to be more kyndelie treated of her majestie, according to such promises as her secretarie Nau hath brought from her majestie, it will brede a contrarie opinion in her, if any suche person as she so moche misliketh shoulde be placed aboute her. But for Mr Zouche, surely he is a very mete gentleman for the purpose. For my parte, I referr to her majesties pleasure to place him now in my place, and so to discharge me, or to deferre it vntill my L. St Johns comming. And if I wist that he

wolde com within this xx days, though I desire nothing more than to be at libertee, yet for that I vnderstande that many things be out of order within the honor of Tutburie, being parcell of the duchie, and within my charge, the woodds and game within the forest, chace, and parkes there, being greatly wasted and destroyed, I can be well contented for the better seruice of her majestie, to spend so moche tyme there to put things in better order for the preseruacion of the saide woodds and game as moche as in me is; and for the removing of this Q. I trouble this contrey as little as may be. I have iiii dayes past wryten myne own lettres to the saide Sir Jo. Zouche, and to Sir Jo. Byron, Sir Tho. Cockayn and to Mr Jo. Manners and Mr Curson, which dwell here at hande, and be now ready to attende vpon her this day to Derby, and with but a small trayne, so that your lettres to the shreifs of Stafford and Derby for that purpose shall not nede now to be deliuered. Also for the souldours, though her majestie thinke that so gret a number shall not nede at Tutburie as here at Wingfelde, yet in dede Tutburie requireth rather a greter number, because the house is more spacious, and the contrey therabout more open; but yet for all that, I haue take order before the receipt of your L. lettre, to haue but half so many at Tuthury as we have had here, vntill I may know her majesties further pleasure in such things as of late I wrote, and now agayne have wrytten to Mr Secretarye, whereof I wolde be glad to receyue som good answer. Mr. Somer in dede desereuth thanks, and more than thanks, of her majestie; for she hath a wise, discrete, and good seruant of him; it is he that easeth me of th'ole burden and care of this seruice; wherin, if it had not ben for his helpe and carefull assistance, I coulde not haue so long contynewed; and therefore I am the more loth to leaue him behinde me. Wingfeld, 13 January 1584.

No. LXXXI.

To my Lord Thesaurer from Sir R. SADLEIR.

My very good lord,

Vpon Thursday, the xiiiith of this moneth, I came hither with this Q. my charge very well, having had two faire dayes. Mr Caues journey was shortened by so much, who came hither the xvith. The messages which your L. delyverid to him in wryting ar now answerid by Mr Somer, as yowe appointid the care thereof to him, and ar herewith sent to your L.

My L. Pagets late 'houshold stuff not holding out so good in substance as in qualite, of so much as was brought hither, besydes the meanesse of the more part of it, causid somewhat adooe to please this company. But with some shift and words to supply with speede the necessary wants, the better sort wer quyeted. I sent to Coventree for some fethers to helpe many shotten beds, and for some common coverlets and blankets, whereof in deede heere is neede this colde whether in this colde house, and for some dornix to make common hangings for her gentlewemens and principall officers chambres, and to make curteyns and testers for her gentlewomen, and window clothes for her chambre, for hither came not one payre of curteyns. I haue also sent for as much linnen cloth, of three sorts, as will make lx payre of sheetes more, for a change, as is needefull. These alredy delyverid will be ready to be shifted before new can be made, I feare. If that toun will not yeld vs all those things, I must needs sende further for the lacks, for fayer words and promesses will not keepe folk warm long. Mr Thomas Grevesly, late sherif of this county, hath sold to Mr Digby x pair of hangings which wer in my L. great chambre. They wolde have serued well heere, for many of suche as came hither

vnder the name of hangings, wer no better, no bigger, then meane counterpoints, wherof I believe that Mr Grevesley is not to beare the wyte, the best of all things being gon before he went to make the inventory; and I see no likelihoode of their returne into this contrey, partly Mr Digby being vnwilling to depart with them, and also for that Mr Grevesley is orderid to delyuer me some portion of money growing of the sales of some of that stuffe, to provide lynnens and other wants heere. And so hath he offred to send to me, within a day or two, c (100) l. I thinke he hath xxx or xl more of these sales, if neede be.

As for myne opinion touching Sir John Zouche to attend heere on this charge after me, and then I to attend the soner, I wrote therein to your L. by post, the xiiith of this monethe. If her majestie will be pleasid, vpon your report of my writing, to heere my motion in that behalf, I will trust then to make a report to her H. of this charge, which is now in very good state for health, and begynneth to goo about her chambre, with some healpe, her foote being yet swolne and weake. She lykyth her awne lodging heere well; but better she wolde lyke it, if it were hangid with better hangings then these late my L. Paget's, being vnsewtable and vnlymid. Her majesties be to deep for her romes by almost the half, and therfore desyrith to haue some other from her majestie. Her chambre is but ix foote deepe, from the reason or wallplace being seeled vnder the rafters as a pavillion roof, and for the reasons overhead ar stretchid some of her majesties large hangings. viii or ix peeces will serue to hang that chambre, viz. one of . . . foote, one of . . . f. and one of . . . f. and so many other as will make xxxiii foote, being all the length of her chambre on one syde, with a returne from the chimney: that syde hath no timber.

Your L. vnderstandith by Mr Somers answers to your memoryall, that Mr Candishe is now comme hither, and though he be gon abroad, yet my Lady Grace, his nise, remaynith heere; and, as I have an in-clyning, meaneth so to do, and he shortly to returne, and to abyde, vn-

till they shalbe provydid of some house of the L. Pagets, in lieu of his heere, namely, Bandegrete, and some other commodites there about; I haue thought it my duety to signefy thus muche, to be consyderid and ordred by her majestie, whether it be meete that they, or any of them, shall remayne heere so neere to this Q. ; his house being within stones cast of the corte of this castell.

Some wants requyred to be supplied vnto this Q. which she hath recommended to me, ar hangings for her chambre, as is afore noted, some white belles for her housholde, six carpets for the flures of her bed-chambre, vsed in tyme of her sycknes and for her closet, and two siluer chaffing dishes.

Other wants she fyndith, wherof her secretary Nau sendith now a memoriall, which she prayd me to recommende to her majesties good lyking and consent. Two other things she desyrith earnestly to vnderstande. The one is, whether her lettre which she sent vp to her majestie about the vith of this moneth, to be first scene, and then sealid by her H., and so conveyed to her son, be so sent or no, by a saue messenger, that will delyuer it to his awn hande, as she desyreth. Thother is, how her majestie lyke and accept of her consent in that maner to joyne in the English associacion. She is right joyfull to vnderstande, that her majestie is well satisfyed with her wryting, as your L. wryteth. She wryteth now agayn to her majestie, which I send to your L. herewith.

The same day this Q. came hither, my L. Stafforde passid speedely through this towne with iii or iiii in his company, himself playnely apparelled, and stayde at a village ii miles hence, callid Hilton, in an alehouse, whilst this Q. was past, where some of my folk espyed him in a wyndow. So sone as we wer all a good way past, he rode to Burton that night, as one of the village brought me worde, but I knew not where he became after. His house of most abode is about xiiii myles hence. 21 [originally the 19th] January, 1584.

No. LXXXII.

*Postscript to a Letter of Mr SOMER to the Lord Treasurer of the
21 Jan. 1584.**

Synce the wryting of my present lettre to your L. and a privat motion made aloof to Mr William Agard, of a ratid proportion in quantities and prices of purveyances, in my lettre mentionid, I fynde him very willing for her majesties service to vndertake all that mater vnder a person of qualite. He is a particuler recevor of this honor, duellith within these two myles. He maryed one of the heyres of Mr Fr. Agard, late of Irland. He is a man of good welth, credit, and acquaintance in all these parts; a man of very good vnderstanding, towards l. [50] yeres old, and in very good credit with Mr Chancelor. He can gyve very good direction readily in all thinges of houshold, being put in trust, but wolde not take the chif charge, for he hath sometyne busynes abrode.

* The letter appears to have been lost.

No. LXXXIII.

*Memoryall of Wants for the Scottish Queen and others. Jan. 17, 1584.
For the Quene and her Housholde.*

The width and
depth of her cham-
bre. To the cort.¹

To vse some of
them now in the Q.
chambre.

The like in this
place.

To the court.

Hangings throwghlie lyned, fitt for her bed-
chamber, and the light ones, vnsewtable and
vnlyned, which ar presentlie, may serve for
her majesties gentlewomen.

Two hangings for the two doores of her
majesties vtter chamber.

Two peece of hangings for her majesties
closet.

Six good carpets for the floores, as well
within her majesties chamber, her bed, vtter
chamber, as her closett, but specially in her
bedchamber when she is sicke.

Shalbe providid heere.

A carpet for a boorde in her majesties bed-
chamber.

Six courtyns to hange on windowes, to
witt, two in her majesties bedchamber, two
in her vtter chamber, and two in her closets.

Fowre cwissins.

A chyre for her table at denner and supper.

Two silver chawfrets.

To the court.

A howse for her majesties lawendars, with
toolles necessary for their offices.

Alredy done.

One to beare wood and coles to hier majes-
ties chamber.

¹ These marginal notes are in the hand-writing of Mr Somer.

Shalbe providid heere. { Threttie payres sheetes to be distribute for
change amongst her majesties folks, to witt,
xv payres for the principall servants, and the
rest coursear.

{ Twelve payre blankets.
Boordes, coopboordes, bankes, stooles, and
chyres.

To the court.

Six silver boles to drink in, for the houshold.

Some shalbe pro-
vidid heere.

{ Common hangings for the chambers of the
principal servants.
Augmentation of fethers for the beds.
Twelve bed coverlets.

As much as was al-
lowed in my L. of
Shrewsbury's tyme,
14 quartes, and aug-
mentation of ii quartes
to make it xiiii quartes.

{ Fyve gallons of wyne, to be allowed a day
for all.

To be providid
heere.

Some lynings, as towals and commoun
napkyns.

Already done.

Allowance, within the house, for her ma-
jesties cotcheman, and the horskepears vn-
der him.

No. LXXXIV.

Sir RALPH SADLEIR to the L. Thresorer.

My very good L.

Your lettre of the xviiith of this moneth was brought hither to me
by this messenger Hills, the 22. To the first point, of our remoue
from Wingfeld, and arryvall heere, your L. hath by this tyme vnder-

derstood it by myne of the 21. by post. To the second, for that nombre of gentlemen attendant, thought by her majestie to make a shew of feare: at the lodging in Derby, and more amply at their departure hence, this Q. thankid the Q. majestie for the honor it had pleasid her to shew vnto her by appointing such grave and ancient wyse gentlemen, and of that calling and reputacion, to accompany her in this jorney, and gaue great thanks to them all, which I think surely she meant as she spake it. For neyther by word nor shew at Wingfeld, when she heard first of that convoy, nor by the way, she made no appearance of mislyke, but rather of good contentment. They came but with their houshold seruants and many furnitures, the best not exceeding xvi persons. To the thurde, of her majesties mislyking of the likelihode of the charges heere to be as great as my L. of Shrewsburies first allowance, and that I shuld devise how the charge shuld not excede the yerely rate of xv^c. [1500] l. which youe thought was impossible to be done, allowing for c. persons at the least. I am of your L. opinion in that point, as experience shewith me heere by this litle beginning; and to healpe to ease that as much as may be, in outward shewe and opinion, howsoever theeffect will fall out, Mr Somerhath, by his lettres, and pryvat notes, sent with my said last dispatch, advertised yow of some meanes (as it is thought) how to do it. This beginning confirmit hitherto my L. of Shrewsbury's sayeng to me, that no man, having not such helpes of prouisions as he had, should be able to goo thorough honorably with this charge, hardly for 3000l. ayde. But now that we lyve altogether vpon the peny, all the best conveyent helpes are to be sought, as certeyn prouisions late the L. Pagets, noted vnto your L. by Mr Somers last lettres, which being ones in vse, will spare some money. In the meane tyme, I se no reamedy, this Q. being kept in this sort, but her majestie must abyde this brunt of charge, as they may out, vnder honest officers. I haue causid Mr Caue to set down in wryting a note of this housholdes charge for this one weeke past sins we came hither, whereby the charge of a long-

er tyme may be partly seene. Methinks the diet to be mended, and the prices of things very reasonable, and neede no commission be the Q. prices, for in deed outfyors ar odious, whereof we had some tryall at Wingfeld. Many commodites of powltry and fowle wer usually brought neere to the house, very good cheape, which, after commission was knowne to comme down and purveyors abroad (I know not how they vsed it) that vse was forborne, and the commodites caryed farther from sight, and the hous meanly seruid that way for som tyme. Of those things Mr Somer writeth more to your lordship, which makith my lettre the shorter.

I thank your L. very hartely for the good hope your lettre gyvith me of my L. Johns comming at lenth, and shortly to redeeme mee. In the tyme I follow your L. advise, and do see greater spoyles yn these woddes and game than ar to be borne withall, if the offenders yver to be callid to a rekoning and suffered; but when I haue seene all, and vnderstande as moche as I can, I will make report what I fynde and think of therein. As for one to assist my L. in this charge, which is myne opinion, will be comfortable surely, if her majestie may so be pleasid to allow it. Sir John Zouch is a very meete person for many respects, as I have lately writen to your L. myne opinion.

The departure of myne old acquaintance, as your L. writeth, therle of Lincolne, puttith elder folk in remembrance to prepare themselves to passe that pase, which makith me the more to desire to be in another place to haue yet some comfort emong them, whom God hath blessid me withall to be as staues for my old dayes. And so trusting to see shortly theeffect of my desyre, with my most harty commendations to your good L. I take my leave of you, &c. 25 January, 1584.

No. LXXXV.

Mr SOMER to the L. Treasurer.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

I haue so oft heard and felt of the Q. majesties extraordinary fauors and goodnesse with effect towards me, as the new repetition thereof in such princely sort, and as from herself your L. hath honourably deliuered them to me by your lettres, makith me more ashamed that they ar bestowed vpon a person of so small desert, then to think myself worthy of the lest of them, knowing right well that in any thing I do, it is my bounden duety towards God and her majestie, and yet in all but vnprofitable. If her majestie had bestoued more vpon me then is meete for me to haue, all the recompence I can returne, is baren thanks, or her awne agayne; and my harty prayer to Almighty God for her majesties prosperite and long lief, which prayer shall not faile, nor end with me, but be dutiously contynewed by them, who, if God spare me, ar to haue part of these blessings, which by God's goodnes, her majestie being thereof the instrument, haue ben bestowed vpon me. In these things I must of right and duety acknowledge a great obligation to your L., for the which I must humbly thank you, whome God long preserue, as your vnfaynid wellwillers and seruants do desyre of him for many good causes.

With Mr Chaneellors last depeche to your L. of the 21 of this present, I was bolde to signify vnto your L. my poor opinion in some things, wherein I boldly prevented your L. desire, mentionid in yours brought hither synce. Of that mynde am I still, that no stranger can do the forrayne actions of this seruice of her majesties commodite so pertinently to know what he doth, as some well chosen wise persons of credit, acquaintance and abode in these parts, can do. And

that some person countenanced in corte by her majesties service, to be appointid hither as superintendent of this houshold, wolde be for her majesties honor, that person to be instructed to vse and of such of these parts as can direct him for her H. honor and proffit. But if her majestie will not be vnservid there of any such as I haue named, nor will contynue Mr Cave heere to haue the chief authorite in maters of housholde ; if then her majestie wold be pleasid to imploy Mr. Wm. Agarde in the whole of that seruice, of whom I lately wrote to your L., I am verily persuadid that he will do her majestie good seruice to her contentment herin, so much as may be done with her honor and respect to this lady, as she meanithe. I haue pryvatly entrid with him in this matter, and haue fownd him pleyable, though he be well to live, not desirous of troublesom charge, nor restraynt of his accustomed liberte from his home, but ready to do her majestie seruice all that he can do. Wherof surely he hath sheued as yet he hath good testimony. For the particular respect of Mr Chancelor, who bestowed vpon him this office of a particular receator of the duchy, and is heere every day with him, and for his more contenance heere and in that seruice abroad, if it shall please her majestie to vse him in this seruice to direct or to assist, to favour him with the title of her seruant in some extraordinary calling, as gent. vssher extraordinary, being a tall personable gentleman, in myne opinion it wolde serue to good purpose for her seruice ; and during this charge to allow him some enterteynement out of this common charge, not by speciall graunt, which perhaps wolde not lyke her majestie, for his credit and countenance only, though his attendance, and therby absence from his awne busynesses and libertyes, will deserue consideration. Heereby duellith also a brother of his, George Agarde, who hath sometyme servid Sir Walter Mildmay, and is vsed in other charges vnder his brother William. To him is committed, vnder his brother, by Mr Chauncelor, the provision of wood and cole to be made and brought for this company ; and hath so well delt therin, as the bringing hither of a lode costith the Q. but

ii^d a myle, the townships here about owing of old seruice hither, though of late not called vpon, contrybuting or serving themselves for the rest.

As toching a plot of the nombres, and charge which may be established from thence when my L. St John shall comme hither, Mr Chancelor is about the same with these Q. officers, what allowance is to be made and settled for her and her houshold in all things. Wherof Mr Caue caryed vp with him a note, so farre furthe as coulde be learned by my L. of Shrewsbury's officers was allowed to her. Which corse hath ben obseruid euer sythens. And so sone as the same shalbe set downe heere, he will sende it to your L. as you requyre. Your L. hath by this tyme seene yn Mr Chancelors last depeche, and by this Q. awne lettres, what numbres this Q. desyrith of men, wemen, and horses, and my answers to her secretary, which coulde not satisfye her.

In answer to your L. other lettre to me, Mr Chancelor hath leyde a post at this place to cary his packets to Loughborough, xv fowle miles hence; and he to cary his charge to Witham, xv myles further, which is the post and highwaye betwene Grantham and Stamforde, by which waye he sent the last and first packet from hence in post. This is the neerest way to gett into the ordinary post waye. These two posts are paid xx^d. *per diem* a peece, wherwith he of Loughborough is not pleasid but vpon a proff for a while; and he of Witham lookith also for some consyderacion for breaking out of his accustomed waye, which will cause him keepe one horse more, as Howlson of Newark sayth he did, and for allowance for that seruice during our being at Wingfeld hath made peticion to Mr Secretary.—25 January, 1584.

-No. LXXXVI.

Copie of the Cardinal of Como's Lettre to Dr. Parry, 30 January, 1584.

Monre,

Sa S^{ta} di N. S^{re} ha veduto le lettere di V. S. del primo, con la fede inclusa, et non può se non laudare la buona dispositione et resolutione che scrive di tenere verso il servizio et beneficio publico, nel che la S^a S. l'essorta di perseverare con farne riuscire li effetti che V. S. promette: Et accioché tanto maggiormente V. S. sia ajutata da quel buon spirito che l'ha mosso, si concede sua B^{ne} plenaria indulgenza et remissione di tutti li peccati secondo che V. S. à chiesto, assicurandosi che oltre il merito, che n'haverà in cielo, vuole ancora S. S^{ta} costituirsi debitore a riconoscer li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior modo che potea, et cio tanto piu, quanto che V. S. usa maggior modestia in non pretender niente. Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi santi et honorati pensieri et attenda a star sano, che per fine io me le offero di cuore, et li desidero ogni buono et felice successo. Di Roma a 30. di Gennaro 1584. Al piacere di V. S.

A Mon^{re}

Monsignor Guglielmo Parry.

N. Car^{le} di Como.

No. LXXXVII.

Sir R. SADLER to the L. Thresorer, 5 Febr. 1584.

My very good L.

With mine of the xxvth of January, I sent yow by Hills the messenger, whom your L. sent hither, a note from Mr Caue of the precedent weeks charges of this whole housholde, syns we came hither, as your L. requyred, which by the course of a lettre brought to me yesterday from your L. of the first of this present; by my seruant Jo. Dauet, I fynde was not then comme to you; wherin I cannot praise the diligence of that messenger, vnles he had some mishap by the way. Syns that tyme, vpon conference with this Q. officers about a plat of an establishment certeyn of her housholde in all things, as she hath long desyred, and as your L. aduised Mr Somer to send to yow, to be considerid of, against the comminge downe of the successor: I do now sende vnto your L. heerwith one booke of all her present allowance, and an other of her demaunds for some augmentation, wheryn she herself rebated somewhat (vpon sight of the first notes) from her officers demaunds, lyke a frugall good houswif, sayeng that she will have nothing superfluous. She earnestly desyrith that a certeyn resolucion may be settlid in that behalf, not to be altered vpon any change of governor. Mr Somer sendith now to your L. answer to the rest of your articles sent vnto me to be answerid by him, the same being now accomplished according to your direction.

I perceau by your L. said lettre, brought to me by John Dauet, that my L. St John being excusid from this charge vpon suche considerable causes as your L. alleagith, Sir Amyas Pawlet, now worthely one of her majesties privy counsell, is appointed, and hath willingly consented to take it vpon him, wherof I am right glad: but gladder

that your L. trustith I shall not tary heere many dayes. And for my further comforte, that you will hasten him to the best speede you cann. I hartely thank her majestie and your good L. for these good tydings.

I am very sory of her majesties displeasure towards Mr Gresley, for selling my L. Pagets late stuff, which I may think he did by the perswasion of some that wer desyrous to haue of it, and that he had authorite *ex officio*, after praisement to sell it to her majesties vse without further warrant, being perhaps vnacquainted with the lyke president. I cannot perceauē that he kept any part of it for his awne vse, but vnderstand that the best was gone afore he came to it: and therfore surely in myne opinion is not willingly faulty. But yet I will not excuse him in the selling it without warrant, as beforetyme I haue tolde him, when he seemid to be very sory for it. According to your L. appointment by her majesties commandement, I will send for him and delyver him the processe, which I darre say for him, will be a great greff to him, for I take him to be of a good nature. Mr Ferrers shall also haue your L. lettre to him.

Toching the articles sent by Nau with myne of the xxi, your L. may see by my answer for the process, that I gaue him small comfort, and in playne termes told him myne opinion thereof; and for an increas of horses and seruants, he was prayed to moue his Mrs to forbeare to requyre them yet, having no great neede, specially of mo horses this winter; but that wold not serue, seeing (as he said) her majestie had partly agreed to it. But though I looke for some mislyke at her handes in delyvering answer, that the resolution thereof stayd vntill my retorne to her majestie, yet I will do therin as your L. adviseth me, so sone as this depeche is gon, least she delyver now to her majestie her mislyking of that answer as she will do, she said, by her lettres, now for the not sending her lettres sooner into Scotland to her son. The stay wherof so long after the Mr of Grayes arryvall with the king her son, she fearith wilbe greatly hurtfull to her and to him in these good beginnings betuene the Q. majestie and them. I perceauē

by her she wrytith now to her majestie for leaue to sende one into Scotland, sayeng that she fearith all wilbe marred before any can be there from her, by the E. of Arran and the young Mr of Gray.

I perceauē also that there is order taken to send hither some peeces of plate which she requyrith. I haue now noted to Mr Secretary certeyn other things of no great valew, needfull to be vsed heere, besyds some that I haue providid of the said kynds which are entrid in the bill herin. These things being provydid aboue will spare mucche of this houshold money, which goith away apace; and may be brought downe on horsback by the caryers of Derby and of this toun, for lesse than 1d. a lib. And so may the plate be also brought in a tronk, well malid in canvas, much better chepe than by cart.

Toching this Q. note for a tent of tapisserie doble lynid with canvas, for her chambre, wherein your L. cannot vnderstand her meaning, I indede heard her [not] speake of any suche tent. But of lynid hangings for her chambre, these small vnsutable peces which she hath now, being vnlynid. And for suche Mr Somer sent your L. a note of the depthe of her chambre and of the membres and lengthes of the peces requysit for it, observing the spaces betuene the windowes, because her majesties hangings wer to deepe almost by the half. It may well be that she meant first suche, or sparver, or travers as your L. doth note to be her meaning. For in stead of suche a one, at the least ouer head, there is tyghtid over her bed a large pece of her majesties, from one syde of her chambre to the other, being 17 foote wyde, betweene the wall places, following the order of the roof, which is not lefted over, but seelid vnder the rafters, which makith her chambre the warmer, to her good lyking: And speakith of no want there but of such lynid sutable hangings. But if she call for such a tent, or other
, when I may know her meaning, it shalbe done as well as it may be heere. Toching the foot carpets for her bedchambre, which your L. sayth ar named by her *tapisserye de veloux*, I know her meaning is to haue some turky work carpets to lay about her bed as she had

at her first coming to this place, which with evell vsing, and in so many yeres, to the nombre of vii or viii peces ar not worth the carying, but onely to make vptale, and ar heere vi or vii of them altogether broken and vnserviceable. And those they call *tapisserie velue*, rough tapisserie; it may be considered how many of them, according to their bignes, will serve to lay about a bed. For if they ly further in the chambre, it wilbe in vayne and soone spoylid, example the other. Between the hearth of the chymney and her bed is about vii foote.

Now as toching the Q. majesties mislyking that I lodgid this Q. in Derby towne, coming hitherwarde, I assure her majestie and your L. that it was full sore against my will, if it might haue ben holpen. For to avoyde that towne if it might haue ben, I sent dyvers tymes of my seruants of good judgement, and ones Mr Somer, ryding to Tutbury to see if there wer any waye passable with coche and caryage, and convenyent place to lodge her and the company in some village or yn some gentlemans house, for the journey was to far in one day. And after they had well sought, they reported that there was no other possible waye for coche, but by the common way, and scant that at that tyme of the yere, by reason of hills, rocks, and woods. And I myself making a tryell ii or thre miles, fynding it true, caused bridges to be made to avoyde many evill passages. And as for any gent. house that way, or any other in dyuers miles, there was none but Mr Knyvetons house of Mercaston, a small house for such a purpose, and very litle meanes in that village, and standing in the worst way, which makith me humbly to beseeche her majestie to think that if ther had ben any other meanes, I wolde not haue comme by Derby, for I did foreconsyder of that, and therfore I wrote long before what way we must needs take.

And toching the informacion of a great personage, delyuerid to him by som officious officer, that this Q. was offred to salute and kysse a multitude of the tounes wemen, and of other speeches that (is sayde) she vsed to them; I do lykewise assure, and therto Mr Somer will be sworne if neede be, I going next before her, and he next behynd her,

yea, before all the gentlemen of purpose, saving one that caryed vp her gown, that her intertaynment was this. In the litle hall was the goodwife, being an ancient wydow, namid Mrs Beaumont, with iiii other wemen her neighbors. So sone as she knew who was her hostesse, after she had made a beck to the rest of the wemen standing next to the doore, she went to her and kissed her, and none other, sayeng that she was comme thither to trouble her, and that she was also a wydow, and therefore trusted that they shulde agree well inough together, having no husbands to trouble them. And so went into the parler vpon the same low floure, and no stranger with her but the goodwyfe and her sister. And there Mr Somer stayde, vntill the Q. put off her vpper garment, and toke other things about her. And further, so sone as she was within her lodging, the gentleman porter stode still at the doore to suffre none to go into the house but her awne people from their lodgings next adjoyning. And then I appointid the baylifs to cause a good watche of honest housholders to be at all the corners of the towne and in the market place. And viii to walke all night in the streete where she lodgid, as myself, lyeng over against that lodging, can well testify, by the noise they made all night. This your L. may boldly affirme if it please you vpon any occasion, which I will confirme when God shall sende me to answer, if it shall happen to come in question. In the meane tyme, I referre the ordring of it further to your L. consideration.

I send now also herwith to your L., as I promisid, the ordres which I haue set downe heere, and made knowne to all to whome it belongeth, for the safeguarde of this Q. and namely to be obseruid by the 30 soldyers, whom I haue chosen out emong her majesties tennants of this honor and duchy, handsom, lusty men, and well appointid, at viii^d. for their sold *per diem*. And haue also gyven them the order now sent also herwith. To the articles it may please you to add further as shalbe thought meete. 15 Febr. 1584.

No. LXXXVIII.

Sir RALPH SADLER to Mr Secretary WALSYNGHAM.

SIR,

Vpon the receipt of your lettres of the xxxth of January, brought to me the second of this present, I did let the Q. of Scots vnderstand that her lettre to her son was sent, and thought to be with him befor the date of your lettres, and the cause of the longer stay of it, as it is mentionid in your lettre. She cowlde hardly disgest that cause, but seemid rather to mistrust that it was stayde (she knowithe not by whose meanes) vntill the Mr of Gray had wholly discharged himself of his negociations with the Q. majestie, and that the favourits about her son had done their pleasure to blemishe any thing she cowlde send, before it cowlde comme to him: shewing some greef that it was sent no sooner, for she fearith still their evell caryage of her son, after their evell affections. I did what I cowlde to pacify and to satisfy her, as in such cases of her concept and impression it is no easy thing to doe at the first. But in thende she satisfied herself with the assurance (she said) that the Q. majestie, her good suster, knew not of the stay.

As to the other point of your lettre, of the evell furniture of this castell of things meete for this Q., wherof it seemeth that she complainid to her majestie, who thervpon conceavid offence against those that wer appointid to see it: I wrote to yow vpon report of a vew made of the L. Pagets late stuff, how meane it was; and that vnles the whole might be brought yn according to the inventory made with the shiryve, there wolde not be sufficient of hangings and beds with their furniture, and no lynen at all. Whervpon lettres were written to the shiryve from the counsell, willing him to get yn agayn all the

stuff which had ben solde, by redemption for the money paid : which he answerid he cowde not doo, for that the stuff solde, namely, x peeces of the largist hangings, which Mr Digby had, and som beds, wer in some hands that wolde not delyver them without expresse comandement from the counsell. And so betwene his solliciting and their refusall, we comming hither fownde som wants ; but very few in the Q. own lodgings, and with those few, as wyndow curtens, and such lyke small things, she seemid to beare vntill things might be provydid in this new tyme. Indeede some of her people had a litle patience for curteins and so many coverings and hangings in this cold house as they desyrid (but most of myne, muche more even at this daye) vntill I had gotten from Lychefeld and Coventre coverlets, blankets, some feathers, dornix, and som lynen for mo sheets for a change. These things being comme, they ar all meetely well furnished : namely all the best, at the least the higher sort, have no grete cause to complayne ; and lesse there wilbe, when the lynid hangings which I lately requyred by her note also sent vp at that tyme, shalbe brought downe. And being now entrid into this purpose, if there might be brought downe hither with that stuff, 300 or 400 weight of good swete fethers, (none good hereabouts to be bought,) good downe, and fustian for iiij or v pillowes for herself, or the pillowes ready made, iii or iiij peeces of good brode dornix for mo curtens or canapayes, for we had not one payre, (from my L. Pagets onely two or three meane canapyes,) and to serue for hangings for some of the gent. chambres, and vii or viii lib. of curten rings : those things will do pleasure heere. Coverlets and blankets we can fynde heerabouts. If these things comme from yow, (and will be brought by the caryers of Derby and of this towne for i^d. the lib.) it will spare this houshold money, which wastith apace. My L. Thresorer appointid Mr Gresley, late Sheryve of this county, to bring hither some of the money which hath been made of the sale of the L. Pagets late stuff. And so hath he delyverid to Mr Bryan Cave cxxiiii l.

wherof about xl. hath ben already layd out for the provisions from Lychefeld and Coventree.

Vpon my L. Thresorers motion to haue an estimat of this houtholds charges for a weeke, I causid Mr Cave to make a booke therof for one weeke, which I sent to his L. with myne of the xxv of the last monethe. And now, vpon a conference with this Q. officers, there is set downe one booke what is now daily served to her and to her houtholde of all things. And an other booke what they desyre to be augmentid : both which I sende now vnto my L. Thresorer, because he requyred it, and doo now goo heerwith, which yow may see, and then send them to his L. vnder your seale. After we had done, this Q. herself perused them, and rebated some small things of her officers demaunds, lyke a frugall good housewyf.

She desyrith very muche that an ordre certeyn might be settid and establishid for her things, aswell for her house as for her escuyrye, least vpon alteration of a governor, there follow also a change in these points. Lykewise she desyrith to know the Q. majesties good will and pleasure vpon her requests which I sent lately to my L. Thresorer, for ii gentlewomen more, to ease these iiii in the watchings with her in the tymes of her syknes and greifs, to thende she may, with her majesties good favour, send into Fraunce or Scotland for them, if she may haue none in Englande. And also mo horses, to make up xvi with xi she hath already, wherof vi ar at her majesties charges, and so haue ben long, and fownde before by the E. of Shrewsbury. Of these and other things she delyverid a memoryall, which I sent to my L. Thresorer. I do express them agayn, because she is so earnest to haue answer, for she must haue a good tyme to sende for them, specially the seruants. She is also as earnest to know to whose custody she shalbe committed after me, and who shall assist, if any do. She is now answerid to one of the two speciall points which she did specially recommend to my remembrance, that is, concerning her lettre to her son. Thother is,

how dothe her majestie lyke and accept of the act which she sent to her H. syns Naus returne, toching her joyning in that sort in the Englishe association.

I am right hartely glad to fynd by your lettre, that yow trust to be at the corte now very shortly, so as I trust yow ar well recoverid ; as also that I may haue the contynewance of your good healpe to rid me hence, wherein I am also very muche beholding to my L. Thresorer, for I perceauē that he hath done what he cowlde ; but God did not yet appoint the tyme : and yet I must not be careles of that which importyth me so muche. In this tyme of your absence from the corte, I receaued ii dispatches from the said L. by the Q. majesties commandement, he being then at the cort, whervnto I answerid to this L. and left to trouble yow therwith ; and yet think (as partly by your lettre I gather) that yow haue ben made acquainted with that of the xix of January. I send also now to my said L., as so promised also by my last to him, suche ordres as I haue set downe heere for the garde of this Q. and namely to be obserued by the xxx soldyers which, by her majesties commaundement, I have reteynid in this castell in the solde of viii^d. *per diem*, handsom, lusty men, and well appointid, all having good freends in this part of Staffordshire, or neere herabout, in Derbyshire, the most of them being of her majesties farmers or farmers sons depending vpon this honor and duchy ; that there may be further addid thervnto as shalbe thought meete, and also the othe which I haue gyven them.

I have also wryten to v justices of the peace, next neighbors in this county, and to iiii lyke in Derbyshire, to be themselves and their servants in readines with their horses, vpon all occasions, if neede shalbe. And also for watche and warde, to be kept in fite places, within x myles of this castell.

Having wryten thus fare, ready to make vp and sende away this packet, I receavid this evening, by my servant John Dauet, a lettre from my L. Thresorer of certeyn points by her majesties commande-

ment. And emong other, some answers to be made to this Q. vnto some of her notes sent vp with my depech of the xixth of Ja. and mentionid heere aboue, which, for discharge of your care of them, I haue noted in the margen, what is answerid and now superfluous to be writen heere. His L. writeth further of my L. St Johns stay from this jorney and charge, vpon afflictions happenid to his body and mynde; and that in his place Sir Amyas Pawlet hath assentid to take it, and that I shall but tary heere but few dayes, for his L. will haste him to the best speede he can, which God graunt; to whome, yn that good hope, with my most harty commendations, vnto yow, I recomende us all to the Almighty.

Tutbury, v Febr. 1584.

No. LXXXIX.

The Justices Names to whom Mr Chancelor hath writen to be careful.
5 Febr. 1584.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, NEERE TUTBURY.

In the counties of

		Miles.
Derby	Sir Thomas Cockayn of Ashborn	7
	Nicolas Browne of Snelston	6
	Francis Curson of Ketelston	6
	John Harper of Swarkston	6
	Mr Vernon, Shiriue	3
	N. Francis.	7
	Henry Sacheverell	7
	Tho. Knyveton	7

Staffordshire	{ Thomas Greuesley of Draklow	4
	{ Humfrey Ferrers of Walton	5
	{ John Bowes of Elford	8
	{ Aderley of Coton	2
	{ Richard Bagott of Blyfeld	6
	{ Mr Lee, Shirive	20
	{ Jo. Chatwin Tho. Trenham	

No. XC.

New Dorniks delyverid out at Tutbury since first of February, 1584.

There wer bought at Coventry, emong other thinges, two whole peces of dorniks, contayning cxxiii yards, and certen od yards. Her- of one peece, containing lx yards, was destributed by Mr Somer as followith:

ix Febr. 1584.

One parcell for the syde of the stayres going downe to the Q. dyning
chambre, conteyning iii yards
To make valences to the travers in the Q. chambre, which
was made of some of thother peece of lxiiii yards, and to
enlarge it iii yds. $\frac{1}{2}$
To the surgeon and potecary for their vse in their chambre iii
To Mr Melvills chambre, to hang one syde of it xvi
To Martin, the Mr cooke, for his bed ix
For the Q. billyards boorde vi
For a cubborde clothe to the great chambre, which, with the
cupborde, was caryed syns to Sir Am. Poulets chambre ii
To Mr Darrell, for a carpet for his boorde ii $\frac{1}{2}$
To hang before Mr Dauets chambre doore ii $\frac{1}{2}$

For the syde boorde where service was said in the great chambre ii yds.

For the table in the stoore chambre v

Ther remainid a remnant, which was delyuerid this 8 day of

May to my lady Powlet $v\frac{1}{2}$

lxi yards—a yard gotten in the
measure by lykelyhoode.

Of thother peece of lxiiii yards wer made:

To Mrs Rallay, a canapye of xiiii yards

To the physicion, the furniture for a bed, viz. curtens and

tester xiiii

To the surgeon and poticary, for the lyke purpose . . . xiiii

For a traverse in the Q. chambre about xii or xiii yards,

I do not remember.

For dyuers window curtens to the Q. dyning chamber, and

for her dyning chambre about xii yds.

For a screene for the gentlewomen xiiii yds., or therabout

For a carpet for the asquier yds.

Of another sort, not elle-brode, the gentlewemens chambre

was hangid, at the lest xl yds.

To hang befor Mr Melvills chambre doore about xii yds.

No. XCI.

To some Justices in Derby and Staffordshires to compound for caryages to Tutbury in ther lymits. 12 Febr. 1584.

After my very harty commendations. Wheras, by the Q. majesties commaundement, the Q. of the Scots is brought to remayn in this castell of Tutbury, wherby the contrey herabouts hath ben, and must needs be, so muche troublid and chargid with caryages to bring hither wood, cole, and other things needfull for the provision of this place, the neerest with caryages, and the further of with contrybutions, for the ease wherof as moche as may well be, and to thentent an orde may be established, and a certeynty known, aswell of the charge, as of the seruice of euery parishes and townships, from hensfurthe, within your seuerall dyuysions, to avoyde opynion of abuse by officers, and murmuring of the people, which I wolde healpe to avoyde by all the best meanes I can devise: I haue thought it a good corse to conferre with some of you how the same may be best don, and therefore pray you to conferre together about this mater, that ii of yow may comme hither to me vpon . . . next comming; on which day I haue also prayed some lyke of Derbyshire to be also heere. At this your meeting you may together consider, what townships and parishes, within your seuerall dyuysions, doo ow any seruice in this behalf to this honor, which is to be consyderid apart. And so fare ye hartely well. Tutbury, Febr.

No. XCII.

*From the Queenes Majestie.*Your very loving Soverain ELIZABETH R. ¹

BY THE QUEENE.

Trustie and right welbelouid counsellor, we greete you well. Being geuen t' vnderstand, how basely our howse of Tutburie was furnishid at the tyme of the queene your charges repaire thither, and what wants there are there of things of necessarie vse for one of meaner quality than the said queene, we cannot but thinke our honnor greatlie touchid therein, and the partye to whom you committid the chardge and ouersight thereof, worthy of seueare punishment; and although we haue geuen order for the present supplie of those wants, yet are we ashamid that such as weare put in truste with the matter, should be found so voyde of judgement, and so careles of our honnor, as to geue so great advantage to thos that looke curiouslie into our doings, to fynd faulte vppon so iust cause. And therefore our meaning is, that the said parties that haue so offendid, shall receaue punishment aunswerable to their deserts. And whereas you haue ben a longe sutor vnto vs (not without iust cause, to be dischargid of the burthen you now susteine, thoughe vnfitt for your yeres, yet most fitt for a man of your approuid fidelity) we haue not ben vnmindfull therof. And although yt haue ben differid for some specyall causes, yet haue we at length taken suche full resolucion therein, as you shall verie speedilie be at liberty to make your repaire vnto vs, which, as we know that you do most earnestlie desier, so shall we be most glad at the tyme of your accesse vnto vs to make our good acceptacion appeare vnto you, of your most painfull and faithfull seruice perfourmid in this late chardge. Geuen under

¹ These words are in the queen's hand-writing.

our signet at Somersethowse, the xviii of Februarie, in the xxviiith yere of our raigne.

We pray you not to forget to imparte theis our thankes also vnto our servaunt Sommer.

No. XCIII.

Sir RALPH SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

The 21 of this present I receauid a packet from yow, and therin one to this queene from the French ambassador, which I sent to her furthwith. The same day, towards night, I receavid an other of that date, containing a lettre from her majestie to this queene, and the copy, and one from her H. and another from yow to me. I forbare to deliuer it to this lady vntill the next day, because I hearde she was in great payne by her olde grefs, and also muche trobled in mynde for the late departure of her olde seruant, an old Mrs Rallay, of almost iiii^{xx} (80) yeres, buried heere that daye. After she had read out her majesties lettres, she said the first part of them was very comfortable, full of gracious woords to her contentment; fynding therin her majesties awne naturall good disposition towards her, agreeing to Naus report. But for ii other points she was greatly perplexid: thone, that her son shulde make suche an answer to her majestie with his awne hand, as is conteynid in her H. lettre, confirming Grayes assertion directly, that her son neuer assentid to any association; and having (with other lyke) wrought him to their wills, had causid him wryte Grayes awne woords, which he had formerly vsed to her majestie, which wer otherwyse then he had at that tyme signified to Nau, (who vouchid there the French ambassador for a witnes) that Gray, in his negotiations with her majestie, neyther disavowed nor yet approvid that association betweene

this Q. and her son. Thother point wherwith she was perplexid, is, that, in case (notwithstanding her majesties aduertisment in that her lettre) she will determyn to send one of hers to her son, her majestie wilbe content to doo therin as her H. shall see to be best for this Q. and for him. To this she desyrith very earnestly that she herself, by some of hers, may deale with him; a thing, she saith, most naturall, knowing best what is best for him, and how to deale with him, to bring him to joyne with her to be at her majesties devotion, as she hath protested to doo, if she may sende to him in tyme; which to doo, as she wold haue him, he cannot deny his bond by his awne lettres to her, wherof she sent one to Nau to shew to her majestie, vouching still his subscription to the association, and lamented muche that Nau coulde not be suffrid to speake with Gray in the presence of the counsell, where (Nau said) he wolde haue dryven him to speake otherwise of that matter then he had done to her majestie. She wolde wryte to her majestie her mynde at good lengthe. To these things, I, knowing nothing therof in substance, cowde make her none other then ordinary answer, with advise to comfort herself (taking it very heavily) with her majesties favor, wherof I doubtid not but she shulde in tyme see some good effect, vnles she wolde geue occasion of the contrary. Vnto this howre she hath a hard opinion of the sending of her lettres safely to her son, because she hearith not from her majestie or yow by whom they wer caryed, nor hath any answer from him to her, as specially requirid and willid him by thauthorite the mother hath ouer her son. To the last point of her majesties lettre of the Q. dowbt and feare of my successor in this charge, being still very inquisitif who it shalbe, for (as I haue oft said) she fearith euery change, being perswadid that she hath manydan gerous enemyes in Englande; in the hands of whome, or of suche as depende vpon them, she thinkith she cannot be saf, she wolde gladly haue vnderstoode his name, which her majestie doth not expres, but onely a parson not to be doubtid for his integrite. And surely, Sir, to remoue some jalosyes wherof she is very apprehensyf, if

it wolde please her majestie to name him vnto her by some lettre of her H. to comme hither before (though it be sent about the tyme of his setting forward, which I perceave by your other lettre he promisith her majestie shalbe on Monday the first of Marche), and to be heere iii or iiii dayes before him, when he cannot be revoked or stayd vpon any exception, in myne opinion it wolde do good; and the more, if he be recommendid vnto her in some suche sort as Mr Somer hath lately writen to yow by his seruant, vpon some speeche passid betweene him and Nau, who had heard, perhaps from the French ambassador, that Sir Amyas Pavlet was namid. This I do recommend, as in myne opinion a thing very pertinent in this case, at this tyme. (Heere is to be addid a postscript of Mr Chancelors awne hand, al of complements.) 23 Febr. 1584.

No. XCIV.

Copy of Humfrey Bridges Lettre to Mr Nicolas Langford, of Langforde in Derbyshire, about the beginning of Febr. 1584.

Not omitting my duety towards your worship, but complayning of your towards me, how badly I haue ben dealt withall, not onely in promising me your helpe of preferment, but also a meane, by procuring Sir Thomas Kockayn his precept to bring me before him for a fellow, might it haue pleasid your W. to afordid me your good report, my credit had ben advancid, albe it nothing impayred. For by how litle I haue offendid her majesties lawes, by so muche the lesse I care or crave your healpe. But if these be the benefits of sweet words, I will lesse norishe myself with suche flattering frends. But if it wolde please yow to call to remembrance your promes, I shulde haue receavid a better guerdon, when your occasion was to haue vsed me into Scotland withall, if I wolde haue ben caryed away from yow, I was promisid not so lytle as xx merkes for the removing of Gray, when he

came to yow, besyds good preferment for myself, which would haue savid me twice xx merkes. But I had more regard of my duety then yow of *your safty*. And do you think that all degrees be set downe to your will, and that you shall never haue occasion to vse your poore wellwillers agayn? And if you will not forget what yow wold haue had me to haue *practisid*, it doth merit good. And albeit yow litle deserue so muche seruice, yet me gyve yow a caveat to *beware* of your man *Rouland*, how yow make him to much acquaintid with *your lettres*. I wolde to God it had ben my good hap to haue ben at Waltons when your *short sworde* came thither; you shulde not haue neede to cause that villain your man to haue loked vnder the bed, thinking I had ben there. I pray God yow vse not Walton as yow vsed Bradstrete before him. All the speeches that I passid to Goodale your man, Rowland your man tolde me of them; and how that you receavid *lettres* from the *queene*, and that yow shulde be made a *duke*. Where you complaynid to the justices of me, all was vntrew that yow tolde them; for whosoeuer tolde yow that I brought a horse into your grownd is a villayn, and lyethe falsely. But the justices know your bloody mynde well inough; for if yow be angry with a man, yow wolde haue him killid or hangid streightways. What yow tolde Mr Rawley's man, I wolde yow and I wer in place where we might answer the one the other. Mr Rawleys mans comming downe, was but to spye your house and your lyving, what it was. I shall wryte as fast to the justices of yow as yow did of me, that they may vnderstande what yow ar. At my comming from London, I will make your *towre* better searchid then ever it was. And so I cease, prayeng God to make yow a new man.

By me, HUMFREY BRIDGES.

*Directed to the right worshipful Nicholas Langforde,
esquier, at Langforde, with speede. [He caused
this to be written, for he cannot wryte.]*

No. XCV.

*The Examinacion of Humfrey Bridges toching Nicolas Langforde,
24 Febr. 1804. Copy. Thororiginalls sent vp primo Martii.*

24 Febr. 1584, at Tutbury. The sayengs of Humfrey Bridges to Sir Rafe Sadleir, knight, vpon the points of a lettre, which the said Humfrey causid to be written to Nicolas Langford, of Langford, in the county of Derby, esquier, about the beginning of Febrary aforesaid.

The cause why he wrote that lettre was, that the said Humfrey Bridges, hauing seruid the said Mr Langford about ii yeres, and sent for to comme to serue him, promising him a good recompence, and fynding no suche thing, but the likelihoode of the contrary, after he had spent his substance in vayne with him, he wrote that lettre in cholere against him ; and namely, because Mr Langford charged him with horsestealing.

To the first materiall point, *for the removing of Gray*, being demaunded what he ment by that, he said, that one John Ball, brother to Thomas Ball, baylif of the hundreds about Derby, came to this Bridges, and said there wolde be as good as xx marks gyven to any that wolde healpe to take Gray, a masse priest. Whervnto he answerid, that he knew nothing of Gray where he was. In this his concealment consisted Mr Langfords safty ; for Bridges knew that Gray hauntid Mr Langfords house.

To the thurd point, viz. what Mr Langford wolde haue had Bridges to haue practised, it dothe merite good ;

He saith, the meaning therof is, that when the said Mr Langford, (being then Bridges Mr,) shulde haue sett furthe two horsmen for the Q. majesties service towards Scotland, about two yeres now past, this man to be one, the said Mr Langford bade this man perswade as many

Englishmen as he cowlde to turne to the king of Scotts, if they went into Scotlande; because (said he) he thought that to be the stronger, and the faithfuller syde, for the king of Spayne wolde send thither to ayde the K. of Scotts.

To the iiith point, that Mr Langforde shuld beware of his man Rowland, how he made him to much acquaintid with his lettres;

He saith his meaning therby is this: that one day, he seing Rowland goo through the hall with a litle lettre in his hande, about half a yere agoe or somewhat more, asked Rowland from whome that lettre came, who answerid from the best in Englande. Therto this Bridges said, belyke it is from the Q. majestie. Rowland, going away smyling, said, it was no matter for that.

To the vth, where he speakith of a short sworde, and was sought vnder a bed;

He saith, that he meanith nothing by that, but of vnkindnes and harde speeches which Mr Langforde had gyven out of him.

To the vith, for the vsage of Walton, as he had vsed Bradbent, &c.;

He meanith therby, that Mr Langford had taken away some of Bradbents lyving, and so might vse Walton.

To the vii and 8, of speeches to Goodale; Rowland told this Bridges of them, and how Mr Langford receavid lettres from the queene, and that she wold make him a duke, &c.

The meaning therof is, he saith, the last somer, one Anne Tailor, then in Mr Langfords house, not as a seruant, but to hyde her there for religion, (whither she went for apparence, and was detectid and stayd by a mynister,) as she came out of the parlor, seing this Bridges, askid him, whether he wolde not turne yet? (meaning religion.) He answerid, that he wolde not turne to her religion whilest he lived. She said he was the more foole, for the king of Spayne, quod she, wolde shortly sende great forces first into Scotlande, and mary his daughter to the K. of Scotts; and then wolde come into England, and wolde restore the Scottish Q. to her right to the crowne of Englande; and said,

it wolde be shortly, were it not for that bloody erle of Leicester. He askid, why did she terme him so? She answerid, because he had caused Arden and Somerfeld to be put to deathe, because he wolde have their lyvings. Then he asked her, how knew she so muche? She answerid, that the Scottish Q. had written to Mr Langforde, that he shulde sticke to his religion, and she wolde make him a duke, and make Robert Gray archbishop of Canterbury. This Gray, he saith, hath ben somtyme Mr Langfords tutor, and yet is a massing priest, and resortith to him, and rydith lyke a serving man, as dyvers other like priests vse to doo, as one Clerk, Blackborne, Francis, and other, whome he knowith not so well. He knowith not where they do vsually stay, but haunt pryvily to mens houses, among other to Mr Bentley, seruant, as he thinkith, to my L. Windesore, and dwellith nere vnto Eveley, in Derbyshire.

To the ixth, where this Bridges saith, that at his comming from London, he will make Mr Langfords towre better searchid then ever it was:

Therby, he saith, is meant, that in that towre, being a place of lodgings, the saide priests vse to meete to lodge there, and haue ben kept secret there, and dayly servid there of meat and drink, and other necessaryes, by Denys Lathe and Nicolas Elcock, Mr Langfords housholde seruants.

Being demaundid, why he did not disclose these matters to some person of credit, or to some justice of peace, or to some of her majesties privy counsell?

He answerith, that he knew not what to doo in such maters, but having consyderid more of these maters of late, meant to goo to the court to haue vttrid it to some of her majesties counsell, but that he had no money to beare his charges.

No. XCVI.

To Mr. Secretarie, about the last of February, 1584.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Your packet of the xxvith of Febr. was brought hither the xxviiith, and therewith an other to the Scottish Q. from the Frenche ambassador, which I delyuerid furthwith, fynding her wryting to the queenes majestie and to others, (as Nau told me) as she hath ben doing these 4 or 5 dayes, soone weryed at a tyme. Vpon suche occasion of lettres, she oft (but Nau more) is very desyrous to know of another governors coming, when and who; wherof she hath some aduertisement, perhaps from the French ambassador. But nothing is told her heere of certeynty who it be specially, whereat she is not well satisfyed. Therefore such a lettre as you write of now, from her majestie, naming him, gyving her assurance of him, and that he dependith onely on her H., will gyve her moche more contentment, than that he shuld comme vpon a sodayne, or vnadvertisid before, considering the late good tearmes which haue passid betweene her majestie and her.

She longith lykewise very muche to hear, and therof Nau speakith oft and earnestly to me, of her majesties consent and allowance for an increas of her escuyrie, to haue the full of xvi horses at her majesties charges, having now but vi, so as the thing which (besyds the two speciall points, viz. the treaty with her majestie, and to send to her son, and to receaue his awn answer to her lettres,) she most desyrithe, and will accept as a thankfull favor of her majestie. [The reason of her desyre to haue so many is, to be the better accompanied with her gentlewomen and gentlemen when she may ride abrode to take the ayre on horsback, ryding sildome in her coche when the weather is calme.] I haue in answer alleaged the weke state of her body, the

¹ The sentence inclosed in crotchets is delete in the original.

coldnes of the tyme, the fowle wayes heerabout, the charges to buye so many horses meete for her purpose, the charges incident therto, besyds the groomes wages to be payd by her, and that vpon occasion she may haue of the governors. But all will not serue, and therefore I haue referred for the answer of her majesties pleasure, to be signified by the successor, together with the establishment for her housholde. The charges of x horses more, will not be aboue iiii^s iiii^d *per diem*, and they for all the somer may be abrode at grasse. They haue already iii groomes, and with so many horses desyre but one mo, all in their awn wages. They can aleage that the more part of those horses shall go to grasse all the somer.

Almighty God be praisid and thanked for ever for the discouery of such a most detestable intention, as that wretchid ipocrit, dissolut Parry, had in his hart. A fit grownde to receaue such frute, as suche husbandmen wickidly sow. But thorough our mercifull Gods goodnes, both the thorny grownd, the cockely seede, the popish poppy, and vnseasonable labor perishe worthely together. Amen, for his mercies sake, to all suche husbandry !

The Frenche ambassador hath written hither by his last depeche, as Nau saythe, that the Q. majestie hath grauntid the voyage of Scotlande for Nau. But he tellith me, if that be her majesties pleasure, this Q. will send Mr Curle thither, a Scotchman, one of her secreta-ryes, aquaintid with all her affayrs syns her comming into this realme. He is nothing so quick spirited nor so ready as Nau is, but hath a shrewd melancholy witt. She makith great accompt of him as very secret and sure to her. This man shall goo lightlyer in post, with small shew, and not with such parado, as the other wold do, for his reputation, example his costly voyage to the Q. majestie. She cannot so spare Nau for her French affaires, happening oft.

No. XCVII.

Sir RALPH SADLER to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

I haue receiued your lettres of the 22^d of this Febr. by Mr Dorrell, the 25 of the same, by the which I vnderstande that Sir Amyas Paulet intendeth to kepe his day hitherwards, who shall no soner come, then he shalbe most hartely welcom to me, trusting shortly after to see you, and to give you thanks for your good remembraunce of me in that behalf.

So it is, sir, that one . . . Briggs, late seruauant to Nicolas Langforde, esquier, being departed from the same Langforde in some displeasure, for that, as he sayeth, he was very ill vsed at his hande, did therevpon wryte a lettre to the saide Langforde, conteyning very ill matier against him, whether of malice, or for that it is trew, God knoweth; but Mr Langforde, after the receipt of the lettre, wherein he did wysely, shewed the lettre to Mr Humfrey Ferrers, esquier, a iustice of peax in this countrey, desiring, as he sayth, that I might see it, and vse the matier for the examinacioun of the said Briggs therevpon, after my discreSSION. Wherevpon Mr Ferrers, having at the same time the said Briggs in his custodie, for that he was suspected of felonye, brought him to me, and the lettre also; and Mr Langford himself cam, in lyk wise, into the towne here with Mr Ferrers, to speke with me, if I so wolde. But Mr Somer and I, having redde the lettre and considered it, and vppon the speciall poynts thereof, examyned the saide Briggs, who semid then to be sory that he had so touchid the saide Mr Langforde, and in dede denyed that any such matier was meant to be wrytten by him, but that because, as he sayeth, he can neither wryte nor reade himself, he had procured a frende of his to write that

lettre in his name, who wrote that matier without his consent or knowledge; I thought best, therefore, because he denyed the substance of the matier, to let Mr Langforde go without speaking with him, and committid the said Briggs agayn to Mr Ferrers, to vse him as a suspect person, according to the law. But afterwards the same Briggs, being then committed to the constable of this towne by Mr Ferrers, to be caryed to the gaole vpon suspition of felonye, desyred the same constable, after Mr Ferrers was gon home, to bring him to me to thende he might speke with me agayn: wherof the constable came and informid me and I therevpon caused him to be brought vnto me. At his comyng to me: he then affirmed all that he had wrytten in his saide lettre to the saide Mr Langforde; and being newly examyned by Mr Somer and me vpon the speciall poynts of his saide lettre, he hath disclosed and confessed such matier as is set downe in wryting, signed with his mark by his owne hande, which you shall receyue herewith, and his said lettre also. I did vse all the meanes and persuasions I colde, and so did Mr Somers also, to move and persuade the said Briggs to say nothing vpon malice or other respect then for the trouthes sake; and he constantly affirmed that he had sayed nothing but treuth, and that if he were to dye presently, he wolde take it on his deth, that it was most trew that he had sayed, and doubtid not but if those which he had touchid in his confession were apprehended, and well examyned, they wolde not denye that wherewith he charged them. Whervpon I thought best to deteyne him here, where he is and shalbe closely kept in the porters warde, vntill I may knowe what is thought best there to be don further in this matier. I nede not tell you what an obstynate papist Mr Langforde is, and Sir Tho. Gerarde as ill as he, which both do lurke here in their houses, the furthest not past iiii myles from this castell. Neyther of them, both their wyves nor famylies, com to the church, ne yet haue our comon prayers and seruice sayed in their houses; but nurishe certen massing priests, which do haunte their houses, where it is thought they have their masses secretely, but so closely

and conyngly vsed, as it wilbe hard to take them with the maner. Thes surely be dangerous persons, if they had power according to their will, and therfore wolde be loked vnto. I wold to God there were no mo in this country, where I here of very few good. It semeth that the bishop of this dioces is not so diligent and carefull of his charge as he ought to be, and therfore wolde be quyckened and admonysshed from her majestie to loke better to his flocke, so as they may be inducid to com to the churche according to the law, or ells that they may fele the smarte of the same; which I leave to the good consideracion of her majestie and of her grave counsellors, to whom it shall please her H. to commytte the same. And so, &c. Tutbury, *ultim. Febr.* 1584.

No. XCVIII.

Sir RALPH SADLEIR to my L. Thresorer.

Please it your L. Your lettres of the xxith of this Febr. I receyuid the xxv of the same by Mr Darrell, and for answere, first I do most humblie and hartely thanke your L. for your most frendly helpe and solicitation of my deliuerance from this charge, being now in hope very shortly to see your L., and to give you thanks agayn for the same by woorde of mouth. And where as your L. wryteth that her majestie is moche offended with the charges here, and namely with the charges of the stable, wherof her majestie willed me your L. to wryte to me, I wolde to God it lay in me to abate the charges according to her majesties pleasure, which then shulde not be long vndon; but for the charges of the stable, indede I have here vi horses, xxxii geldings, and iiii naggs, and euer syns my comyng from home I haue, in maner, borne the hole charges of them all myself, vntill now syns my comyng hither, syns which tyme in dede her majestie hath borne the charge; but for all the tyme before, both at Sheffelde and at Wingfeld, I did

here the charge of them all, except of xii horses and geldings, which my L. of Shrewesbury allowid vnto me in his stable, for the space of one moneth or litle more; and then, his officers alledging that his provision and store of hay and provender was spent, as indede it was, I had leaue, having only stable rowme, to bye hay, otes, and straw to, as I coulde gette it in the countrey, at the derest: so that, for iiii monethes and more, I haue borne the hole charge of my sayde nombre of horses, and sometymes of mo, as occasion hath ben given, wherof at my retorne I will make a iust and trew accompte, trusting to haue som reasonable allowance of the same, and other charges, as of posts layd at Wingfelde and Mannsfelde to Newarke, and now here and at Lughboroug to Wytham, being the next post to Stamforde, the charges wherof I have borne hitherto, after the rate of iii^s iiii^d. by the day, ever syns I cam to Wingfelde; with such other charges as I haue susteyned in this seruice, towards the which, neyther afore nor syns my comyng from home, I haue receyuid one peny of her majestie. Also where your L. desireth to knowe whether Mr Digby and Mr Ferrers haue sent the hangings, which they bought of the L. Pagets, Mr Ferrers hath sent hither viii peces, being all that he bought, and had his money agayn of Mr Gresly, which ar very meane and course stuffe, mete to serve rather for coverletts to livery bedds, then to be vsed for hangings. But Mr Digby hath sent none hither, ne yet do I knowe what he will do. Now how many peces shalbe nedefull to be sent hither for this queene, Mr Somer and I have heretofore sent your L. a note of the depth and compas of her chamber, wherby your L. may ghesse how many peces wolde suffise to furnishe the same; as now your L. shall receyue another note herewith to lyke effecte. And so I ende, beseching the L. Almightye to kepe your L. in helth, and to increase you in honor and virtue. Tutbury, *vltim. Febr.* 1584.

No. XCIX.

Mr SOMER to my L. Threasorer.

Right honorable my very good L. Heerwith goith vnto yow an other note of the depth and compas of the Scottish queenes chambre heere, for the juster appointing of hangings for it, and of other things which may be very well bestowed heere. And, emong the rest, sheetes and pillowberes for herself ar very specially recommendid as very needfull. This Q. dothe oft expostulate with Nau, in that (she saythe) brought her litle other than words, for hitherto she can see small effects; and thinkith moche that the increas of her escuyrie to make vp xvi horses of her awne, at her majesties charges, is not grauntid her, seing Nau gave her suche assurance therof. She hath now vi fownde her. And that, next to the two principall points, (viz. to procede to a treaty with her majestie, and to send one of hers to her son, to know the long or the short of his intention,) she estymith most of this; my answers, the weake state of her body, the colde wether, the fowle ways, the charges incident, the groomes wages, that she may borow of the successor, when she wolde take the ayre. But all will not serve; I am assalted euery day by Nau and Curle. Fynally, I haue referred other answer to the successor, with the establishment of her householde.

She cannot be satisfied in mynde, in that she takith no certain knowledge from Mr Chancelor, but specially from her majestie, of the name of the successor in this charge, wherof she hath advise I think from the Fr. ambassador. Her majestie wrote lately to her that it shulde be a person not to be doubted for his integrite. I wrote lately to Mr Secretarie of her mislyke and jalosye therof, who hath answerid now that her majestie meanith to wryte agayne to her of him. If it

wolde please her majestie to sende such a lettre before his comming, and to name him, assuring her that he dependith vpon none, but on her majestie, (for therof she is marvelous suspicious,) [and will gyve her worde for him, to healpe his qualite, being no baron, though of her privy counsell, wheron she harpith muche,¹] it may perhaps make him the better welcome to her, serve to good purpose, namely at this tyme, when all good is expectid. Vpon Mr Dorrells coming hither, we haue conferrid agayne with this Q. officers, about the note for the establishment of her howsholde allowance, vpon the booke which he brought downe; which being somewhat short in somthings of their demaunds, they shewing some mislyke (though modestly, as Melvill vsith it well) that suche small things in mater of dyet shulde be stand vpon, is holpen somewhat in the booke sent now, to their lyking, if it may be establishid in that sort, which is as neere (they say) as may be. And surely, my L., that litle will gyve contentment, and thabatement (in this tyme) may more offend, then a greater matter ought to doo.

Heere is also a note sent ones more of the L. Pagets commodities, neere and helpfull to this place, if it may please her majestie to graunt that vse of them to this charge, and withall to gyve authorite to the governor heere to bargayn with tennants for corne and haye, to be delyuerid heere at most profitable rates. And therof that notice be gyven from her majestie, or your L., to his officers for their discharge, and in lyke sort for the woods.

Her houshold charges and stable, comprehending therein lyghts, sawces, frute, and some other small curtoisyes in honor vpon neede, cannot exceede vl. *per diem*, (xviii^s xxv l. *per annum*,) as by an estimat sent vp now by Mr Dorrell and Mr Cave, even as it is requyred, saving for the stable, may appeere to your L. Heerin wood is not mentionid, for the wood being the Q. majesties, she payeth onely for the making, iiii a lode, and caryage, at her ii the mile. The

¹ This is deleted again in the original.

contrey heerabout being compowndid withall, for this yeres caryage of wood, (i mile,) and cole, (2 miles,) which will stande the contrey in ccciiil. (Derby, 90l., Stafford, 90l., Leicester, 24l.,) and to the Q. not xxxl.*)

There will be some extraordinary charges, as sendings, repayrings, glasing, altering, vtensyls wanting, and other small things vnseene.

I haue learnid, that if this Q. get leaue to sende into Scotlande, she will sende her secretarie Curle, a Scottishman, who, gooing well instructed and pryvie to all her doings syns her first comming into Englande, she thinkith shalbe capable inough of that charge; for she cannot so well spare Nau, for the French cawses.

Thembassador hath put her in comfort by his late lettres to her, that that voyage is grauntid her by her majestie, and wrytith of Nau to make it, as he hath tolde me himselfe. And so, lothe to troble your L. so much, with the remembrance of my duety, I recommend your L. and vs all to the Almighty. From Tutbury, the first of March, 1584. Your good L. humbly at commandment,

JOHN SOMER.

No. C.

A Note of Humfrey Bridge, dated the xviii of Marche.

He sayeth that one Rowland, waytyng Mr Langford chamber, be-
yng pwtt to hym by a mass preest, and the sayd Rowland helping
dayly to say mass in his howse; morover he saythe, it was synce the

* In the margin, " 400 lodes cole, at iiil. 12. 4.—2000 lodes wood, at iil. 16. 12. 4."

same Rowland cam thether, abowt three yeres past, as he remembreth.

He sayeth further, that one Harry Woodfont, serving Mr Basset at Castram, hard by Ashborn, the said Woodfont beyng fallen owt with Mr Langford, told hym, he woult to London to complayne to the counsell, and imedyatly went to London. Mr Langford, vnderstondyng the sayd Woodfont gon, dowted he woult, Greaveall, Campyons, and ther wyves beyng there, and sent Nicolas Langford presently with a letter to Mr Basset, and so stayed the sayd Woodfont, and ended the matter, and was made frendes.

He sayth more, that one Georg Bwll, dwellyng at Draycott, beyng a caryer of wood, and swch other lyk bwsnes, to the prestes chambers, thynketh yf he wer examyned, woult declare more of theyr doyngs than he the sayd examynat can at this tyme remember.

He sayeth also, that one Greene, a kynsman of Greenes, which dwelleth at Rolsson park, comyng to Mr Langfords howse, thys examynat sayeth, he met hym vpon the brydg, demawnding what he woult hav, for at that tyme he served Mr Langford : thys sayd Greene answerd, he cam from my lord Padyat and Mr Feeharbart, and was to talk with Mr Langford secretly. Whyles they wer talkyng, cam one Blondell, who serveth Mr Langford, kepeth howse at the town, and took from hym thys examynat to his howse, and thys examynat, havyng bwsynes, went his way, and knew not what becam of hym.

No. CI.

Interrogatories for Rowland Kychen, Mr. Langfords Seruant. They war mynistred to him; he denyed all the principall points. His finall answer was, that he must not answer to any mater of religion to hurt of himself and many other Catholiks. Marche, 1584.

Interrogatories to be ministrid to Rowland Kychin, seruant to Nicolas Langford, of Langford, gent. Stafford, *Martii*, 1584.

1. Whether he doth know Humfrey Bridges? How long he hath knowne him, and where?

2. Whether dothe he remember the tyme that Mr Nicolas Langforde shulde haue sett furthe ii horsmen towards Scotland, and whom did he meane to sett furthe? And what charge did Mr Langford gyve to them, or to either of them, if they went into Scotlande? or what words did Mr Langford vse to them, or to either of them, otherwise?

3. What lettre was it that he caryed in his hande one day, when the said Humfrey Bridges asked him, what lettre it was, as he met him in the hall?

4. Whom meant he, when he answerid to Bridges, that that lettre was from the best in Englande? Of whom did he receaue that lettre, and what did he with it, and what doth he know the contents of that lettre?

5. What speeches did there passe betweene him and one Goodale, Mr Langfords man, and namely, that Mr Langforde had receavid lettres from the queene, and that he shulde be made a duke? What queene he meant therby, and how did he know or heard that he shuld be made a duke, and by whome?

6. Whether dothe he know one Anne Tailer? What is she? and for what occasion did she remayne at Mr Langfords?

7. What communication hath he had at any tyme with the said Anne Tailer, toching this mater of that lettre, or of the queene, and what queene, or a duke, or of the coming of any forces from the K. of Spayne to healpe the K. of Scots?

8. Whether hath he hearde the said Anne Tayler, or any other, say that the K. of Spayne meant to mary one of his daughters to the K. of Scotts, and then wolde sende forces into Englande, to restore the Scotishe Q. to her right to the crowne of England?

9. Whether dothe he knowe, or hath knowne, one Gray, a preest, and where hathe he knowne him?

10. Whether hath he heard of any body, that Gray shulde be made a busshop, and by whome? And of whome hearde he it sayde so?

11. Whether doth he knoue one Clerk, Blackborne, or Francis, prests, and where hath he knowne them? What did they, or the said Gray, when they came to the place where he knew them?

12. Whether doth he, and the rest of Mr Langfords housholde, resort duely to the church, to common prayers, and to sermons, namely, on the sondayes?

No. CII.

From Ry. Bagot, Justice of Peace, to the Constables of his Division, toching the new Composition for Caryages.

By lettres of request from Sir Raphe Sadleir, knight, directed to me and other her majesties justices of peace, vidz. Sir Thomas Cockayne, knight, James Abney and Nicolas Browne, esquiers, justices of the countie of Derby; and Mr Ferrers, Mr Trentham, and myselfe, for Stafford, repaired thether to the castle of Tutbury, on Saterdag last,

the xxth of this instant, where a proporcione for the charge required for cariges was set downe and assented vnto by vs, as well for the ease of the hole countrey, as to avoyd the great cariges and inconvenient that might ensue, yf it should be vsed in such order as heretofore hath binne.

Imprimis, for the cariges of iii^c lxx loades of charcoles, euery loade rated at iii^s. iiiid. amonteth too lx^s. xvi^s. viiid.

The cariage of xiiii^c. loads of wood, euery load rated to xvi^d. and the queenes allowance, in all iiiix^{xx}xiid. vi^s. viiid.

Towards the furniture of the soldiers there, nowe garding the queene of Scotts xxv^s.

c. iiiix^{xx}l. iii^s. iiiid.

Whereof, Com^t. Darbei iiiix^{xx}x^s.

Com^t. Stafford.. iiiix^{xx}x^s. one whole yeaes charge.

Unde: Hundr. de Birepill xxii^s. x^s.

Hundr. de Offelowe xxii^s. x^s.

Cutleston xv^s.

Season xv^s.

Tatmanslowe xv^s.

Yf it happen anye more cariges for timber, stone, brike, lime, and plaster, for the necessarie reparacions of the castle, Mr Chancellor hath appoynted only the queenes tenants within that honor to make that supplie, and none others of the countrey to be troubled therwith.

The money must be paid quarterly, and some in present, to them that have taken the charge in hand: yf the queene be removed, our payments to cease, and at this yeres ende to be at our choise for composition. Yf any money hath binne levyed towards the furniture of the soldiers ther, by warrant from Mr Chancelor granted, as I knowe there is, I require you to vnderstand of the constables in your divi-

sions, when he shall come before you to pay money for provisione of her majesties houshold, what the sommes be, and to advertise me of it, and it shalbe ether set one, or els repayed. Ther is money in my hands to dischargd it, and some to spare, yf the rest of the justices will ther-vnto assent. So willinge you both to take payns herein, that we may be advertised at the assise, where, by Gods grace, we shall meet, do, with harty commendacions, bid you farewell. At Blythfeld, this present Ashewednesday. Your loving frend,

RIC. BAGOTT.

To my vere loving frends, Hugh Foden and Thomas Corbett, high constables of the hundred of Byrepill,

No. CIII.

From Mr Edw. Stanhope, per Mr Dauet, toching Anne Tayler and her Examinacion.

Vpon receipt of your honors lettres, I presentlie sent for the sheriffe of the towne of Nottingham, in whose custody Anne Tayler remayneth, and imparted vnto him in generalitie the occasion of my speache to deale with her. He brought me, with my cosen Dauett, to the parlor, where she remayneth with him; with whome, after long perswasions had to vtter a truthe, which might procure her favour, in the case she standeth, then to endanger herselfe by denyenge that which otherwise woulde be proved, we tired her with questions touching the same matter, wherof your honor appointed me to examine her in circumstaunces; but by no meanes she would confesse any thing; wherefore dealing with her to aunswere theis particuler points following:

First, being examined, when she was at Mr Langfords, and how long she remayned there? she aunswered, that she came from thens about

Corpus Christi (as she called it) even last, and had then remayned there about three monethes.

Item, being asked, whether she ever moved Humfrey Bridges in Mr Langfords house, or els where, if he would revolt from his religion, and turne to hers? she aunswered, no; but that it might be, she had moved him to amend his life, and serve God.

Item, whether she had ever told him, that there was like to be a matche betwixt the Spanishe kings daughter and the young Scottishe king, wherby the king of Spaine would aide the Scottishe quene, in restoring her to her right in Englande, or any words to that effecte? she vtterlie denyeth any suche wordes had by her with him, or any other.

Item, whether she had any speache with him concerning any the lordes of her majesties privy councell of Arden and Somerfields death, or any mater to that effect? she wholly denieth the same.

Item, whether she hath had any conferens with the saide Bridges, or any other, touching any lettres that should be sent to Mr Langford, from any great estate, and in thend we named from the Scottishe queene, promising advauncement to Mr Langford, Robert Gray, or any other? She absolutely denyed the knowledge of any suche lettre, saving that she saieth, about a moneth past, one Pudsey, servaunt to Sir Frauncis Willoughby, did report at the same sheriffs bord, where she dined, that Bridges, that had served Mr Langford, had accused Mr Langford for receiving lettres from the Scottish queene, written at her last being at Derby; and more concerning that matter she hath not hard, saving that she hard also that Mr Langford himselfe had caused him to be apprehended.

This is all we can learne of her. The woman is knowen to be a notorious papist, so farre gone as she remayneth in durauns for absenting herselfe from the church. And how farr those people haue liberte, as they thinke, to denye, sweare, and forswear any thing that may charge those of their faction, I am sory to heare.

More haue I not to trouble your honor with at this presente, but am sory that my service herin willinglie imployed, can drawe no more matter out of her, whome I haue no opinyon to be well bent in respect of her irreligion and other obstinacies hertofore shewed in that behalfe. And so I humblie cease to trouble your honor. From Nottingham, this xx^d of Merche, 1584. Your honors humble to command,

E. STANHOPE.

No. CIV.

Suche Constables as haue payde towards the Furmiture of some Soldyors at Tutbury, in the Hundred of Offlowe. Suche as wer charged with Caryages to the said Castell, are excused. xxvii Marche, 1584.

Staffordshire.

Wedfelde	iii ^s . iii ^d .	Herborne and	
Willnall	iii ^s . iii ^d .	Smethewicke	} iii ^s .
Darlaston and Bentlye	iii ^s . iii ^d .	Hanseworthe	vi ^s .
Bast and Alderidge	iiii ^s .	Wallsall Feren	v ^s .
Pellsall	ii ^s .	Shenstone	iiii ^s . viii ^d .
Norton and Wirtye	ii ^s . vi ^d .	Dreton Basset	iiii ^s .
Wallsall	v ^s .	Weifford and Chickbrome	iii ^s .
Tipton	ii ^s .	Frefforde	xx ^d .
Rushall and Gossette	iiii ^s . iii ^d .	Longdon	v ^s .
Homeredge	ii ^s .	Wedsburey	v ^s .
Tamhorne	xvi ^d .	Hansaker and Armytage	ii ^s .
Horton	xii ^d .	Tamworthe	iii ^s .
Perybaw	vi ^s .	Scyrescott	xviii ^d .
Maveson Ridware	ii ^s .	Hunts	iii ^s .
Durborow and Elmehurst	xx ^d .	Morfall and Stretthaye	xx ^d .
Pype cum membr.	iiii ^s .	Packeinton	xviii ^d .

Collected by me Homfrey Miners, heighe counstabell in the hundred of Offlowe.

No. CV.

Sir RALPH SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie, 22 Marche, 1584.

SIR,

Whereas by your lettres of the iii of Marche, I vnderstande that her majestie is informed of the lyberte that is permytted vnto this Q. here to go abrode a hawking vi or vii myles from this castell; or in sort, as your saide lettres do purporte, if it were trew in all parts as it is informed, as I will not denye that part which is trew, yet if it be not otherwise taken then I meant well in the doing, I am sure it cannot be interpreted to be any grete offence. The trewth is, that when I cam hither, fynding this contrey commodious, and mete for the sporte which I have alwayes delighted in, I sent home for my hawkes and faulconers, wherewith to passe this miserable lif which I leade here; and when they cam hither, I toke the comodyte of them somtymes here abrode, not farre from this castell; wherof this Q. hering, earnestly intreated me that she might go abrode with me to see my hawkes flie, a passetyme indede which she hethe singular delite in; and I, thinking that it could not be ill taken, assented vnto her desire, and so hath she ben abrode with me iii or iiij tymes hawking vpon the ryvers here, sometyme a myle, somtyme ii myles, but not past iii myles, when she was furtherst from this castell. And for her garde, when she was abrode, though I lefte the souldiors at hom with their halberds and harquebuts, because they be fotemen, and cannot well toyle on foote, the wayes here being fowle and depe, yet had I alwayes xl or l of myn owne seruants and others on horsebacke, and som with pistolls, which I knewe to be a sufficient garde agenst any attempte that can be made by any man here vppon the sodayn, for her escape, whereof, I assure you, I see no maner cause of feare so long as this countrey remayneth

in such quyetnes as it is now. But if it were otherwise, and that any such force might be vsed or attempted in that behalf, as her wellwillers wolde desire, it is not xx or xxx souldiours, with ther halbert and harquebuts, nor the small power that I haue here, ne yet the strength of this castell, which God knoweth is very weake, that coulede defende vs. And therfore, sir, I haue vsed my simple discreccion in graunting this Q. this lybertee, the rather for that she thinketh herself by meanes of such comfortable words and messages, as of late she receyued from her majestie by Naw, to stande now in better termes, and to be in better grace with her majestie then she hath ben heretofore, wherein I thought I did well; but syns it is not so well taken, I wolde to God som other had the charge, that wolde vse it with more discreccion then I can; for I assure you I am so wery of it, that if it were not more for that I wolde do nothing that shoulde offende hir majestie, then for feare of any punishment, I wolde come home, and yelde myself to be a prisoner in the tower all the dayes of my lif, rather then I wolde attende any longer here vpon this charge. And if I had knowen, when I cam from home, I shoulde have taried here so long, contrary to all promyses made vnto me, I wolde have refused, as others do, and have yelded to any ponishment, rather then I wolde have accepted this charge; for a greter ponyshment can not be mynistred vnto me, then to force me to remayne here in this sorte, being more mete now, in myn olde and later days, to rest at home, to prepare myself to leave and go out of the miseries and afflictions wherevnto we ar subiect in this lif, and to seke the euerlasting quyetnes of the lif to com, which the L. Almightye graunte vnto vs, when it shalbe his good pleasure! And if it might light on me tomorow, I wolde thinke myself most happye, for I assure you I am wery of this lif; and the rather for that I see that things well meant by me, are not so well taken. But now I trust her majestie will delyuer me of this burden, and ley it vpon one that can better bere it, and more wisely discharge it, though in duetie and good will therunto, I wil compare with all men.

No. CVI.

Sir R. SADLEIR to my L. Thresorer.

Please it your L. Your lettres of the 3 of this present, I receyved here this day in the mornyng, for the which I humblie thanke your L. ; and although I haue not matier of moment to wryte vnto your L., yet having thoportunytie of so conveyent a messenger as Mr Dorrell is, I coule not omytte to wryte, onely to render myn humble thankes vnto your L. for your carefull sollicitacion of my delyueraunce from this charge, wherein I beseche your L. down in the bowells of our Lorde Jhus Christe, to contynew your goodnes towards me, being now ouerwhelmed with care, sorowe and grieve, whervnto your L. knoweth that waywarde age is alwayes subiect, being restrayned from the libertie accustomed, trusting that her majestie will have pitie and compassion vpon me, and now, in respect of my yeres, will delyuer me, according to her most gracious promise. I am sorie that her majestie mislyketh of the lybertie permytted to this Q. of late, in hawking vpon the ryver not farre from this castell, wherein I have not moche exceeded my commission, having alwayes ben well assured to answer the charge commytted vnto me; as indede I see no maner cause of feare of her fourth commyng, so long as this countrey remayneth in so good quyetnes as it is now. And if it wer otherwise, trewly neyther the small forces here, ne yet her restraynt within this castell, which is very weake, coule helpe the matier. But that I have a determynacion, that howsoever things fall out, I will render such an accompt vnto her majestie of the charge, as there shalbe no case to impute any defaulte to me in that behalf, wherof I am, and wilbe no lesse carefull then of myn owne lyfe. And now for the tyme of my contynuanee here, which I hope shalbe very shorte, I will do what I can to

kepe her more pryvately from intelligencies, which, I assure your L. is very harde to do, so many about her as she hath, both English, Frensh, and Scottish, as well men as women, which have so many errands and occasion to go aboute their necessary busynes, that all the souldours here ar too few to attende vpon them, which neuertheles shalbe loked vnto, as well as Mr Somer and I can devise, whereof both he and I have ben and wilbe most carefull, according to our dueties.

This Q. heere semeth to mislyke moche of the answere which she last receyued by lettres from the Q. majestie; and now she standeth vpon advisement, whether she will sende any man of hers, according to her former request, to the K. her soon, wherein she sayeth she will shortlye wryte vnto her majestie of her resolucion. And thus, &c. Tutbury, 5 April, 1585.

No. CVII.

Mr SOMER to Mr Secretarie, April 1585.

R. Ho. In answer to yours to me of the 26 of Marche, willing that care shuld be had to intercept lettres which are comming hither out of Scotlande, I wolde to God it wer in my power to perfourme as muche therin as I wish for her majesties seruice, and yet I will do what I can in that behalf. There may be many shiftes vsed to convey lettres to and fro this Q.; but in apparaunce the cocheman is the only dangerous man, though the Q. hath sworne to me deeply that she trustith him not in any such seruice. He followith altogether Curle, who hath the charge of her horses. He hath not ben at Sheffield since we came hither, but if he had, or yet will ask leaue to go, it was and is meant to haue him searched. She said lately, and vouchid with an othe, that these y^v monethes past she receiued no wryting from Scotland, nor syns she entered into good tearmes with the Q. majestie, and hath ben.

in hope of a treaty, she, to avoyd all occasions of mistrust, never wrote ny thing thither privily, but was content to say, if the treaty with her majestie go not furth, she is not to be blamid if she seeke to haue intelligence with her frendes. But, as it is my duety, I will do what I can heerin. Toching a caryer of Sheffield, there is none such; but it

Alsop, the caryer of Derby, that hath vsed to bring most their caryages from Curselles, both to Wingfeld and hither, which haue ben visited before they haue ben delyuerid, and so haue ben all the wrytings brought by him, being always open, and certeyn nothing ells theryn then memoryalls of the things, as also the lyke sent from hence to London. And as to searche him, or any other caryer, comming hither with things for her, in my poore opinion such caryer of Derby, for he-ther comith now none other, may be deposed, be some justice on the way, what things he caryeth for this Q., and then commandid to shew all, and searchid, if neede be. Being done out of the towne, and the messenger charged vpon his allegiance not to vtter it, it may perhaps be the better kept from her knowledge, though Nau be very curious to open the seales vpon boxes of things from the French ambassador, for such haue ben commonly sealid, but looked into for all that, and fynding that they haue [been] opened, will not hyde his mynde, but is as well answerid.

No. CVIII.

To the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.

My very good L. In answer of your lettres to me of the xiiiith of this moneth, which I received this day by the now vicar of this towne; if I had knowne so muche of your mynd in tyme, that your leasure from your godly exercises in your calling in those parts wolde haue permittid yow to haue come thus farre for so good a purpose as yow

wryte, I wolde very gladly haue fundered your good offer to preache publickly hereabout, with my request therunto, and wolde haue ben right glaide to haue seene and hearde yow. For pryvat preaching, or conference with this Q., without warrant from her majestie, is forbidden. But now that I am vpon my departure, by Sir Amyas Pawlets comming hither tomorowe, I can returne yow nothing but my harty thanks for your offrid curtesye. Surely yow might and may, when it shall please yow, do much good in these countyes of Derby and Stafford, where I am informid, and partly assurid, by my long abode here in both these countyes, ar many papists of sundry sorts; the first, and they the greatest, obstinat and voluntary recusants to resort to the churches, and so failing of their dueties towards God, can hardly be good subiects to her majestie, or true to this state; some, and they poore, ignorant, for lack of instruction by preaching, being not capable of that which is runne so lightly over by readyng, a conscience to starve willing solles for lack of spirituall foode due to them by ther ordinary; other, fearfull to displease their landlords or Mrs, for worldly respects, by doing otherwyse then they doo, a lamentable going from God by the malice of the vngodly; and so haue some of them not let to say playnely, and with greef, to some persons of my company of good credit. Your L., and your watchfull ministers, may healpe muche of this, partly at your and their vysitacions, but much better by personally inuising the places where those parsons and vnseemely churches, wherof I haue seene many, cannot be disguised so well. Remembring what weake persons the churche wardens and syde men commonly ar, lothe to offende their betters or neighbors, and so delyuer their presentments att your visitacions accordingly. Good, my L., gyve me leaue to desyre yow to looke abrode, for these ar dangerous countreys, and some other not far of, ar nothing inferior that way, as I heere. The most of the membres wolde soone be cured, if the herds wer brought into better temper. And so shulde there be a right, good, and dutifull cure done indeede vpon them, as is requisite, which God graunt may be better

heedid, that he and his kingdome may be better knowne to the vntaught sort. To his blessed protection I recommend your good L. and vs all. At Tutbury, 16 Apr. 1585.

No. CIX.

April 1584.

Trustye, &c. Whereas you haue bene heretofore a suter vnto us, to be released of the custodie of owre cosyn, the Scottish Q. wherein you have served us most fathefully, to your great credyt, and our owne singular contentment; We are pleased that you shall be now released of that care and charge; for which purpose we have made choyse of A. B. and C. D. to supplye your place in that behalfe, as by owre instructions, dyrected bothe vnto your self and vnto them, you shall more at large perceyve. And, for that the said Q. owre cosyn may conceyve vppon this remove that owre meaning is, that she shall hereafter receaue more harder vsage than heertofore she hath don, as also that the treaty, which was the last somer dealt yn betweene vs, shall now be voyde of all hope of further proceeding; you shall declare vnto her, that though some things lately discouered vnto vs may minister iust cause both for thone and thother, as we dare make herself the judge, when she shall vnderstande the same, as our meaning is she shall, yet we, being led rather to follow our awn disposicion, which is no way inclyned to extremite, then to looke vpon her deserts, if we shall receave that satisfaction at her hands which we looke for, and which she ought in reason to performe, she shall then fynde vs disposed to yeld that contentment, as she shall haue no cause to mislyke of. And for her better satisfactyon in this behalfe, our meaning is you shall shewe her thes owre letters.

NOTES
OF
SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL,
BY
SIR RALPH SADLER.

[The following are Sketches which Sir Ralph seems to have preserved of his own Speeches, whether in the House of Commons, or at the Council-Board, upon remarkable occasions. They are barely marked, *Parliament.*]

NOTES
OF
SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL,
BY SIR RALPH SADLER.

Speech concerning the Subsidy and Succession of the Crown.

This Oration seems to have been delivered upon the ministerial side of the question, in the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth. It was at that period the anxious desire of the Commons, that the Queen would be pleased, either by marriage, or an act of settlement of the Crown, to provide for a legitimate succession in the monarchy. The dreadful wars of York and Lancaster were a recent example of the horrors of a contested right; nor did the consequences of the short usurpation of Lady Jane Gray tend less to alarm the present generation. The Queen of Scotland, next lawful heir to the throne, was an alien, a catholic, and connected nearly with the family of Guise, the declared enemies of the protestant faith. Her right formed, therefore, the hope of the catholics, and the terror of the established church and puritans; while each party was anxious to dare an investigation, which they hoped might terminate in their own favour. The most active among those who, in the House of Commons, were desirous of bringing this important question to a decision, proposed to blend a request, for the settlement of succession, with the vote of supply. Sir Ralph Sadler argues against this proposal, which in latter times acquired the name of *tacking*, because a money bill was in this manner tacked to a claim of right, or other bill, with which it had no necessary connection. His arguments were successful; the Commons voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eightpence on moveables; together

with two-fifteenths; and all without touching upon the delicate point of the succession.

TOUCHING these matiers which now be com in question amongst us, I will, with your favour, in few woords, saye my poure mynde and opynyon. First, I will speke to the mateir of the subsidie, which was first moved, and then to the others. Touching the subsidie, trewly no man lyving wolde be more loth then I to set fourth, or to speke in the furtheraunce of any thing in this place, which might seme to be chargeable or burdenous to my countrey. But when I do consider of the grete and weightie causes which, at this tyme, do indede urge and require a subsidie, I cannot pretermitte nor passe the same over with silence, but rather have thought it my duetie to commende the same to your wisdomes and good consideracions: and if any man shall conceyve of my speche, or, percase, not loking into the depth and botom of the matier, shall thinke or judge of me, that I speke for the profite and commodyte of the Q. majestie, rather then for the benefite and common weale of my countrey; if any man here shall so thinke of me, to him I answer, that if I speke for the Q. majestie, in so doing I speke not agenst the common weale of my countrey; for her majestie is the hed of our common weale; and, being the hed of our common weale, that which is good for the one cannot be evill for thother: and therefore I may the more boldely speke in that which I thinke is profitable, commodious, and good for bothe. Surely, in my poure opynion, there was never greter cause whie we shulde graunt a subsidie; and the necessitie of the tyme did never more require it; for we see that the hole worlde, our neighbours round about us, of long tyme have ben, and yet be in armes, in hostilitie, and in grete garboyle; onelie we rest here in peace and quyetness, thanks be to God therefore, and the good government of the Q. majestie. Mary, it is a poynt of wisdom, in the tyme of peace, to provide for the warre; when we see our neighbours houses on fyre, it is wysdom to provide and forsee how to kepe the smoak

and sparks of the same as farre from our owne as we can. The principall and chief cause of this hostilitie and garboyl abroad is for the matier and cause of religion. The malice of the enemyes and adversaries of Godds ghospell dothe increase, and waxeth very hotte. The late accidents in Fraunce, the grete tyrannye, the horrible and cruell murders and slaughters which have bin cōmitted and executed there, upon those of the religion, the lyke whereof hath never ben harde nor redde of, doth playnly shew and declare the dedely hatred and malice of the papists agenst the professors of Godds ghospell and trew religion. How gredy, thirstie they are of innocent bloode doth playnely appere. What faith, what trust is to be given to their woords and promyses, all men may see. Indeed they do but watch their tyme; and therefore we had neede to beware of them, and to provyde for their malice in tyme. We have harde, and we here daylie, of secret conspiracies, and grete confederacies bitween the Pope, the French king, and other prynces of the popish confederacie, agenst all princes protestants, and professours of the ghospell, of the which the Q. majestie is the chief patronesse and protectrix at this day. It is not unlyke, nay it is not to be doubted, but that those prynces of that popish confederacie, as sone as they can settle and establish the Romish religion within their owne territories and domynyons, will fourthwith converte and imploy all their forces to restore the same also in Englande, where they may be sure to fynde a grete ayde of our owne nacyon, of our English papistes here at home, besids those which be abroad, to helpe and further the same. In Englande, the Q. majestie is the onelie and gretest mark which the adversaries of Godd's gospell do shote at, and therefore her majestie had never greater cause, and never more neede to come herself, to make herself strong, and to furnish her coffres with treasure; whereby she may be the more able to defende her realme and subjects, and to incountre and mete with the malice of her enemyes. This, I doubt not, all wise men do evydently and playnly see; and if there were none other cause then this, surely it were sufficyent to persuade us willingly

to condescend to the graunt of a subsidie, as I doubt not but such as be zelous to advaunce the glorie of God and his gospell, such as do love the Q. majestie and their countrey, will, in these daungerous days, shew themselves liberall and willing to depart with a small porcion of their goods, such as they may well forbere, for to resiste and impugne the malice of the enemyes of Christ's gospell, which do daylie ymagyn and seke the utter ruyn and destruction of all the trew professours of the same. If there were no other cause, I say, but this, it were sufficient to require a subsidie. And yet is there another cause of gret moment, of grete importance, and that is the mateir of Irelande, which hath ben well remembred here. Indede the Q. majestie, and her noble progenitors of long tyme, have ben at gret charges in Ireland, wherof hitherto they have had small profite or commodyte. And yet, of force, her majestie must continew, yea rather increase the charge, if she will reape any frute or commodyte thereof. The onelie way wherunto is to subdue and bring that lande to civilite and obedience; and who will not gladly contribute and bere a burden to so good an ende and purpose? If that land may be made civile and obedient, if the people there, which now be barbarous, wilde, and savage, lawles, without law or justice; if they may be brought to the knowledge of God and of his woord, and of their dueties to their prince and sovereign, and so to lyve civile and obedientlie under law and justice; no doubt but as they must needs increase and grow therby into welth and quyetnes, so then, instede of the gret charges which the princes of this realme have alwaies susteyned for the stey of that lande in obedience, gret profite, and a good yerelie revenue, will arrise and grow to the crowne of Englande. So that all men of reason must needs confesse, that the cost and charge employed thereabouts shalbe well bestowed: and every man ought, and, I think, will gladlie and willingly contribute towards the charge. The charge indede hath ben, and wilbe grete for the tyme; yea so great, that her majestie shall not be able to bere it, nor to susteyne it, without the helpe and contribucion of her good and

lovyng subjects. The charge is an extraordinary charge, and we be taught by experience, that when princes be charged with such extraordinary charges, they ar enforced to seke extraordinary wayes and meanes of ayde and relief. In such cases comenly they have recourse to the benevolence, good will, and ayde of their good and lovyng subjects ; for their owne ordynarye revenues will do no more then bere their ordynarie charges. The princes ordynarie revenue will not suffice nor extende to mayntene such extraordinary charges : and therefore, as of force, her majestie must be constrayned to seke some other way of relief, either by way of subsidie, lone, or other contribucion at thands of her good and lovyng subjects, as all princes in such cases ar inforcid to do ; so we of duetie ought to have care and good consideration of the same, and gladlie and willingly to contribute and bere with her majestie according to our porcions, according to our habilities, lyke good and loving subjects. I shall not nede to use any persuasions to move or persuade you therunto. Indede I will not go about to persuade you ; the causes of themselves ar sufficient to persuade you, being men of wisdom and judgement, men selected and chosen of the best and wisest sorte of the hole realme ; such as can decerne and judge, moche better then I can, what is fitte for good subjects to do in this case : And therefore, having by this my shorte speche, uttered and declared myne owne affection to further this matier of subsidie, I leave it to your wisdoms and good considerations, trusting that every man here will show himself as well affected as I am to further the same, and to do therein that which is fitte for good subjects to do, according to our duties.

Now, to thother matier touching the succession. Surely I cannot but moche commend the zelous and good mynde of him that hath brought it here in question ; and for myn owne parte I wish and desire, from the bottom of my herte, that som good successe and effecte might follow of it ; and yet I am not of opynyon that it is fitte for us to deale with it at this tyme, specyally not to myxe or myngle it with

the matier of the subsidie, wherby we might seme, as it were, to condicyon and couvenant with her majestie, as who wolde say, if her majestie will graunt us the one we will the more willingly graunte the other. This kynde and maner of condicyonyng with the prince, is not, I thinke, fitte for us to use; for therby we shulde not only extenuate and moche disgrace the franknes and liberalitie of our graunte of the subsidie, but also, I feare, we shulde rather hinder then further the other matier which we so greatly wish for and desyre. Thother matier, the matier of succession, is a thing which, I think, we do all hunger and thirst for; but yet I see not how we can deale with it onles it cam from the Q. majestie. It is a matier farre out of our reche and compasse, and it were in vayne, yea, mere folie in us, to deale with suche matiers as we cannot arreche. We ought to thinke, that the Q. majestie and her nobilitie, (whom it doth most chiefly concerne and belong unto) be not unmyndfull nor lesse carefull of it then we be; and yet if any grete cause, hidden and unknown to us, do move her majestie to stay and forbere to deale in it untill a better tyme and oportunyte may serve for the purpose, we ought to satisfie and contente ourselves with it, and to referre it hollie to her majestie. Therefore myn advise shalbe, that we do procede in the matier of the subsidie simplie without it, and that we do shew ourselves good and lovyng subjects in the good expedicion of the same. And for the other matier concerning the succession, let us pray to God, in whose hands the harts of prynces are, that it will please Him, of his infinite goodnes, to dispose the harte and mynde of her majestie, so to consider of it, and so to deale in it, and in such conveyent and due tyme as may be not onely for her owne suretie, but also for the suretie and quyetnes of her realme and subjects. This is my poure advise; and, if all men here knew as moche as I do, I thinke they wolde the soner, and the more easily, be persuaded to be of myn opynyon.

Speech in the Council.

The following opinion seems to have been delivered at the Board of Privy Council, by Sir Ralph Sadler, about 1561, when the Queen's subjects of every description were extremely solicitous that she should, by some formal act, settle the succession to the Crown. It is well known that this was a proposal so utterly disagreeable to Queen Elizabeth's feelings, that no explanation on the subject could be wrested from her during her long reign.

BEING so lately called to serve in this place of counsell, for the which, as I was never mete, so never more unmete then now, it were my parte to here for my lerning rather then to speke ; but if it please your majestie to give me leave, I will say what I thinke in this matier, without fayning or dissimulacion. Your majestie seeth in what uncerten state your people do lyve, and also you understand how they hunger and thirst to here that your majestie wolde be so carefull over them as to provide for the suretie of them, their wives and children. I meane that it wolde please your highnes to establish your succession, which indede is the thing that all your people of all degrees have long expected and loked for ; and surely the nombre of the wisest men of your realme ar brought into grete admiracion, whie, and upon what respects, you have so long delayed it ; and yet, for myn owne parte, I wolde not advise your highnes unto it, if I did see that any way it shulde be an unsuretie to your royall person ; but under your majesties reformation it semeth unto me rather to be a grete suretie to your highnes ; for sure I am that by the same your majestie shall wyne the

herts of all your people, which is the gretest strength and suretie that a prynce can have. The greatest prince in the world, if he have all the riches of the worlde, and lacke the herts and good will of his people, he hathe nothing, nor yet can stande in any suretie. And if your majestie shulde now ende your parliament, and leave your people voyd of hope, and desperate of this mateir of succession, which is now so moche urged and required at your hands; and so your nobles and commons go home greved in their herts and discontented; and, when they come home, their countreyemen shall inquire of them what is done; for your highnes may be sure that all men herken to this mateir, and som of them percase will advisedly answer, and som others percase, rashly and unadvisedly, will say, we have don nothing but given away your money, the quene hath that she loked for, but she hath no care of us; how your peoples herts wilbe wounded with this! And what adventure you give to lose their herts and good will, I leave to your judgment, which is indede the gretest unsuretie that can be to your state: And therefore I conclude, that the establishment of your succession, wherby you may be sure to wyne the herts of your people, is a suretie, and no unsuretie, to your highnes. Now, if your majestie shoulde be in gelousie of him or her that shulde succeed, so might all prynces be in gelousie of their owne children; for the storyes make mencion, that som prynces have ben in more dangier and unsuretie by their owne children then by others: Yet if there be any such cause of gelousie, there be good lawes made to bridle such successours, and straighter lawes may be made for your highnes suretie, which I dare boldly say, wilbe most willingly assented unto. Well it may be sayd, as I have harde your highnes saye, that the title is so uncertin, and so doubtful, that, if it shall com in question, no man can tell where to rest. Surely the more uncerten and the more doubtfull it is, the more nedefull it is to make it certen; and then it is to be considered, whether it be better to have it decyded now, when it may be don by your highnes, and such of your nobilite, such of your wise counsail, and such of your

lernerd counsaile, and other grave parsons, as it shall please you to call unto it ; by whom the matier may be debated, and in manner adjudged and over-ruled, before it be brought in question in the parliament houses. Whether is it better, I say, to have it so decyded now, when it may be don in sure and quyet maner, then to leave to com to tryall and judgement hereafter by the sworde, where victory in bloody battaile shalbe the only judge, and whereby it may com to passe, that an usurper shall enjoye the garlands, and the right heir be excluded ?

Speech in Parliament respecting the Queen of Scotland's title to the Succession of the Crown of England.

In the year 1563, the point of succession continued deeply to interest the people of England, who were divided between the rival claims of Mary of Scotland, and of the House of Suffolk. To declare in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance was attended with many dangers, since it might furnish her with a plausible ground for yet higher pretensions. The legitimacy of Elizabeth had never been acknowledged by the Catholics, who were still a powerful body among her subjects. Besides those favourers of her title, the Queen of Scotland was fortified by the strength of her native kingdom, her relation to the House of Guise, and her alliances with the Catholic princes of the Continent. To acknowledge a successor in so powerful a rival, might encourage her to anticipate the course of inheritance, and attempt to depose the immediate possessor of the Crown. On the other hand to disallow pretensions, founded in the right of blood, which, in the case of Mary of England, and of Elizabeth herself, had surmounted even the prejudices of religion, might revolt the consciences not only of the Catholics, but of many zealous Protestants, place the Scottish queen in the character of an injured person, and furnish her partizans with an apology for any desperate courses they should choose to pursue. Queen Elizabeth, therefore, though she permitted her councillors (as Sadler in the following speech), to throw out such doubts respecting Mary's title, as might discourage that queen and her party, observed, on her own part, so cautious a neutrality, as to render herself an apparently disinte-

rested umpire of the dispute, and to induce the Scottish princess patiently to abide her decision.

I AM not fitte to speke in so grete a matier as this is, wantyng wisdom, lerning, and experyence, required to be in him that should judge of the same : but because I have harde som speeke here, touching the tytle of the Quene of Scotts to thimperiall crowne of this realme, wherein it semeth that she hathe some fautours and favourers, I am the rather moved to utter myn affection in that parte. Indede I am not so well lerned in the lawes of the realme, that I can or will presume, or take upon me to judge or discusse of titles. I cannot say who hath the best and most just title to succeede the Q. majestie in her imperiall crowne ; God preserve her highnes in helth long to enjoye it with moche felicity ; but being a more naturall Englishman, I do fynde in meself a gret mislyking to be subject to a foreyn prynce, a prynce of a strange nacion ; and methinks we shulde not be so unnatural as to seke or desire a stranger to reigne over us rather than a prynce of our owne nacyon. And for the Q. of Scotts, though she were indede next heire in bloode to the Q. majestie, yet being a straunger, by the lawes of the realme, as I understand, she cannot inherite in Englande ; which is a good argument to me that the nature of Englishmen hath alwayes so moche detested the regiment of straungers, that they have made lawes to barre all tytles which any straunger may clayme of inheritance within the realme. We have had good experience of the Scotts, how moche they have disdayned to have a prynce of our nacyon to reigne over them ; and that they have rather chosen to abyde all extremite of the warres and force of England, then they wolde consent to have an Englishman to be theyre kyng and gover-

nour, wherof I can shew you a good and trew example : And also, I can tell you what affection and disposicion I have founde in the Scotts themselves, by their own confession and sayeings unto me in this case : —Not long after the deth of the last king of Scotts, I was sent into Scotland by the king, then our sovereign lorde, King Henry VIII., to move a maryage bytween Prynce Edward that then was, and the Q. of Scotts that now is. And I had to do therein with the Q., then dougier, of Scotland, and mother of the quene that now is, and also with him that was then governour of Scotland, who semed to lyke very well of the matier ; although indede they did but dissemble, as it did playnly appere afterwards : but yet they semed to lyke so well of it, that they were content to send theyr ambassadours hither to treat of the matier here with the king himself ; whereupon the kyng appoynted certen of his counsaile, by commission, to treat with them ; whereof insued a long treatie, from Easter till it was almost Mighelmas ; for the Scotts used many delays only to wyne tyme ; and yet, at the last, they agreed upon the mariage ; and the treatie was made, and sealed by the commissioners on both sides ; and also afterwards ratified both by the kyng here, and also by the governour in Scotland. And, amongst other things, it was pacted and couvenanted in the treatie, that the young quene shoulde be delyvered into Englande when she shoulde accomlishe the age of 10 yeres ; and in the meane season, a gentilman and a gentilwoman of Englande, with a convenyent nombre of English men and women, not above the nombre of 40, as I remember, shoulde remayne in Scotland aboute the yong prynces, for her better educacion, after thinglish maner : And also, that 6 noble-men of Scotland, of their next heires, shoulde remayne in Englande as hostages and pledges for the delyvery of the young quene into Englande at her age of 10 yeres. And as any of the hostages either shuld dye, or retourne into Scotland, others shulde be sent to supplie their places, of like degree, so as alwaies 6 shuld remayne in England as

pledges, untill the young quene were delyvered into Englande. This was fully agreed, and no soner agreed then it was fourthwith violated and broken on their parte; for when it cam to the poynt, that the hostages shoulde repaire into Englande, not one nobleman of Scotland wolde either com himself, or suffer his next heire to lye in Englande as hostage and pledge for the delyverie of the yong quene, according to the treatie; so as the hole treatie was violated and broken, and no parte of it performed on their parte. Now, whills this mateir was in treatie, and after it was agreed on, and before it was ratified, I had sondry conferences with dyvers Scottish men, to understande their affections; and, amongst others, with one Otterborn, Sir Adam Otterborn, a knight, reputed to be a wise man as any was in Scotland. He was sundry tymes ambassadour here with King Henry VIII. from the last king of Scotland; and with him I discoursed of the grete benefite and quyetnes lyke to ensue of that maryage bytween those two prynces, whereby the two realmes shoulde be unyted and conjoynd under one regyment. And in our talke, it semed to me that he coulde not chose, but broke out in thes words; Whie think you, said he, that this treatie wilbe perfourmed? Whie not, said I? I assure you, said he, it is not possible; for our people, said he, do not lyke of it. And though the governour and som of the nobylite, for certen respects, have consented to it, yet, said he, I know that few or none of them do lyke of it; and our comen people, sayeth he, do utterly mislyke of it. I tolde him agayn, that it was verye straunge to me to understand their affections to be suche, considering the grate weale and benefite that must needs insue of it; thopportunityte and occasion therof being offered, as it were, by Godd's providence having lefte unto them a yong princes, and to us a yong prynce; by the mariage of which two princes, this two realmes being knytte and conjoynd in one, the subjects of the same, which have ben alwaies infested with the warres, myght live in welth and perpetual peas. I pray you, said he, give me leave

to aske you a question : and this was his question, in thes wourds and terms which I will reherse unto you. If, said he, your lad were a las, and our las were a lad, wold you then, said he, be so earnest in this matier ; and coulde you be content that our lad should mary your las, and so be King of England ? I answered, that considering the grate good that might ensue of it, I shoulde not shew myself zelous to my country, if I shoulde not consent unto it. Well, said he, if you had the las and we the lad, we coulde be well content with it ; but, sayeth he, I cannot beleve that your nacyon coulde agree to have a Scotte to be kyng of England. And lykewise I assure you, said he, that our nacyon, being a stout nacyon, will never agree to have an Englishman to be king of Scotland. And though the hole nobilite of the realme wolde consent unto it, yet our comen people, and the stones in the strete, wolde ryse and rebelle agenst it. This was his saying unto me, and others also sayed as moche to lyke effect ; whereby you may the better understande the affection and disposicion of thes Scotts in this case. And even, as they sayed, it followed ; for by and by, after the treatie was ratified, the governour and nobilitie of Scotland revolted from it, contrary to their othe, lyke false forsworn Scotts ; wherupon the warres insued, wherof they worthely fele the smarte at this daye. Now, if this proude beggerly Scotts did so moch disdayn to yelde to the superioryte of England, that they chose rather to be perjured, and to abyde the extremyte of the warres and force of England, then they wolde consent to have an Englishman to be their kyng, by such lawfull meanes of maryage, whie should we, for any respecte, yelde to their Scottishe superiority, or consent to establish a Scotte in succession to the crowne of this realm, contrary to the lawes of the realme, and therby to do so grate an injurye as to disinherite the next heire of our owne nacyon ? Surely, for my part, I cannot consent unto it. And I feare, leest I may say with the Scotte, that though we do all agree unto it, yet our comen people, and the stones in the strete, wolde

rebelle agenst it. So that where it is thought to be for a perpetual concorde, it wolde rather turne to a perpetual discorde, both amongst ourselfs, and with the Scotts, for ever. Thus have I declared myn affection concerning the regiment of a straunge prynce over us, wherein, whatsoever may be gathered of my words, I meane as well to my countrey as becometh a naturall and good Englishman; and no lesse honour and suretie to my prynce, then aperteyneth to thoffice and due-tie of a trew subject.

Opinion in Privy Council, respecting the Restoration of Queen Mary to the Throne of Scotland.

So soon as the unfortunate Mary of Scotland took refuge in the dominions of her rival, it became a discussion of deep interest in the councils of Elizabeth, whether she ought to restore the fugitive princess to her dominions, or adhere to and acknowledge the power which had dethroned her in the name of her infant son? Sir Ralph Sadler, like Cecil, and other counsellors of Elizabeth, delivers an opinion more reconcileable to policy than to generosity, good faith, or magnanimity. The speech was probably made about 1568, and may have directed the queen in her choice of Sadler as one of the commissioners sent to try the question between Mary and her subjects at York.

I HAVE the other day declared my pour opynyon of and for the restoring of the Q. of Scotts, and therefore I will not trouble your majestie with such superfluous matier as to make any repetition of the same, otherwise then as I may have som occasion in discourse of this matier. But being resolved that it cannot be good, but rather most daungerous for your majestie, that she shoulde reigne and governe in Scotland ; being so resolved for myn owne part, I must needs say then, that it is expedient for your majestie to accepte and allowe of the state as you fynde it, that is, of the regiment established in the young Kyng of Scotts. Of the validite or invalidite of his title, your majestie hath

not to dispute, in my poure opynyon, but to take him for a kyng as you find him.² Your majestie knoweth, that when the king your brother departed to God out of this life, there was by and by a quene proclaymed here, the Lady Jane, which was knowen both abroad and here at home to be but an usurper; nevertheles themperour Charles and the French king being advertised by ambassadours from hens, that the state was so established here, did both accept and allowe of it. And though, as I thinke themperour did not so well lyke of it as the French king did, because it wolde have served his turne better to have had the quene your sister in that place, in whom the right was indede; yet, lyke a wise and politique prynce, he made no question of the tytle, but did accept and allowe of the state as he founde it, and promised to contynue the amyte according to the auntyent leages; yea, and offered to enter into straighter leage, if the case shoulde so require. By this example, I thincke it good polycie for your majestie to accepte the state of Scotland as you fynde it, without disputation of the title, the rather because it may best serve your turne. And if your majestie shoulde enter into a leage with that state, who can justly fynde any faulte with it, as if there were no wiser man then I am, surely I wolde say, that it were good polycie for your majestie, in case the K. of Scotts wolde renounce the olde leages with Fraunce, to enter with him into a straight leage, both offensive and defensive, to be frende to frende, and enemy to enemy. I may herein speke folishly, but I meane well to your majestie and to my countrey; and therefore I trust your majestie will the rather here with me, though I speke lyke a fole: For my parte, surely, I coulde be well content that yt might please your majesty to enter into such a leage with the K. of Scotts, though it shulde cost your highnes CM l. (100,000l.) to holde him up, and to set him fast in his throne; which I thinke your majestie may do with a

² Here is an early statement of the casuistical distinction between a king *de facto* and *de jure*.

lesse charge, in despite of all France and Flanders too. I have many tymes thought of this matier; and I have considered, so farre furth as my powre witte can conceyve of the state and termes which your majesty standeth in at this present with all prynces abroad, specially with those which be your vicines and neighbours, as with the K. of Spayne, and the French king, and also with the Q. of Scotts, and Scotland; and having entered into the consideracion of the same, I finde the K. of Spayne and the French king to be faynt and fayned frends to your majesty, such as do but expect the tyme when they may shewe themselves open enemyes, as if they may prevaile in the establishment of their Romish religion within their owne domynyons; who seeth not that then they will bende all their forces to establish the lyke in England? and if they may then fynde a quene in Scotland, that pretendeth a title to the crowne of Englande, who seeth not that she wilbe a redy and an apte instrument to serve both theirs and also her own turne; when she may have ayde thereunto both by the Pope, the King of Spayne, the French King, and also by the favour of your evill subjects here at home, the papists, which, to set up their popish kingdom, wolde not care to have a murderesse and an adulteresse to reigne over them? Mary, I trust your majestie will so provide, that they shall fynde no such quene in Scotland. But to retourne where I was, I fynd, as I sayed, the K. of Spayne and the French king to be but faynt and fayned frends, which onely abide the tyme to declare themselves open enemyes. The Q. of Scotts I fynde also to be a secret dedely enemy to your majestie, lacking onely power and lyberte to execute and shew her malice openly. And for Scotland, I fynde it divided in two parts and factions, wherof one is addicte to the yong King of Scotland, mynding to mayntain his state and govournement, and to contynue the religion in Scotland; and they which do shew themselves to be of that partie, do offer themselves to adhere to your highnes, and to depende hollie at your devocyon. Thother partie and faction do

shew themselves addicted to the Q. of Scotts, seming to have an intention and desire to have her restored to her former state and govournement in Scotland ; but rather, I think, they meane, under that colour, to advaunce the house of the Hamyltons, having alwayes ben a mortall enemyte bytween the two houses, the Stewards and the Hamyltons. And they which be of this partie, depende altogether upon Fraunce ; and with them your rebells also do joyne themselves, hoping, with such ayde as they loke for out of Fraunce and Flanders, to be able to trouble your state, as well by procurement of a new styrre and rebellion within the realme, as by invasions and incursions upon your frontiers, and otherwise ; wherein they lacke no good will to offend and annoy your majestie by all the waies and meanes they can. Thus I fynde that your majestie hathe many enemyes ; but then it may please you to see what frends, what helpe, God hath provided for your majestie agenst such enemyes. First ; if the King of Spayne wilbe an enemye, as I thinke he wilbe loth now to shew himself, because indede the tyme doth not serve him, but if he will nedes be an enemye, your majestie, if it please you, may so provyde and confederate with the Prynces of Germany, that, as I thinke, you may have some of the best of them to give him somewhat to do at home, and so to offende and annoy him, in his Low Countries, as he shall not be able to spare any grate force from thens to supporte your enemyes and rebells in Scotlande, nor yet to trouble your highnes much otherwise. And if the French king will also be an enemye, your majestie hathe the Quene of Navarre, the Prynces of Navarre and Condee, thadmyrall, and others of the nobilitie of Fraunce, which, with some ayde and comforte from your majestie, will give the French king so moche to do at home, as he shall not be able to do your majestie any grete harm ; whereof we have good experience : And thus may your majestie provide for the two grete enemyes to give them enough to do at home, even at their owne dores ; which all politike prynces neyther have in tymes past

omytted, nor yet wolde omytte to do in like cases : And yet your majestie may use these remedies none otherwise then as your enemyes shall give you just occasion. As for the Q. of Scotts, she is in your owne hands, your majestie may so use her as she shall not be able to hurte you ; and to that end surely God hathe delyvered her into your hands, trusting that your majestie will not neglect the benefite by God offered unto you in this delyveree of such an enemye into your hands.² And then for your enemyes and rebels in Scotland, your majestie is able to chastise them, though you had no partie at all in Scotland ; and yet, if it please you, you may have a partie there to confronte them at home. And so your majestie may see that God hathe not left you destitute of frends and helpe to defende you agenst all your enemyes ; as indede I doubt not but God is on your side, who, as he hathe preserved and kept you from many daungers, so I trust, that having ordeyned your highnes to be his minister, and a specyall instrument to set fourth his glorie, he will mayntaine and defende you agenst all your enemyes, which shalbe my daylie prayer. And yet for all this, I coulde be well content that those matiers which have bredde unkyndnes betwixt your highnes and the K. of Spayne and the French kyng, might be well compounded and brought to a good ende. But how, or by what meanes it may be, that is to be well advised, considered, and resolved by wyser men then I am ; for though I have thought of it, yet cannot I devise how those matiers may be well ended, at the least so ended as I wold wish ; that is, in such sorte as might stande with thonour, weale, and commodyte of your highnes,

² This abominable doctrine, that Providence, by affording an opportunity for a crime, calls upon the party who may profit by it, not to hesitate at the perpetration, has been the apology of the worst villanies in all ages. When the fanatical assassins, who murdered the Archbishop of St Andrew's, on Magus-moor, in 1679, saw his carriage unexpectedly approach, they unanimously agreed, that the Lord had delivered him into their hands, and that they could not neglect such manifestation of the divine will, without an evident neglect of a call from heaven.

your realme, and subjects. And yet I see, that, at length, eyther your highnes must seke the meanes at their hands, or they must seke of you; and comonly they are dryven to seke which have most nede. Mary, thanks be to God, your majestie hath no such nede but that you may abyde the tyme as well as they. And, in myn opynyon, the lesse you seke, and the longer you holde of, the better shall your merchants trade be setteled at Hamburgh, and the better shall you make your bargayn when the mateir shall com in question and treatie; and yet if, in the meane season, any good meanes shalbe offered, or any good occasion mynistred whereby those matiers may be brought to a good end, I am of opynyon that the same shoulde not be neglected, but that your majestie shulde take the commodyte of the same, as tyme shall mynister the occasion; and the more tyme you wynne, the better, I thinke, for your majestie. But, in this matier of Scotland, no tyme wolde be omytted. Surely it is most expedient for your majestie to take that way, and to pretermytte no occasion nor oportunte to enterteyn the amyte of Scotland; for if the K. of Spayne, or the French king do breke with you, if they have any intencyon to offende or annoy your majestie, they have no way so fitte nor so proper for them to do it, as by the way of Scotland: Kepe them out of Scotland, that they set no foote there, and your majestie shall the lesse nede to care for any offence or anoyance that they can do to your highnes elleswhere; for your navie being on the see, they shall not be able to lande anywhere in Englande, to do any grete harme: And therefore your majestie hathe specyally to foresee and provide that they get no fote nor entre in Scotland; and the way therto, the best way to mete with the same, is for your majestie to enter first, to set fote first in Scotland, and there to joyne with that partie which do offer themselves to your highnes, for the mayntenance of the state and govournement of the young king of Scotts, and for contynuance of the religion in Scotland; wherein, if it may please your majestie to procede effectually, if it will

please your majestie to take that course, and to followe it with effecte, though it be som charge to your highnes, which wilbe saved another way ; as, if your majestie do spende CM (100,000) crownes that way, it will save you CMl. (100,000 l.) another way. And so I say, if it will please your majestie to take that course, and to go through with it effectually, I am of opynyon, that within a shorte tyme your majestie may have all, or the most parte of Scotland, at your devocyon. Mary, if your majestie shall procede coldely and indifferently, shewing yourself indifferent betwixt both parties, as you have don hitherto, whereby the one partie may live in hope, and the other in feare that you will restore the Q. of Scotts ; if your majestie shall procede in that sorte, then it muste neds be, as hitherto indede it hathe ben, a gret hinderance to the cause, a gret hinderance and prejudice both to your majestie, and specyally to that partie which shall stande for your majestie and the young King of Scotts ; but if both parties shall perceyve and see that your majestie will take this course, and that your highnes myndeth indede to follow it with effect, it will so incourage thone partie, and so discourage thother, that in tyme they must all follow that course, knowing that if your majestie putts your force on thone syde, the other shall not be able to prevaile nor to stande long agenst you ; and so surely, I think, that within a short tyme your majestie shalbe able to reduce the adverse partie to the obedience of the young king, and by that have all Scotland at your devocyon, whereby the amyte between both realmes may be contynewed and increase, which in tymes past hathe ben many waies sought by your noble progenytours, and coulde never be obtayned. And so, to conclude, I am of opynyon, that it is better for your majestie to mayntayn and allowe of the title and regiment of the young king, of whom you may have a frende, and by him thamyte of Scotland, then to admyt the title and government of the Q. of Scotts, of whom you shalbe sure to have an utter enemye, and by her the enemyte of all Scotland ; besydes the gret daungiers and

perills which, by her, may ensue to your owne state and suretie ; which perills have ben so sufficiently layd before your majestie by my lords and others here, that it were superfluous in me to make any further repetition of the same. This is all, &c.

Articles conteyning sondry inconvenyances, perilles, and daungiers which do depend upon the Maryage now in treatie bytween the Q. Maj. and Mounsieur, heir-apparent to the Crowne of France.

All readers of history are familiar with the negociations for a marriage between the Duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. of France; his visit to England; the coquettish encouragement which he received from the Queen; and the unexpected repulse which at length broke off the treaty. All the Queen's wisest counsellors, and, what was hardly of less consequence, her most favoured courtiers, opposed the French match with vigour. Leicester, Hatton, Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney, joined in remonstrances, and at length induced the Queen, after much painful irresolution, to sacrifice her dreams of connubial felicity to her usual political prudence. The wholesome arguments by which this change of opinion was at length wrought in her mind, are well detailed in the following speech of Sir Ralph Sadler.

First, To beginne with Goddes cause, which is the matier of religion, it is to be considered, that her majestie being princypally noted to be the chief patronesse and protectrix of the ghospell and trew religion at this day, and Monsieur specyally noted, reputed, and taken to be mere contrary, it will brede no little discredite to her majestie, with all the prynces protestants in christendom, to matche herself in

maryage with a papisticall prynce ; being so contrary to her highnes as he is in religion.

Also, it cannot but brede not onely grate hinderaunce to the good successe of the ghospell in all parts of christendom, but also will brede daungerous factions and parties amongst ourselves here at home ; for that our papists being alredy too bolde, will conceyve and take a gret deal more boldnes and courage by this maryage, (whereof what inconvenience will insue God knoweth). It may be boldly affirmed, that her majestie's sister, the late Quene Mary, wolde not have ben moved nor induced to marye with a protestant prynce, to have ben lady and sovereigne of ten kingdomes.

Agayn, if God shoulde take her majestie from us (which God forbidde) in the lyfe tyme of Monsieur, as all prynces be mortall as well as others, then the Q. of Scotts being here within the realme, hoping to succede her majestie, who coulde be a fyttter instrument for her to set her up, or a fyttter matche for her in maryage then Monsieur ; which wolde be no harde matier for him to bryng to passe, with the helpe and ayde of our papistes, which indede do hope for such a day, and also with such foreign ayde as he might procure out of Fraunce and otherwise. And so shoulde this realme be governed by a French man and a Scottish woman, and all our English turned into French and Scottish ; and, that worse is, the ghospell of J. C. and trew religion, shoulde be quyte and clere abolished, and all poperie, superstition, and idolatrie agayn restored and set up, as well or worse then ever it was. The Lorde inspire her majestie with his holy spirite, and give her grace to beware of all papists !

Secondly, The unyon of the two crownes of Fraunce and Englande, which may ensue of this maryage, is a principall matier to be thought on, as if Monsieur be King of Fraunce, which he loketh for daylie, and have issue a sonne by her majestie, it must then follow, by good probabilitie, that both the crownes shall devolve and com to that issue ;

and so because Fraunce is the more ample and rycher kingdom, this noble realme of Englande, which thes many hundreth, yea thousands of yeres, hath ben an auntyent royall kingdom, and a monarchie of itself, shall becom vassall, thrall, and subject to the crowne of Fraunce ; whereof what may be sayed hereafter, and wrytten in histories, to the no litle infamy, and touche in honour of the noble lyne and posterite of that noble and famous Prynce King Henry VIII., it may greue all trew Englishmen to thinke of itt ; that is, that K. Henry his sonne, in the tyme of his reigne, being in his mynoryte and tender yeres, was, by meanes of gret rebellion, and other troubles in the realme, inforced to render and give up to the French the towne of Boleyn, which the king his father, of famous memorye, King Henry VIII. did conquer and wyne with the travaile of his owne person, a litle before he dyed. Also, that Q. Mary, in the tyme of her reigne, by her maryage with Philip K. of Spayn, was by him, and for his cause, moved and induced to enter into the warres with Fraunce ; whereby she lost the towne of Calays, which her noble progenitours wan and kept with grete honour almost 300 yeres. But Q. Elizabeth, in the tyme of her reigne, by her maryage with Monsieur, heir-apparent to the crowne of France, lost all Englande, and brought the same into thraldom and subjection to the crowne of Fraunce. This wilbe sayed, and also wrytten in histories, to remayn a matier of recorde for ever.

Trewly, thes two gret causes, religion, and the unyon of thes two crownes, are such, and so many gret inconvenyances, perilles, and daungiers do depende upon the same, as in myn opynyon ought to move all trew Englishmen to mislyke of this maryage.

Thirdly, If the French king do dye, who, by reason of the infirmyte and unsoundnes of his bodye, is not lyke to continew long, as it is thought, then Monsieur, succeding in his place, must neds make his residence and abode in Fraunce ; so that her majestie shall eyther want the fruycyon of his company and presence, or elles must go with him

into Fraunce, to the grete grief and discomforte of all her trew and faithfull subjects. And in what government the realme may be left in that case, I leave to the consideracion of wiser men.

Fourthly, The inequalyte of yeres bytween her Majestie and Monsieur, in myn opynyon, is a matier to move som mislyking of this maryage, he being a very yong prynce, and her majestie of such yeres as, by the naturall course of the same, her majestie might be his mother.¹ Now, whether such maryages be godly and acceptable in the sight of God, I am not to dispute; but sure I am, that when this yong prynce shalbe in his best and flouryshing age, her majestie must neds be so farre growen in yeres, that what mislyking may growe therof, and what matier of unkyndnes it may brede, it is now to be thought on, leest hereafter, when it were more fytter for her majestie to lyve in her older yeres in most quyetnes, it fall out otherwise to her gret unquyetnes and grieve of mynde, and to the no litle regrete and discomforte of all that love her majesty. Example we have of the maryage bytween her highnes sister, the late Q. Mary, and K. Philip, whose unkynde dealing, even in the lyke case, was a gret cause of the shortening of her dayes.

Fyvethly, What hope we may have of the frute of this maryage, of yssue of her highnes, indede although we are not utterly to dispare of it, yet can we not be in so gret hope of it now as when her majestie was of yonger yeres, and a gret dele more fitte to mary then she is now. Indede I am so jelous of her highnes person, that I dare not

¹ It may be much doubted whether this argument was acceptable to Queen Elizabeth. Yet she could admit the jest of her courtiers upon the three sorts of marriage, "one of God's making, as when Adam and Eve, two young folk, were coupled; one of man's making, when one is old and the other young, as Joseph's marriage; and one of the devil's making, where two old folks marry, not for comfort but covetousness."—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, Vol. II. p. 153. Park's Edit.

give her advise to mary at thes yeres ; for that we have it in comen experyence, that when maydens do in their yonger yeres forbere maryage untill they be growen in yeres, as her majestie now is, comonly eyther they have none yssue, or, if they have, the birth of it is daungerous, that few or none escape it.* For my parte, I am so jelous of her person, that I wolde not lyve to see her within the compas of that daunger. And therefore syns her majestie, in all the tyme of her yonger yeres, coulde never be affected to maryage, though gretely urged and pressed therunto, a thyng most wysshed for, and contynually prayed for ; and gretely desyred and sought at her majestie's hands by all her good and loveing subjects, and yet coulde never be obteyned of her majestie by any meanes ; it is to be thought that her majestie now, in her elder yeres, cannot be gretely affected to mary.

Lastly, There is another cause of inconvenyence depending upon this maryage, and that is, that the same is unyversally mislyked of thoroughout the realme ; which is a matier not to be neglected ; for, in myn opynyon, it is not good to do things to the generall discontentment of the hole realme.

* It is supposed that some apprehensions of personal danger mingled in Elizabeth's motives for refusing the match.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

1914

1915

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1918

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APPENDIX.

No I.

An Inventarie of all and singular the Goods, Chattells, and Debts of Ralph Sadler, late of Stondon Lordship, in the County of Hertford, Esq. deceased.—Taken and prized the fift day of March, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and sixty, by John Sabin, Thomas Stevens, and John Ashbey, as followeth, viz.

In the common Dyncing Room.

Imprimis, One long shovell board-table,
three Spanish tables, two other tables,
fifteene old Turkey worke stooles, two
leather chaires, two cushions, two Tur-
key carpetts, one greene say carpett,
seaven peices of tapestry hangings, one
iron rang and backe; three iron doggs,
one fyre shovell, one fyre-forke, one
paire of inlaid tables, one chesse board,
one bagg and men, and one paire of
bellowes, liii¹ £ 53 0 0

In the best Dyneing Roome.

Item, Five peices of tapestry hangings of
the story of Toby and his dogg, twelve
tapestry back stooles, three great chaires
of tapestry, one iron backe, and two
and-irons, lv¹ £ 55 0 0

In the Billiard-Chamber.

Item, Foure peices of tapestry hangings,
one couch, one chaire, two stooles, and
a foot stoole of cloth of silver, and one
billiard-table, l¹ 50 0 0

In the King's Chamber.

Item, Three peices of flatcapp hangings of
the story of the Marriage of the Queene
of Scotts; one cloath bed and bedsteed,
foure curtaines, a double valence, a
counter-poynt and carpett of the same,
one couch, one great chaire, two little
chaires and a foote-stoole suiteable, one
downe-bed, one bolster, two pillowes,
one Holland quilt, two fustian blan-
ketts, two woollen blanketts, a side-
board table, a paire of stands, a paire

of creepers, a fyre-shovell and tongs, a
 paire of bellows, and a window-cur-
 taine of say, cxxx^l £ 130 0 0

*In the Inward Chamber to the King's
 Chamber.*

Item, One halfe-headed bedsteed and ca-
 napy, one feather-bed and bolster, with
 a mattresse, one coverlett, one blankett,
 one wainscott chest, and a window cur-
 taine of say, v^l x^l 5 10 0

In the Matted Gallery.

Item, Seaven mapps, one landskipp, fiftene
 pictures, five formes, one iron backe,
 and a paire of great and-irons, xx^l 20 0 0

In the Suffolke Chamber.

Item, Foure pieces of tapestry hangings, a
 bedsteed, curtaines, and vallence, a
 counterpoint and carpett, a great chaire,
 foure little chaires, all of purple cloath
 laced, a downe-bed and bolster, two
 pillowes, two woollen blanketts, a fus-
 tian blankett, and a Holland quilt, a
 sideboard, cupboard, and carpett, a pair

of bellows, a paire of and-irons, a fyre-shovell and tongs, a paire of snuffers, and a Dornex curtaine, lxiiii^l £ 64 0 0

In the Gatehouse Chamber.

Item, Foure peices of tapestry hangings, two window curtaines of Dornex, a bedsteed, two paire of vallence, a tester and head-cloth, all of red velvet and cloath of silver imbroadered, five say curtaines, a feather-bed and bolster, a mattresse, two woollen blanketts, a fustian blankett, a rugge, a table-carpett, and a great leather chaire, xxv^l 25 0 0

In Boybe Chamber.

Item, Five peices of tapestry hangings, one bedsteed, five curtaines and valence of greene cloath laced, one feather-bed, one bolster, a Holland quilt, a mattresse, two blanketts, one rugg, one great chaire, one wooden chaire, two joyn'd stooles, one Turkey worke stoole, a paire of iron doggs, a fyre-shovell and tongs, a livery-cupboard and carpett, a window curtain of Dornex, and a paire of bellows and snuffers, xxiii^l 24 0 0

In the next Chamber to Boybe Chamber.

Item, A half-headed bedsteed, a mattresse,
 a feather-bed, a bolster, one rugg, two
 blanketts, and one joyne stoole, . . . iii¹ v^s £ 3 5 0

In Averies Chamber.

Item, Foure peices of forrest worke hang-
 ings, one old bedsteed, a paire of old
 vallence and tester, five say curtaines,
 one feather-bed, one bolster, one pil-
 low, two mattresses, two woollen blan-
 ketts, one fustian blankett, one greene
 rugg, two window curtaines of Dor-
 nex, one old leather chaire, two wain-
 scott chaires, two joyne stooles, two
 Turkey work stooles, a livery cup-
 board, a paire of creepers, and a paire
 of bellows, xxii¹ 22 0 0

*In the Inward Chamber to Averies
 Chamber.*

Item, One old bedsteed, one feather-bed,
 one bolster, one pillow, two blanketts,
 one old rugg, two old chaires, one old

table, a little joyne stoole, a little window cloath of Turkey worke, v¹ x² £ 5 10 0

In Bolzes Chamber.

Item, Five peices of forrest hangings, one bedsteed, five curtaines and double val-
lence, one counterpoint and carpett,
one couch, three chaires, and a foot-
stoole, all of blacke and white Fuga-
retto; one bed, one bolster, two pil-
lowes, a mattresse, two woollen blan-
ketts, one fustian blankett, one Hol-
land quilt, three joyne stooles, a paire
of creepers, a fyre-shovell and tongs,
and a paire of bellows, xxviii¹ 28 0 0

*In the Inward Chamber to Bolzes
Chamber.*

Item, A bedsteed, old vallence, and tes-
ter, one darnex curtaine, a feather-bed
and bolster, one mattresse, one blanket,
one coverled, one sideboard, and two
joyne stooles, vi¹ 6 0 0

In the Falconer's Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, two
bolsters, two blanketts, and a rugg, iii¹ 4 0 0

In the Hallen Chamber.

Item, One joyn'd bedsteed, one halfe-headed bedsteed, two feather-beds, two bolsters, two blanketts, two coverletts, one table, two formes, one great leather chaire, two stooles, a paire of creepers, a fyre-shovell, and a paire of bellowses, . . . viii^l £ 8 . 0 0

In the Chamber within the Hallen Chamber.

Item, One bed, one bolster, one blankett, and one coverlett, ii^l x^s 2 10 0

In Beamon's Chamber.

Item, One joyned bedsteed, curtaines, and vallence, one feather-bed, two bolsters, one pillow, one fustian blankett, two woollen blanketts, one rugg, one table, two formes, one great leather chaire, two wooden chaires, three stooles, a paire of creepers, a fyre-shovell and tongs, and a paire of bellowses, viii^l 8 0 0

In the Woollen Wardrobe.

Item, One halfe-headed bedsteed, five feather-beds, foure bolsters, three blanketts, one coverlett, one rugg, one Holland quilt, three tables, one paire of great and-irons cast, with other lumber, and seaven peices of old tapestry hangings, 1^l 50 0 0

In the Linnen Wardrobe.

Item, Four curtaines, one counterpoint of red cloath, one tester and vallence of damaske and velvett, with odd thinges, . . . v^l 5 0 0

In Puppets Parlour.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, two bolsters, one blankett, one coverlett, a wainscott chaire, and a stoole, i^l xv^s 1 15 0

In the Brewer's Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, and two bolsters, iii^l 3 0 0

In the Usher of the Hall, his Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, one
bolster, one blankett, and one cover-
lett, iii^l v^s £ 3 5 0

In the Chamber over the Gatehouse.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, one
bolster, one coverlett, three joyne
stooles, three formes, and one table, . . . iii 3 0 0

In the Warriners Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one bed, one bolster,
one blankett, and one coverlett, ii^l 2 0 0

In the Porter's Lodge.

Item, One table, one chaire, two benches,
one feather-bed, one bolster, one pillow,
and two ragged blankets, ii^l v^s 2 5 0

In the Groomes Chamber in the Stable.

Item, One bed, one bolster, one blankett,
one old rugg, ii^l 2 0 0

Item, In the stable, and att grasse, nine
horses, xl¹ £ 40 0 0

*In the Gallery next the Dogg-yard,
Richard Sadlers Chamber.*

Item, One bedsteed, one bed, one bolster,
one pillow, one blankett, one coverlett,
two tables, one chaire, and one joyne
stoole, ii¹ x¹ 2 10 0

In the Under-cooke's Chamber.

Item, A bedstocke, a bed, a bolster, and a
pillow, i¹ 1 0 0

In the Cookes Chamber.

Item, A table, a bedstocke, a feather-bed,
a bolster, a pillow, two blanketts, and
an old rugg, ii¹ x¹ 2 10 0

In the Clark's Chamber.

Item, A bedsteed, a bed, two bolsters, a
pillow, three blanketts, a rugg, a course
mattresse, two stooles, and a table, iii¹ x¹ 4 10 0

In the Steward's Chamber.

Item, A bedsteed with curtaines and val-
 lence, a flock-bed, bolster and mattresse,
 one pillow, two blanketts, one rugg,
 one table, one sideboard, cupboard and
 cupboard-cloath, two stooles, one old
 sorry chaire, one creeper, one fyre-sho-
 vell, a paire of tongs, and a paire of
 bellowes, vi^l xv^s 6 15 0

*In the Chamber next the Stewards
 Chamber.*

Item, A bedsteed and vallence, one fea-
 ther-bed, one mattresse, one bolster,
 one blankett, one coverlett, one table,
 one sideboard, and one joyne stoole. iii^l xv^s 3 15 0

In the Great Hall.

Item, Two tables, two Turkey carpetts, a
 large peice of tapestry hanging, a great
 iron-grate, a deske, and a large great
 Bible, xxviii^l 28 0 0

In Robert Deard's Chamber.

Item, One halfe-headed bedsteed, one feather-bed, one bolster, three pillowes, one mattresse, one blankett, one coverlett, one table, one rugg, one stoole, one presse, foure peices of old tapestry hangings, one old bedsteed, and a paire of creepers, xi¹ 11 0 0

In the Pantry.

Item, One bedstoke, one feather-bed, one bolster, two old blanketts and lumber, as binns, tables, and bakers basketts, iii¹ 4 0 0

In the Buttery Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, one bolster, one blankett, one rugg, and one presse, iii¹ 3 0 0

In the Parlour.

Item, One table, one sideboard, cupboard, one small table, one elbow-chaire, five

joyne stooles, one forme, one old table
cupboard, a paire of and-irons, and three
little stooles, ii¹ x¹ 2 10 0

In the Still-house.

Item, Six stills, one old presse, cupboard,
two tables, one forme, and lumber, . . . viii¹ 8 0 0

In the Maides Chamber.

Item, Two bedsteeds with curtaines and
vallence of greene linsey-woolsey, two
feather-beds, two bolsters, one downe-
bed, one bolster, three blanketts, three
ruggs, a sideboard, and an iron trunck, . . xvi¹ 16 0 0

In the Brushing Chamber over the Cellar.

Item, A pallat bedsteed, with a canapie,
two curtaines, vallence, and a counter-
point of red cloath, one feather-bed and
bolster, an old quilt, and two blanketts, . . . iii¹ 4 0 0

In Mr Sadler's Chamber over the Cellar.

Item, Five peices of old tapestry hangings,
a bedsteed and vallence, a mattresse, a

downe-bed and bolster, two pillowes, a
 Holland quilt, two blanketts, a rugg,
 two side-cupboards, one great leather . . .
 chaire, two stooles, one table, one joyne
 stoole, a paire of small and-irons, and a
 fyre-shovell and tonge, xxvdi s^d 25 0 0

In the Chapell.

Item, Six low-backed chaires, twenty
 cushions, a pulpitt and table covered
 with quilt leather, eighteen service-
 bookes, a Bible, and twenty hessocks, . . . xvi s^d 16 0 0

In the Backe Chamber.

Item, A library of bookes, x^s 10 0 0

In the Kitchen.

Item, One long range, fower racks, two
 irons before the fyre, six spitts, foure
 dripping-panns, two frying-panns, a
 tinn callender, three boylers, two
 brasse potts, three panns, eleven skil-
 letts, two old brasse panns, two ladles,
 two scummers, and a brasse pot-lid,
 nyne chafing dishes. In pewter, foure
 flaggons, two dozen paire of candle-

sticks, new and old together ; two dozen chamber-potts, twelve close-stoole panns and night-stooles, a pestle and mortar, and about two hundred and eighty pound of pewter in dishes and plates, and eight warming-panns, . . xlix^l xii, 49 12 0

In the Brew-house.

Item, One great copper with tuns and colars belonging to it ; forty hogsheads, with all other appurtences to the brew-house and cellar, cxx^l 120 0 0
Item, In linnen, xl^l v^s 40 5 0

In the Lawndrey.

Item, Five wash-tubbs, a standing kunnell, a furnace, a trow, and other lumber, one boarded bedsteed, one feather-bed, one bolster, and one old tapestry coverlett, iii^l xiiii^s viii^d 3 14 8

Att Fryer's House.

Item, In the parlour, two tables, three formes, and one cupboard, xx^s 1 0 0

In the Hall.

Item, One planke table, three old stooles,
 two and-irons, a fyre-shovell and tongs,
 one spitt, two paire of pot-hangers, a
 paire of bellowes, a brasse-pott and
 hookes, two brasse kettles, one skillett,
 one brasse ladle, one brasse furnice, one
 pewter flaggon, fower pewter dishes,
 one porringer, one frying-pann, one
 dripping-pan, one old ash-kettle, seaven
 cheese moles, seaven pailles, one hatch-
 ett, an axe, a lanthorne, and one salt-
 tubb, v^l x^s 5 10 0

In the Milke-house.

Item, Two churmes, one stand, eightene
 milke kunnells, one greate cheese tubb,
 one powdering tub, six butter ferkins,
 one butter stand, eight shelves, foure
 formes, one paire of butter scales and a
 pound weight, six bole dishes, three
 broath dishes, two fleeting dishes, six
 turning cloathes, and five wheying
 cloathes, iii^l x^s 9 10 0

In the Bayliff's Chamber.

Item, Two old boded bedsteeds, one flock-bed, one bolster, one feather-bed and bolster, one blankett, two old plaine ruggs, one shelve, two formes, one stoole, and one watch-bell, iii^l 3 0 0

In the Buttery.

Item, Three small skelings, two barrels, and a sling, vi^s viii^d 0 6 8

In the Maides Chamber.

Item, One old halfe-headed bedsteed, one feather-bed, two feather bolsters, two old plaine ruggs, one old side-table, one forme, and one shelve, ii^l 2 0 0

In the Cheese Chamber.

Item, One old cheese table, one hanging double shelve, two small shelves, one forme, one trevitt, and one old bole, . . . vi^s viii^d 0 6 8

<i>Item</i> , Three paire of old sheets,	xv ^s	£0 15 0
<i>Item</i> , All the wheate and meslin in the barnes, prized at	xxx ^l x ^s	30 10 0
<i>Item</i> , All the barley, threshed and un- threshed,	xlvi ^l	45 0 0
<i>Item</i> , All the hay,	xxx ^l	30 0 0
<i>Item</i> , Two dung carts, two long carts, fower pair of wheelles, and two plowes, with the furniture,	x ^l vi ^s	10 6 0
<i>Item</i> , Two paire of harrowes, and three great rakes,	xviii ^s vi ^d	0 18 6
<i>Item</i> , Nyne oxen, two fill horses, their yoakes, chaines, and furniture,	lv ^l v ^s	55 5 0
<i>Item</i> , Twenty acres of wheate sowne,	xl ^l	40 0 0
<i>Item</i> , Thirty acres of oates and peas sowne, . . .	xxx ^l	30 0 0
<i>Item</i> , Twenty-seaven acres of tilt,	xx ^l v ^s	20 5 0
<i>Item</i> , Wood fell'd,	xx ^l	20 0 0
<i>Item</i> , Thirty-one store cattell,	lxxvii ^l x ^s	77 10 0
<i>Item</i> , All the oates and peas threshed and unthreshed,	vii ^l xiii ^s iii ^d	7 13 4
<i>Item</i> , Seaventeene store hoggs,	ix ^l iii ^s iii ^d	9 3 4
<i>Item</i> , Two sowes, with sixteene piggs,	ii ^l	2 0 0
<i>Item</i> , Malt,	xlvi ^l	45 0 0
<i>Item</i> , Hopp-poles,	viii ^l x ^s	8 10 0
<i>Item</i> , Plate, one thousand three hundred and sixteene ounces, at five shillings an ounce, comes to	cccxxix ^l	329 0 0
<i>Item</i> , In ready money,	lxxxv ^l	85 0 0
<i>Item</i> , His wearing-apparel,	c ^l	100 0 0

Item, Debts due and owing to the said
deceased, in the county of Gloucester,

dccc^l 0 0 800 0 0

Summa totalis hujus inv^{rii}. . . . mmdccl^l xi^s ii^d. 2750 11 2

Extum fuit Inventarium vicesimo octavo die mensis Maii, Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo sexagesimo primo per Magrum Johannem Roche, notarium publicum, nomine procurio administrat. &c. pro vero et pleno inv^{rio}. &c. sub protestatione tamen de addend. &c. si, &c.

SIMO ROLLESTON, *Regrum*.

No. II.

Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler, giving an account of the State of the North of England in 1537. [See Biographical Memoir.] Caligula, Book II. p. 344. Cotton MSS. Mus. Brit.

Newcastell, 28 Jan.

My duetie remembered unto your good lordeshipp, it may please the same to be advertised, that, as I have occasion to wryte unto your lordeshipp, by the repayre of this berer, the capitayn of Berwyk's servante and chapleyn, so I am bolde (though I have no gret matier), to trouble your Lordeship, amongst your weightie affaires, with these my rude lettres; and forasmuch as I wrote unto your lordeship from Yorke, the success of my jorney thither, it may please you also, semblably, to here what state I have founde the countrey in betwixt Yorke and Newcastell, which, as I wrote unto your lordeship in my last lettres, was reported unto me at Yorke to be very wilde. Nevertheles, to declare the treweth as farre as I coulde perceyve thoroughout all the bishopricke as I rode, I saw the people to be in very good quyetnes; and none of the honest sorte, that had any thinge to lose, desiring the contrary, except such as having nothing of their owne, wolde be glad to have such a worlde as whereby they might have oportunitie to robbe and spoyle them that have; and that generally is the opynyon of all men in these parts; for undoubtedly the honest sorte of men throughout all this contrey do gretely desyre quyttnes; and yet there hath ben som stirrying in the bishopricke; and, not passing ii or iii dayes before my comyng, musters made in Cliveland uppon the hilles, which was by means of dyvers billes and scrowes sett uppon

posts and church-dores thoroughly out the bishopricke, and tost and scatered abroad in the contrey by some sedyteous persons, which do nothing else but go up and downe to devise mischief and devision; and by such meanes it was putt into the hedds of the people, that my Lord of Norff. cam down with a grete armye and power to do execution, and to hang and draw from Doncaster to Berwyke, in all places northwarde, notwithstanding the kinges pardon; and so the people throughout all the northe be brought in worse case then the Lincolnshire men: which tales and ymaginacions beyng so sown amongst the people, did in such wyse styrre and incense them, that surely, as I am informed, had not Mr Bowes^{*} com home when he did, it had ben very lyke to have made a new insurrection. Undoubtedly he hath well don his parte, as I have lerned of divers, in stayeing off the contrey throughout the hole bishopricke; and now they have taken such order, that whatsoever falsehods or reports, billes, lettres, or scrowes, shall be sown abroad, they shal gyve no light credit unto them, but rather do their devoyres to apprehende the devysors and reporters of the same, and so the people be in good stayer and quyetness in all places of the bishopricke; and fully determined, as Mr Bowes told me, to make no more assemblies, but to rest uppon my Lord of Norff. comyng. Syr, I saw no likelihood of any lyghtnes or desyre of devision amongst the people throughout the hole bishopricke, which is a gret countrey, sayng in one towne, which is called Daryngton; and there I noted and perceyved the people to be very fykell. My chance was to come into the towne in the evenyng about vi of the clocke, or somewhat afore; and when I alyghted at my lodging, I think there was not passing iii or iiij persons standing about the inne doore, assur-

^{*} This was probably Robert Caster, Sir Robert Bowes, a privy-counsellor, at different times warden of the Middle Marches. I believe Master of the Rolls. Several of his letters are preserved in the Lansdowne or Cotton MSS. Courage, sense, and loyalty, were hereditary in the family of Bowes for several descents. Sir George Bowes was nephew to Sir Robert.

ing your lordeshipp, that I was scant ascended up a payre of steres into my chaumber, but there was about xxx or xl persons assembled in the strete afore my chamber-wyndows, with clubbs and batts, and there they cam roonyng out of all quarters of the strete, and stode together on a plompe, whispering and rownding together; whereuppon I called unto me myn host, who seemed to be an honest man, and I asked him, what the people meant to assemble so together? he answered me, That when they saw or harde of any comyng out of the south, they used always so to gather together to here newes. I told him it was ill suffered of them that were the heddes of the toun to let them make such unlawfull assemblies together in the strete; and that it was a very ill example, and harde to judge, what inconveniencys might followe, or what attemptats they wold enterprise when such a number of light plowes were assembled. He answered me by his faith, that the hedds of the towne could not rule them, ne durst, for their lyves, speke any fowle words to them: but, quod he, I thinke myselfe to be in som credite with them; and, quod he, ye shall see that I shall cause them to scatter abroad, and every man to go to his home by and by. Mary, quod I, if ye do well, ye shoulde set som of them by the heles. No, quod he, God defende; for so myght we bryng a thousande in our toppes within an hower; but, quod he, ye shall see me order them well ynough with fayre wordes; and thereuppon he went to the rowte in the strete, as they stode whispering together, and, with his cappe in his hands, prayed them to leve their whispering, and every man to go home; and there come they all about him, and asked him who I was? whense I cam? and whither I wold? Myn hoste told them, that I was the kyng's servante, and going from his highnes in ambassade into Scotland: Whereunto one of them replied, and sayed, That could not be true, for the Kyng of Scotts was in Fraunce. Nevertheles, in fine, myn host so pacyfied them, that every man went his way; but moche ado he had, as he told me, to persuade them to beleve that I went into Scotland; and they all, with one voyce, ask-

ed, When my Lorde of Norff. wold com, and with what company ? And so myn host cam to me, as a messenger from them, to know the trewth ; and I sent them worde that he wold be at Danncaster on Candlemas even ; and that he brought no more with him but his owne household servants ; which pleased them wonderous well ; and so every man departed, and I harde no more of them. I assure your lordship the people be very tykell, and, methinketh, in a marvellous straunge case and perplexite ; for they stare and loke for things, and fayne wold have they cannot tell what. So as, in my poure opynyon, it requyreth a gret diligence and circumspection for the edefyeing and establishing of them ; which aperteyning to the office of a prynce and kyng, it becometh not me to talke of ; not doubting but our most gracious Prynce and Sovereign Lorde, with the mature advysement of his Most Honourable Counsaile, will so provyde for the same as shall apperteyne.

At Duresme I found Mr Bowes, who, I assure you, ceaseth not to go from place to place thoroughout all the countrey, and hathe brought the people in good stay and quyetnes. To say myn opynyon, I thinke if he and other gentilmen of the countrey had don so at the first, this had never ben any insurrection. Sir, on Fryday last I arryved in Newcastell, where I assure your lordship I have ben well enterteyned for the kynges sake, both of the mayor and the aldermen ; and at this tyme, I assure your lordship, they have shewed themselffe honest, faithfull, and trew men to the kynges : for albeit the commons of the towne, at the first begynning of this tumult, were very unruly, and as moche disposed to sedicion and rebellion as they of the countrey were, and wold have rysen with them, yet I assure your lordship, the mayor and alderman, and other the heddes of the towne, did so, with wisdom and manhod, handle the commons of the same, that they did fully reconcile them, and so handled them, that in fyne they were determyned to lyve and dye with the mayor and his brethren in the defence and kepyng of the towne, to the kynges use against all his enemyes and rebells, as indede they did. The towne of itself is surely a

strong towne; and the mayor,¹ I assure your lordship, is a wyse fellowe, and a substancyall. He and James Lawson, who is one of the aldermen, brought me uppon the walles of the towne, which I assure your lordship be very strong; and there they shewed me how they had fortifyed the towne. All along the walles lay sundry peices of ordenances; and at every gate of the towne they kepte watche and warde, and yet do; every gate-house is full of bowes, arrowes, billes, and other abillements of warre; and uppon every gate lay, in the towres, gret peces of ordenances, which wold scoure every way a myle or ii and more; all which ordenance they told me that every merchant, for his parte, brought out of their shippes. They made also new gates of yron uppon their bridg; and be victualled within the towne, they thinke, for a hole yere. I assure your lordship they have don their parts very honestly; and have, in myn opynyon, deserved moche thanke, praise, and comendacion. And it might plesse the kynges highnes to sende them a lettre of thanks, it wold gretely encourage them, for surely they have deserved thanke, and ben at gret charge for the defence and fortificacions of the towne. Syr, uppon myn arryval here, I was advertysed by the capitayn of Berwyk, that my saufe conduct will not be had out of Scotland afore Thursday; which is by meane that the chauncellor of Scotland is out of the way in his countrey, and unto soch tyme, as he comes to Edynburgh, where the rest of the counsaile is, there wilbe no saufe conduct gotten.

The capitayn of Berwyke is at Tynmouth, within six miles of Newcastle, and hath sent me worde that he will to-morrow be with me at Newcastle; at which tyme I shall not fayle to delyver him

¹ The mayor of Newcastle mentioned by Sadler, was probably John Sanderson (1537). James Lawson, alderman, had (not improbably for his loyal exertions on this or other occasions), several beneficial grants or purchases of church-lands, viz. the in Newcastle, Nesham Abbey, Co. Pal. where the unfortunate fate of his descendants might furnish an additional chapter to Spelman's Treatise on Sacrilege.

your lordeshipp's lettres ; and further declare unto him such credence as you have commytted unto me uppon the same: That don, I shall addresse myselfe to Berwyke, where I thinke I shall be ii dayes before my sauf conduct com out of Scotland, and yet my servants hathe ben there this sevensight to procure the same ; but I perceyve that now, in the king's absence, they be very daungerous in granting of sauf-conducts.

Assone as I can get it, I will lose no tyme, God willing. I am sure your lordeshipp thinketh that I will make as moche haste home as I can ; and that I love home too well to tarry any longer thens than I may not chuse ; and nevertheles shall take such tyme and opportunitie for the expedyction ther as shall apperteyn. My busynes being don I shall not faile to retorne with suche speede as I may conveniently, our Lorde willinge, who preserve your L. in long lief and good helth, with moch honour. At Newcastle, the xxviii. day of January. With the rude and hastie hande of

Your Lordshipp's olde servante,
and daylie bedisman,

RAFE SADLEYR.

Postscripta. Arrived here with me, the capitayn of Berwyke, unto whom I delyvered your lordeshipp's lettres, and the king's highnes lettres, addressed to the Percyes ; and also declared unto him my credence, touching the handeling of that matier. Assuring your lordeshipp, that notwithstanding your commandiments to have the matier so secretly handeled, the capitayne told me, that he had knowlege, by one or ii gentelmen of the contrey, almost a sevensight ago, that such a matier shold be commytted unto him ; whereof I mervaile. He thinketh that it was vouched by Mr Sir Raynold Carnaby. Nevertheless, he intendeth to cause the said lettres to be delyvred to the Percyes with as moche spede as conveniently may be ; and, if the case so requyre, to execute the rest according to the king's pleasure and com-

mandement. The said capitayn told me further, that he harde say the said Percyes were preparing themselffe to mete with my Lorde of Norff: at Dauncaster. It was also told me this day, in Newcastle, that the Quene of Scotts should be entered into a religious house of systers in Scotland, and was becom a syster in the same ; which I take to be no gossell.

No. III.

Genealogy of the Descendants of Sir Ralph Sadler.

There is an honourable pride of pedigree, which, like many other mixed passions, fortifies the cause of virtue, though it is not her immediate offspring. It is indeed a part of our nature, that, as fathers, we fondly anticipate a long and flourishing descent ; and, as children, look back with complacence upon the virtues and fame of our progenitors. If this feeling admits of misapplication, and becomes the ground of a childish assumption of superiority, instead of an incentive to generous emulation, it only resembles our other passions and propensities, which are alike capable of being guides to good or evil, as the habits and principles of individuals shall decide.

The following account of Sir Ralph Sadler's descendants has been compiled from the common authorities, compared with and corrected by three family genealogies. One of these appears to have been drawn up for the use of Sir Edwin Sadler, Baronet, who died in 1706 ; and the editor was permitted to the use of it by Richard Vernon Sadler, Esq. of Southampton. The second, which is fuller, though of more modern date, was kindly sent to the editor by — Sadler, Esq. of Seabank, near Swords, in Ireland. The third is that of the representative of the baronial family of Aston, drawn up by Edmund Lodge, Esq. These pedigrees agree in general, but such discrepancies as occur between them, are noted below.

The three surviving branches of Sir Ralph Sadler's family are : 1. The Cliffords of Tixall, descended from his grand-daughter and sole heiress, Gertrude, Lady Aston. II. The elder branch of the Sadlers of Temple Dinesley, second son of Sir Ralph. III. The younger branch of the same family, who became Sad-

lers of Sopwell in Ireland. These three lineages are, therefore, separately traced in the following genealogy.

Clifford of Cixall.

1. Sir Ralph Sadleir married Elen. Barre, *aliter* Mitchell, a near relative to Lord Cromwell, by whom he had issue three sons, viz. Thomas, Edward of Temple Dinesley, (from whom the families of Sadler of Sopwell, Wiltshire, and Sopwell in Ireland are descended), and Henry of Everly, near Hungerford, in Wiltshire; and four daughters, namely, Anne, married to Sir George Horsey of Digwell; Mary, married to Thomas Bollys, *aliter* Bowles of Wallington; Jane, married to Edward Baesh of Stansted, Esq.; and Dorothy, who married Edward Elrington of Berstall, county of Berks. He died 30th March, 1587.

2. Sir Thomas Sadleir, his eldest son and heir, was sheriff of the county of Herts in 37th Eliz. He first married Ursula, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Sherrington of Lacock, in the county of Wilts, by whom he had no issue. By his second wife, Gertrude, daughter of Robert Markham of Cotham in Nottinghamshire, he had issue one son, Ralph, and one daughter, Gertrude. James I., on his journey from Scotland to London, A. D. 1603, was magnificently entertained by him at Standon for two nights successively. He died 6th January 1606; and the following inscription was placed on his monument at Standon:

D. O. M.

et

*Memoriæ Thomæ Sadleiri Equitis Aurati
Hic situs obdormit Christo, Christoque resurgat
Thomas Sadleirus stemmate claris eques
Quo micuere simul bonitas, prudentia, candor,
Cum probitate pudor, cum pietate fides.
Hæc illum decorant, hæc sunt monumenta sepulto
Qui Tumulo decus est et fuit ante suis*

*Attamen hoc posuit monumentum filius illi
Ut constet pietas officiosa patri.*

Under this inscription lies a knight in armour, with a lady on his right hand, and two lions rampant at their feet. The effigies of his son and daughter are placed under them, upon their knees, with this inscription between them on the side of the monument: "Here resteth, in sure hope of resurrection in Christ, Sir Thomas Sadleir of Standon, knight, son and heir of the Right Hon. Sir Ralph Sadleir, knight-banneret, privy-counsellor to three princes of the land; which Sir Thomas lived in honourable reputation, for his religion, justice, bounty, love to his country, favour of learning, and all other virtues; and as he lived, he ended his life most christianly, leaving Ralph and Gertrude, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Robert Markham, in the county of Nottingham, Esq. To whose memory, Ralph, his sorowfull son, in dutifull affection, erected this monument as his last duty. He departed this world, 5th January 1606."

3. Ralph Sadleir, his only son and heir, succeeded him. He married Anne Paston, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Coke (Lord Lovall), by his first marriage with Bridget, daughter and co-heir of John Paston of Huntingfield, in Suffolk, third son of Sir William Paston of Paston, knight, whose portion amounted to £30,000, and who was related to many noble families; her aunt, Eleanore, sister to her father, being married to Thomas Earl of Rutland, by whom she had Henry Earl of Rutland. Gertrude married to George Talbott Earl of Shrewsbury; Anne, to Henry Nevil Earl of Westmorland; and Frances, wife to Henry Nevil, Lord Abergavenny. Ralph Sadleir died without issue 12th February 1660. No monument has been erected for him, unless it was one that stands at the east side of the chancel, of which the brass has been taken away. But in the vestry a small monument of black and white marble is placed in the wall, bearing the following inscription:

"Here lieth the body of Anne Coke, eldest daughter of Sir Edward

Coke, knight, Lord-Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, by his first and best wife Bridget Paston, daughter and heir of John Paston of Norfolk, Esq. At the age of fifteen she was married, in 1601, to Ralph Sadler of Standon, in Hertfordshire. She lived his wife 59 years and odd months. She survived him, and here lies in assured hope of a joyful resurrection."

His sister Gertrude succeeded as heir to Ralph Sadleir, on his death *sans* issue. She married Sir Walter Aston¹ of Tixall, in Staffordshire, Bart.; who was baptised at Charlecote, July 9. 1584; one of the first-created baronets, and raised to the dignity of Baron Aston of Forfar, in kingdom of Scotland, on the 8th of November 1627. He died the 13th August 1639, and was buried at Stafford. He had issue five sons and five daughters: 1. Walter, who died young; 2. Walter, who married, in 1629, Mary, second daughter of Richard Weston Earl of Portland, and succeeded to all the Sadleir estates, the succession of which had been limited, by Sir R. Sadleir, to his eldest son Thomas, and his third son Henry;² 3. Herbert, who married Katharine, sister to Sir John Thimelby of Irnham, county of Lincoln; 4. Thomas, who died in his infancy; and, 5. John, who married, but left no issue. His daughters were; 1. Gertrude, who died young; 2. Honoria, died an infant at Vitoria in Spain, her father being ambassador to the Spanish court; she was brought over and buried at St Martin's in the Fields; 3. Frances, married Sir William Persall of Canwell, Staffordshire; 4. Gertrude,

¹ He was grandson of Sir Walter Aston of Tixall in Staffordshire, knight, who had by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Leveson of Lilshull in that county, six sons, Sir Edward, Robert, Richard, William Aston of Milwich in the county of Stafford, Devereux, and Hastings; and five daughters. Sir Edward, his heir, who died in 1598, married twice: by his first wife, Mary, fourth daughter of Sir John Spencer, he had only one child, a son, who died an infant: by the second, Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote in Warwickshire, he had Walter; Edward, who married Anne, only daughter of Edward Sadleir of Temple Dinesley in Hertfordshire, who was second son of Sir Ralph; Thomas, an utter barrister of the Temple, who died unmarried; Joyce, wife of Sir Martin Colepeper of Deane, in the county of Oxford; Elizabeth, Anne, and Jane.

² Vid. Will in writ. *de inquisitione post mortem*.

married to Henry Thimelby, brother of Sir John ; 5. Constantia, married Sir Robert Fowler of St Thomas's, county of Stafford.

5. Walter, second Lord Aston, died in 1678, aged 69, was buried at Stafford, April 25. in that year, and had issue by his wife Mary, above mentioned, four sons and five daughters : 1. Walter, who married Eleanore, youngest daughter of Sir Walter Blount of Sodington, county of Worcester, and widow of Robert Knightly of Off-church, county of Warwick ; 2. Thomas, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ogle of Tissington, county of Northumberland, by whom he had no issue ; 3. Charles, died an infant ; and 4. William, who died without issue. His daughters were ; 1. Elizabeth, married Sir John Southcote of Westham, county of Surrey ; 2. Frances, married Sir Edward Gage of Rengrave, county of Suffolk, baronet ; 3. Gertrude, and 4. Mary, died infants ; 5. Anne, who married Henry Somerset, son and heir to John Lord Somersset, Marquis of Worcester.

6. Walter, third Lord Aston, died November 14. 1714, was buried at Standon, and had issue by his wife Eleanore, five sons and two daughters : 1. Edward Walter, who died at Clarmont College in Paris ; 2. Francis, died in 1694, and is buried at Standon ; 3. Walter ; 4. Charles, killed at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland, 1690 ; and 5. William, who died an infant. His daughters : 1. Mary, who died unmarried ; and, 2. Katharine, died an infant. After the death of Eleanore, Lord Aston married Katherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Gage of Firles, county of Sussex, who died April 2. 1720, and was buried at Standon, county of Herts, without issue.

Walter, fourth Lord Aston, married Lady Mary Howard, only sister to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and by her, (who died May 23. 1723, in childbirth of her 11th child,) he had issue : Walter, born Feb. 16. 1711, died June 19. 1717 ; 2. James, his heir ; 3. Charles, born March 19. 1719, died April 12. 1750 ; 4. Mary, born Oct. 27. 1703, died Dec. 10. 1704 ; 5. Anne, born April 4., and died July 24. 1705 ; 6. Catharine, born March 7. 1706, who married Edward Weld, of Lulworth Castle, in the county of Dorset, and died Oct. 25. 1739 ; 7. Another Mary, who was born May 31. 1709, and died April 1712 ; 8. Eleanor,

born May 22. 1717, died April 12. 1727; 9. Margery, who was living unmarried, July 4. 1746, as appears by her father's will of that date. Of the two remaining children of the eleven, who probably died unbaptised, we have no intelligence. Walter, fourth Lord Aston, died April 4. 1748, aged 88 years, and was buried at Standon.

James, the fifth Lord Aston, married at Standon, June 30. 1742, Lady Barbara Talbot, daughter of George Earl of Shrewsbury, and by her had two daughters, Mary and Barbara. 1. Mary, born at Standon, August 14. 1743, and was married, at Worksopmanor, county of Nottingham, to Sir Walter Blount of Mawley, in Worcestershire, by whom she had three sons; 1. Walter, married Anne, daughter of Ralph Ridell, Esq. of Felton Park, and left one son, the present Sir Edward Blount. 2. Edward Blount, Esq. of Bellamore, in Staffordshire, married Mary, daughter of Francis Wright, Esq. 3. George Blount, Esq. married Miss Courtenay Chichester, daughter of John Chichester, Esq. of Arlington, in Devonshire. The Honourable Mary Aston, Lady Blount, was most unfortunately burnt to death at the house of her son, George Blount, Esq. in the year 1804.

2. Barbara, was married at St James's, Westminster, February 2. 1762, to the Honourable Thomas Clifford, son of Hugh, third Lord Clifford, and by him had thirteen children: 1. Thomas Clifford, Esq. of Tixall, in Staffordshire, married Miss Mary Chichester, daughter of John Chichester, Esq. of Arlington, in Devonshire, by Miss Mary Macdonald, daughter of Macdonald, Esq. of Keppoch, (who was executed at Carlisle for having joined the standard of the unfortunate Prince Charles, in 1745), and has issue one son, Thomas Aston Clifford, and two daughters. 2. Edward, died an infant. 3. Henry. 4. Walter, died in the Jesuits College at Palermo, in Sicily, in 1806. 5. James. 6. & 7. Arthur and Lewis, twins. The latter died in 1806. 8. George. 9. Barbara, died 1792. 10. Mary, married Charles, eldest son of Sir William Wolsley, Baronet. 11. Anne. 12. Lucy, married Thomas, eldest son of Thomas Wild, Esq. of Lulworth Castle, in Dorsetshire. 13. Constantia, The

Honourable Barbara Aston died in 1786, and the Honourable Thomas Clifford the year following. *

Sadler of Temple Dinesley in Hertfordshire.

2. Edward Sadleir of Temple Dinesley, *aliter* Denesley, in Hertfordshire, the second son of Sir Ralph Sadler, knight-banneret, married Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Leigh, knight, of Sopwell, near St Alban's, county of Hertford, to whom she was sole heiress after the death of Dame Mary, relict of Sir Humphrey Coningsby, knight, her other sister, without issue. He thus acquired a very large inheritance, together with the addition of the bearings of Chute and Trott, besides

* The heirs-male of the body of Walter, first Lord Aston, having thus failed, the title devolved on Philip, son and heir of Walter Aston, by Penelope, daughter of John Whitfield of the city of Lincoln; which Walter was son and heir of Edward Aston of Milwich, by Dorothy, daughter of Richard Elde of Leighford, in the county of Stafford; which last named Edward was son and heir of William Aston of Milwich (who was, as we have seen in note 1. of page 605, fourth son of Sir Walter Aston, who was grandfather to the first lord,) by Elizabeth, daughter of Waldive Willington of Harley, county of Warwick: — Philip, the sixth lord, was born in the parish of St Giles's-in-the-Fields, Aug. 3. 1709, and, dying unmarried April 29. 1755, was succeeded by his only brother Walter, seventh Lord Aston, who was born in the parish of St Giles's aforesaid, Feb. 24. 1712, and died, also unmarried, March 25. 1763. He was buried, as was his predecessor, in the burial-ground of St George the Martyr. He was succeeded by Walter, his first cousin and heir-male, who was born Oct. 10. 1732, the son and heir of Edward Aston, by Anne, daughter of Thomas Bayley of Stafford; which Edward was next brother to Walter, lately mentioned as the father of the sixth and seventh Lords Aston. Walter, the eighth Lord Aston, married at Hampstead, county of Middlesex, May 28. 1766, Anne, daughter of Peter Hutchinson of Gales, county of York; and, dying July 29. 1805, was buried in Grosvenor Chapel, having had issue Walter Hutchinson, the present lord; William Bayley Aston, supposed to have been lost on board the Foulis East Indiaman in 1791; and a daughter, Elizabeth Jane, who died an infant in 1768. — Walter Hutchinson, ninth Lord Aston, in holy orders, was baptised at St George's, Hanover Square, Sept. 15. 1769, and married, June 14. 1802, Elizabeth, daughter of Nathan Haines, D. D. by Susan his wife, sister of the late Sir George Chudleigh of Haldown House, in the county of Devon, Bart., by whom his lordship has at present no issue.

her paternal coat, now worn by this branch of the family. He had issue (as appears by writt *de inquisitione post mortem*, at Hertford, 2d Dec. 35th Eliz.) 1. Leigh, of Temple Dennesley and Aspley Guise; 2. Richard of Sopwell, ancestor of the branch of Sopwell in Ireland; 3. 4. Edward and Thomas, who died unmarried. Edward Sadleir died 4th April, 26th Eliz., in the lifetime of his father Sir Ralph, leaving Ann his wife, who soon after married Ralph Norwich, Esq., but had no issue.

3. Leigh Sadleir, his eldest son, succeeded him at Temple Dinesley, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Pascall, in Essex, gentleman, by whom he had Thomas and Ann. The latter married the Honourable Edward Aston, brother of Walter Lord Aston.

4. Thomas Leigh Sadleir, married Frances Berry of Bickering Park, county of Bedford, by whom he had issue four-and-twenty children, whereof eight sons and five daughters are upon record in the Herald's Office, viz. 1. Thomas, who died under age; 2. Edwin; 3. Ralph, who died unmarried; 4. Leigh; 5. Edward, who died without issue; 6. William; 7. Richard; and 8. Robert, who both died without issue. The daughters, Elizabeth, Frances, Anne, Jane, and Sarah. Thomas Sadler, Esq. was trained up to the study of the laws in the Inner Temple, and rose to the dignity of Serjeant of Laws, and Justice of Quorum for the county of Bedford, where, till the time of his death, he usually resided. He lived in the intimacy of Francis Earl of Bedford, and died in his 70th year of age, 1658. His wife Frances survived him many years.

5. Edwin, his second son, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Walter Walker knight, Doctor of Laws, by whom he had issue four sons and two daughters, viz. 1. Walter, and 2. Ralph, who both died young; 3. Edwin; 4. Thomas, died under age; Mary, married to Edward Brereton, eldest son of Edward Brereton of Burhas, county of Denbigh, Esq.; and Elizabeth, who died under age. He sometime

studied the laws in the Inner Temple, was afterwards commander of a troop of horse, and subsequently justice of peace for the county of Bedford. From thence he removed to Temple Dinesley, was created baronet, by letters patent, dated 3d Dec. 15th Car. II., and died A. D. 1672.

6. Edwin, his third son, succeeded to the honours and estate. He married Mary, relict of William Croon, M. D. and co-heir of John Lorymer, citizen and apothecary of London, who fined for alderman of that city. He died 30th Sept. 1706, without issue.

^a The following extract from the manuscripts of Anthony a Wood, relates to the armorial bearing of this Sir Edwin Sadleir, Baronet: MS. of Anthony a Wood, marked F. 3. fo. 57. " Or, a lyon rampant pr Fess azure and gules, is the coate of Sir Edwin Sadleir, late of Temple Dinesley, in the county of Hertford, and now of London, Baronet; who married Mary, daughter and co-heir of John Lorymer, citizen and apothecary of London; descended of the ancient family of Lorymer in Hampshire. He was fourth son and heir to Sir Edwin Sadleir of Temple Dinesley aforesaid, created baronet by King Charles II. the 3d of December 1661; which Sir Edwin last mentioned was second son and heir to Thomas Leigh Sadleir of Aspley-Guise, in the county of Bedford, who was much esteemed for his profound learning and knowledge.

" This Thomas Leigh was the only son and heir of Leigh Sadleir, who was eldest son and heir of Edward Sadleir of Temple Dinesley and Aspley Guise aforesaid, who took to wife Anne, daughter and sole heir of Sir Richard a Leigh, an eminent warrior and favourite of King Henry VIII. and in her right had great possessions.

" This Edward was a younger brother to Sir Thomas Sadleir, who for two nights magnificently entertained King James I. and his royal train, at his seat at Standon, in the said county of Hertford, when he came to the possession of the crown of England. Sir Thomas left but one son, Ralph Sadleir of Standon aforesaid, much famed for his hospitality and bounty; who died without issue.

" The above-mentioned Edward was second son to Sir Ralph Sadleir, created knight-banneret (in way of reward) at the battle of Muscleborough, near Edingburgh, in Scotland, (the last of that order created for service performed against a common enemy). He was brought up under, and secretary to, the politick Thomas Cromwell Earle of Essex, one of the principal Secretaries of State to King Hennery the Eighth; which said prince

5. Leigh, fourth son of Thomas, (and brother to Edwin first baronet) married Mary, daughter of George Haddon of Kingham, county

conferred the same post on the said Sir Ralph, and made him one of his privy counsell in the 30th year of his reign ; and relyed much upon his advice in matters of the greatest importance ; especially in the affairs betwen England and Scotland, in which he employed him in diverse embassies of the most weighty concearne both in war and peace. As a further mark of his royal favour [he] made him one of the supervisors of his will. In King Edward the Sixth's time, he held the same place and high esteem ; but in Queen Mary's reign resigned, and dwelt private at his seat at Standon.

" In the first of Queen Elizabeth, he was again sworne one of the privy-counsell ; and, in the tenth, made chancellor of the Dutchey of Lancaster ; which stations he held to his deace. He was a privy-counsellor for above 40 years, in the several reigns of Henery the VIII., Edward the VI., and Queen Elizabeth ; and, for the most part of the time, a constant member of parliament for the county of Hertford, and allways faithfull to his prince and countrey, and a great promoter of the reformation of the Church of England. He died, aged 80, at Standon ; possessed a noble estate, which he had got honestly, enjoyed honourably, and then left intire to his posterity ; viz. Twenty-three mannors, several parsonages, and other great parcels of land, dispersed in [the] several counties of Gloucester, Warwick, Bucks, Worcester, and Hertford. Being descended of an ancient family, seated at Hackney, in the county of Middlesex, and where himself was borne.

" George Sadleir of Aspley Guise, aforesaid, is also of the same family, being only son and heir of Leigh Sadleir, who was son of Leigh, fourth son to the above-mentioned Thomas Leigh Sadleir. The said George intermarried with Jane Stileman, neice of John Stileman of London, merchant, by whom he had issue George and Jane.

" The above-mentioned coate was an alteration from another too much confused mixture of too many things in one shield, by Robert Cook Clarencieux, and William Flower Norry, who ratified and assigned the said coate the 4th February 1575, in the 18th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, (in lien of the afore-mentioned confused beareing, which was granted by Christopher Barker Garter, by his letters patent, dated the 14th May, in the 34th year of the reign of King Henery the VIII.), to Sir Ralph Sadleir of Standon, in the county of Hertford, knight, made banneret at the battle of Muscledorrough in Scotland, and, at the date hereof, chancellor of the dutchey of Lancaster, and one of the Queen's most honourable privy council, who had enjoyed the said alteration."

of Oxon., by whom he had one son George, and one daughter Mary; who married (Gillett.)¹

6. George, his only son, married Jane, daughter and co-heir of Francis Styleman of London, and had issue, George and Jane. He died in London A. D. 1746.

7. George, married Charlotte Lucy, only daughter of Major William Cleland, who died in the East Indies. This George also died in his passage from thence in 1752.

5. William, sixth son of Thomas, (and brother to the first Sir Edwin) married Sarah, daughter of Jasper Symonds, rector of Daventry, county of Northampton; and had issue three sons, Thomas, Ralph, and Francis.

6. Thomas, eldest son of William, married Mary, daughter of Robert Smith of Bolton, in Bedfordshire; and had issue, Robert and James.

7. Robert, his eldest son, married Frances, daughter of William Hancock of Southampton, by whom he had one son James, who died at Pennington, near Lymington, 24th Feb. 1788, without issue. Robert, secondly, married Elizabeth, younger daughter of Robert Vernon alderman of Southampton, and had issue by her three sons and one daughter, viz. 1. Robert-Smith, died young; 2. Richard Vernon; 3. Thomas, who died 12th October 1785, without issue. Robert Sadleir died in August 1778, in the 89th year of his age.

¹ This is the account given in the genealogy of Mr Sadleir of Southampton. In that of the Irish branch, Leigh Sadleir, fourth son of Thomas, is said to have had issue one son, Leigh Sadleir, who was living in 1672 in London, and married to Mary Haddon, daughter of George Haddon of Kingham, co. Oxon., by whom he had three sons, Thomas, Ralph, and William; of whose progeny the genealogist professes himself ignorant, but supposes them to have been the ancestors of three families, descendants of Sir Ralph Sadleir, one of which is settled at Apsley Guise, one in Warwickshire, and the third in Hampshire. —See the extract from Anthony Wood, in the preceding note.

8. Richard Vernon Sadler, his second son, a widower of great age, living at Southampton, is the present male representative of the family.

Sadler of Sopwell in Ireland.

3. Richard Sadleir of Sopwellbury, second son of Edward Sadleir of Temple Dinesley, and grandson to Sir Ralph, married Joyce, daughter of Robert Honeywood of Charing, in Kent. He died in 1624, and had issue: 1. Robert; 2. Raphael,¹ and 3. Richard, died unmarried, the latter in 1669; 4. Thomas; 5. Edward; 6. Blount; 7. Henry, who died without issue: and three daughters, Mary, Dorothy, and Margaret.

4. His eldest son, Robert Sadleir, married Helen Dickenson, daughter of Thomas Dickenson of Hollingden, county of Middlesex, and died 21st Car. II., leaving an only daughter, viz. Helen Sadleir, who married Thomas Saunders of Beechwood, county of Herts, by whom she had an only daughter, namely Anne, who married Edward Seabright of Bessford, Esq.²

Thomas Sadleir, fourth son to Richard, died, leaving two daughters, Elizabeth and Alice. The latter married ——— Hosse, Esq.³

¹ Raphael, and the three daughters, are not mentioned in the genealogy of Mr Sadler of Southampton.

² This is the account given in the genealogy of the Irish branch. According to that quoted in the preceding note, this Robert married Ellen, daughter of Thomas Bancroft of Santonhouse in Norfolk; and had issue three sons, Edward, Robert, and Thomas, who all died without issue.

³ According to the Southampton Genealogy, Thomas married Ann, daughter of ———

Edward Sadler, fourth son of Richard, married Susan daughter of Frances Underwood of Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely. According to the genealogy transmitted from Ireland, where the name of his wife is not mentioned, he had two daughters, viz. Anne, married to ——— Peapis, Esq., and another married to ——— Leaver. The genealogy of Mr Sadler of Southampton gives him four daughters, but does not mention their names.

Blount, sixth son to the said Richard Sadleir, (styled in the will of his father, citizen of London) married Mary, daughter of Thomas Sharp of London. He left issue, according to the genealogy of the Irish branch, one son, viz.

5. Thomas Sadleir, who was lieutenant-general and adjutant of the Irish brigade, A. D. 1647. He married ——— Honiwood, and went over to Ireland with Oliver Cromwell. A patent, dated 19th Car. II. granting lands in the counties of Tipperary and Galway, to Colonel Sadler, is in the possession of his descendant the Earl of Charleville. It directs, that the lands of Killnagha (pronounced Kilnelagh), should thenceforth bear the name of Sopwell-Hall. He was knight of the county of Tipperary till his death, which happened about the year 1680. He left issue one son, Thomas, and four daughters: 1. Eliza-

Goodrich of St Albans, relict of ——— Stead, Hertfordshire; and had issue one son, Thomas, of Ballingar and Kilnalla, county of Tipperary, in Ireland. The latter married Frances, daughter of Robert Olliver of Clonel, county of Limerick, Ireland, and had issue three sons; Thomas, living in 1692, at the age of 12 years; Charles, then 8 years old; and Robert, then 6 years old; and three daughters, who were all unmarried in 1692.

* His issue is very differently stated in the account transmitted from Southampton. According to this he had three sons: 1. Thomas; 2. Blount, living in 1692; 3. Ralph, in 1692, a sea-captain at Rotherhithe. The first son, Thomas, was living in 1692, at Barba-does; and married the widow of Colonel Salter of that island, and had issue two daughters; Anne, two years old in 1692; 2. Elizabeth, born in that year. This genealogy does not bring the account of the Irish branch further than 1692.

beth, married to John Briggs of Dunstable, county of Bedford, and of Castletown, county of Tipperary. His second daughter married Colonel Daniel Abbot of Nenagh, in the same county. The third married Henry Foxwell, *aliter* Fox of Foxglade, county of Ebor., and of Graigue, in the county of Tipperary. The fourth married — — Ormsby of the same county.

6. Thomas Sadleir, only son of the above, married Mary Oliver, daughter to Charles Oliver of Kilmallock, county of Limerick, and died A. D. 1710, leaving issue Thomas, Charles, and Robert; and two daughters, Bridget, who died unmarried; and Anne, married to William Vaughan of Golden Grove, in the King's county, Ireland.

7. Thomas Sadleir, his eldest son, married Katherine Tilson, and had issue Francis, his only son.

8. Francis married Catherine Wall, daughter of William Wall of Coolnamuck, county of Waterford. He died 14th December 1797, and left issue two daughters, viz.

9. 1. Mary Sadleir, married to Frederick Trench of Woodlawn, county of Galway, in Ireland, whose son is the present Lord Ashtown.

9. 2. Katherine Sadleir, married first to William Charles Bury of Charleville, King's county, whose son is the present Lord Charleville; and, secondly, to Henry Pretty of Killboy, county of Tipperary; by whom she had issue Henry, now Lord Donally.

7. Charles Sadleir, second son to Thomas, married Margery Baldwin, daughter to Thomas Baldwin of Corolanty, in the King's county, Esq., and died in 1725, leaving issue one son, viz.

8. Charles Sadleir, married to Abigail Grave, daughter to the Reverend Joseph Grave of Ballycommon, in the King's county. He died 26th October 1756, leaving an only son, viz.

9. Thomas Sadleir of Castletown, county of Tipperary, and of Seapark, county of Dublin, barrister-at-law. He married, 1. Rebecca

Woodward, eldest daughter to William Woodward of Cloughprior, county of Tipperary, Esq. by whom he hath issue two sons, namely,

10. Thomas, now paymaster to his Majesty's 99th regiment of foot, and the Reverend Francis Sadleir, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; and three daughters, viz. Anna-Maria, Sarah, and Katharine Sadleir.—
2dly. Florence Atkinson, daughter of Charles Atkinson of Camgart, in the King's county, by whom he hath issue four sons; Charles, James Edwin, William, and Anthony Sadleir; and three daughters, Mary, Anne, and Jane Henrietta Sadleir.

Sadleir of Everly, county of Wilts.

2. Henry Sadleir, third son of Sir Ralph, (according to the genealogy of Mr Sadler of Southampton, *) married Dorothy, daughter of — Gilbert of Everley, and had three sons: 1. Thomas, and, 2. Henry, who both died without issue; and, 3. Francis.

3. Francis married Lucretia, daughter of Hercules Stourton of Little Langford, Wilts, and had issue five sons: 1. Stourton, and, 2. Henry, both died without issue; 3. Thomas; 4. Francis; 5. Giles, died without issue; and four daughters.

* The genealogy of the Irish branch differs widely with regard to Henry Sadleir and his descendants. According to that account, he married, first, Dorothy, daughter of — Gilbert of Everly, near Hungerford, and had issue by her, Gertrude, Grace, and Helen, and two sons, Thomas and Henry; all of whom died in their infancy. He, secondly, married Ursula, daughter of Jo. Gill of Wideal, by whom he had no issue.

4. Thomas, his third son, married Mary, daughter of ——— Draper, and had three sons, Thomas, Hercules, and Stourton.

4. Francis, fourth son of Francis, married Judith, daughter of Jerome Massell of Steple-Langford, Wilts; and had four sons, Francis, William, Jerome, and Stourton, all three living in 1694.

6. Francis, the eldest son, married Alice, daughter of Thomas Rose of Devizes, and had two sons, Francis Ally at Devizes, and Thomas; and one daughter, Alice, all living in 1694.

I know not if any descendants of this branch of Sir Ralph's family be now existing.

No. IV.

*Description of the Monument of Sir RALPH SADLER in Standon Church,
Hertfordshire.**

The monument is supported by two round pillars, with an arch in the middle, in which the following inscription is placed :

“ This worthie knighte in his youth was brought up with Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Lord Cromwell; and when he came to man's estate he became his secretarie, by meanes whereof he did writ manie thinges touchinge matters of state, and by that meanes he in continuance of time was knowen to king Henrye the VIII., who conceaving a good opinion of him as a man meete to serve him, tooke him from the lord Cromwell, above the 26 yeare of his raigne, into his service, and above the 30 yeare of his raigne made him one of his principal secretaries. The kinge did most employe him in service towarde Scotland, whither he sente him in diverse and sondrie jorneyes, bothe in warre and peace; in which service he behaved himself with such diligence and fidelite, and he ever came home in the kinges favour, and not unrewarded. He was of the privie counsell with king Henry the VIII.; with king Edward the VI. he was made knight banneret at Muskelborowe felde; and in the 10th yeare of quene Elizabeth he was made chancellor of the duchie of Lancaster, in whiche office he continued until his deathe. He was a diligente and trustye servante to his prince, and faythful to the state, and beloved in his countrie. He died in the 80 yeere of his age, A. D. 1587, and in the 29 yeare of quene Elizabeth, and is here buried.”

Under this inscription is the effigy of a knight in armour, lying upon a piece of stone cut in the form of a mat, under which is in-

* In the engraving which will be found in this work, Herefordshire is printed erroneously for Hertfordshire.

scribed his motto. Below are the effigies of his three sons and four daughters kneeling.

The monument is surmounted with his coat armorial, which, by patent dated Feb. 4, 1575, is the following: "He beareth Or: a Lyon Rampant, party per Fesse Azure and Gules, Armed and Langued Argent. Crest, on a wreath a Demi-Lyon Rampant Azure, crowned with a Ducal Coronet Or. Motto, *Servire Deo Sapere.*"

At the foot of one of the pillars is the following inscription: *Ambitioni hostis, in conciliis apertus, fidelis regis famulus at semper amator patriæ virtute crevit.*

Near the monument stood the standard which he took from the king of Scotland, armed with iron, and as high as a horseman's sword could reach.

On a stone in the chancell of the church is the following description:

*Radelphus Sadleir titulam sortitus equestram
Principibus tribus arcanis, e censibus unus
Auspiciis sum Cromwelli deductus in aulam
Henrici Octavi quem secretarius omni
Officio coluit Regique Gregique fidelis
Vexilarem equitem me Musciburgia vidit
Edwardus Sextus Scotiam cum frangeret armis
Ducam Lancastrensis sublime tribunal
Cancellarius ascendi quod pondus honoris
Elizabethæ meæ possuit diadema senectæ
Expleat natura sua et gloria partis
Maturus facili decerpor ab arbore fructus
Obiit An. Dom. 1587. 29 Elizth. etatis 80.*

Richard Vernon Sadleir, esq. of Southampton, the present venerable representative of sir Ralph, paid the following tribute at the tomb of his great ancestor.

*Verses on a Visit to the Monument of Sir RALPH SADLEIR, Knight
Banneret, at Standon in Hertfordshire.*

Spirit revered! if aught beneath the sky
Can for a moment's space engage thine eye;
If tender sympathies are felt above,
And souls refined retain parental love;
Listen, and with a smile of favour see
Him, who descends by lineal birth from thee!

In pensive mood, with awful tread, I come
To feed reflection at thy hallowed tomb.
Though dormant lie the honours, once our boast,
Though much of wealth, and much of fame be lost,
Enough of wealth remains, enough of fame,
To save from dark obscurity our name;
And when the strange vicissitudes I trace,
Which sunk to humbler life thy generous race;
When the false pride of pedigree would rise
And wake ambition by its fruitless sighs,
My conscious spirit bids me not repine
At loss of treasures, which were never mine,
But raise the look of thankfulness to heaven,
Who, though withholding much, content has given.
Rivers that flow full copious at the source,
By Time's strong hand impell'd, forsake their course;
But He, who rules the world with stronger hand,
Can bid new fountains rise t' enrich the land.

Oh! if He wisdom give, I'll ne'er complain
That others now possess thy wide domain,
While, in the vale of tears, I seek the road
That leads through darkness to the blest abode,
Where all distinctions cease, where son and sire,
Monarch and slave, to praise their God conspire.

R. V. S.

No. V.

*Catalogue of the Fac-similes of Signatures engraved on the Four Plates
annexed.*

PLATE I.

1. *Philipp. Marye the queene.* Philip II. king of Spain, and Mary, queen of England. From a letter dated 20 April 1555.
2. *Nico. Ebor. Canc.* Dr Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York and chancellor of England. Febr. 24, 1556.
3. Signatures to a letter from the Privy Council, Aug. 15, 1559.
W. Northt. William Par, marquis of Northampton.
Arundell. Henry Fitzalen, earl of Arundel.
E. Clynton. Edward lord Clinton, lord high admiral.
W. Howard. William lord Howard of Effingham.
Sir Tho. Parry.
Sir Edward Rogers.
Sir Francis Knollys.
Sir William Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh.
Sir Rycharde Sakecyle.
Nicholas Wotton, esq.
4. Thomas, seventh earl of *Northumberland.*
5. Signatures to a letter dated 30 Aug. 1559, from the Commissioners of Scotland.
James earl of Boithwill.
Sir Richard Maitland the elder of Lethington.
Sir Walter Ker of Cesfurd.

PLATE II.

1. Queen Elizabeth.
2. Thomas Randolph, *alias* Barnaby.
3. Oswold Chapman, mayor of Newcastle.
4. Sir Ralph Sadleir and Sir James Crofts.
5. Sir Wylliam Inglyby, treasurer of Berwick.
6. Thomas lord Wharton.
7. Sir William Drury.
8. James Ormistoun of that ilk.
9. Lord James Stewart, commendator of Saint Andrews.

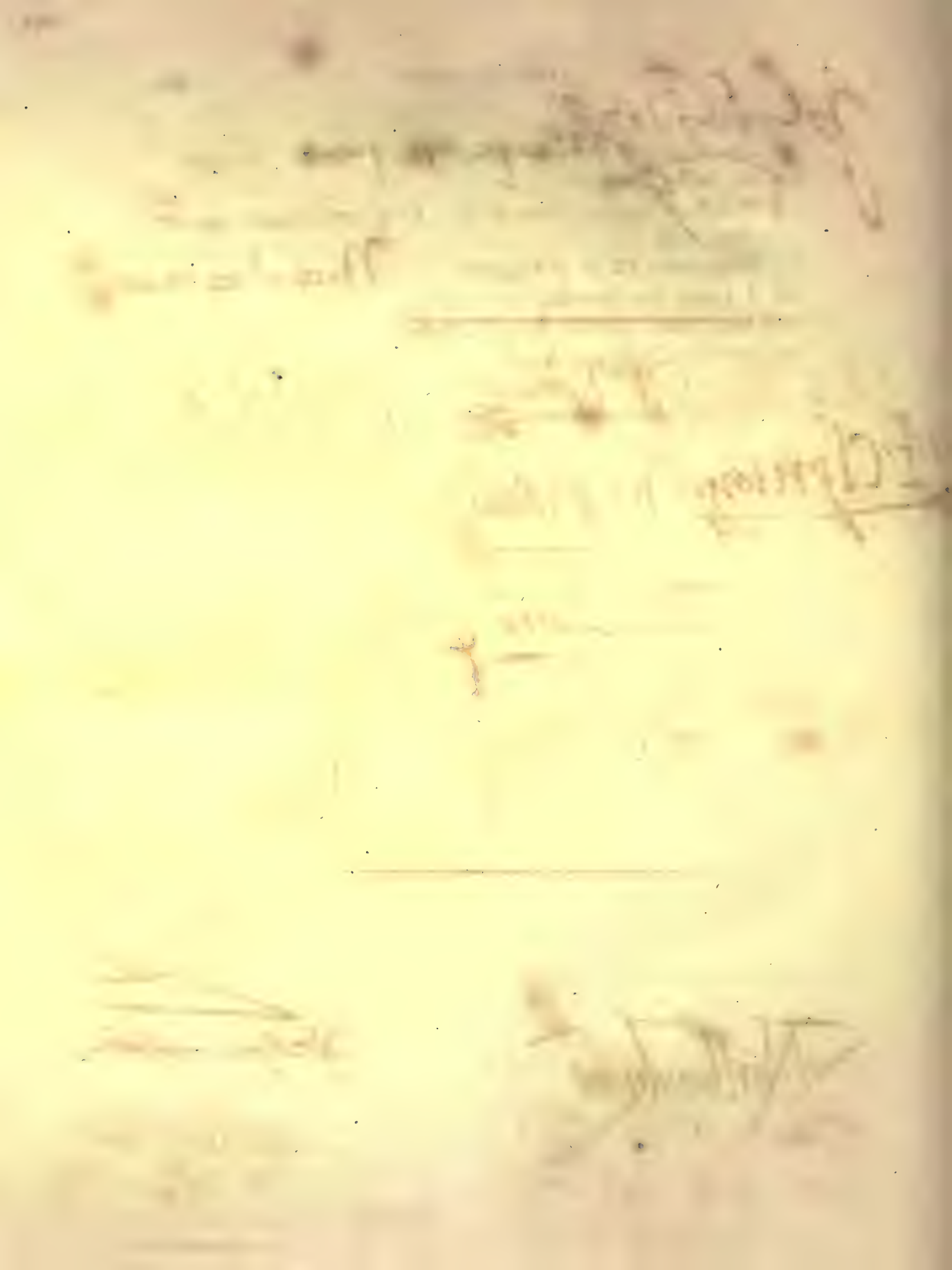
PLATE III.

1. Earl of Winchester.
Earl of Pembroke.
John Masone, one of the privy council.
2. Marie, queen-dowager of Scotland, widow of James V.
3. Monsieur D'Oyselle, a French commander.
4. Sir John Forster, warden of the East marches.
5. Sir Rawffe Gray.
6. Alexander lord Hume.
7. Patrick Whitlaw of that ilk.
8. Marmaduke Slyngsbye.

PLATE IV.

1. William Maitland of Lethington.
2. Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord chancellor.
Francis earl of Bedford.
3. George Heron.
4. James Hamylton, duke of Chatelherault.

5. Robert earl of Leycester.
6. Charles Neville earl of Westmerland.
7. Sir Robert Constable.
8. Willelmus Stewart, notary public. From a recognisance dated 27
Dec. 1559.
9. King James VI. (I. of England.)
10. J. Carey, lord Hunsdon.
11. John Somer, secretary to Sir R. Sadleir.
12. Sir Walter Mildmay.



John Gray

North abeyance

Mr. North

of Oyster Bay

to Mr. North

North

North

North



John G. Mazy the quene

20 Apr 1555

Nico eboz² can

W North
F. Synton W Howard
J. L. G. M. A

Tho. Parry F. L. G. M. A
F. Knollys W. L. G. M. A
H. Orby
M. Wolton

15 Aug 1559

Northumberland

Northmille
F. G. M. A

Northmille
of Lifford

30 Aug 1559



1
Elizabeth R

31 Aug. 1559

2
The Randolphs alias
Barnaby

3
of the County of Devon and

4
Haden L

5
William Mordaunt

6
James Balfour

7
Thomas Mordaunt

22 Sep. 1559

8
William Mordaunt

9
of the County of Devon

10
James Mordaunt





Wm. Hester

La Centre Tenn
7/11/1772

DEMBRORE

John Mason

Handwritten signature

Benjamin Franklin

Handwritten signature

Handwritten signature

Patience Guchie Ladd
offy + 100

Masomadu Blount

Wm. H. Miller

F. H. Miller

12

1871

1872

1873

1874

1875

1876

1877

1878

1879

Robert Miller

Wm. H. Miller

Wm. G. B. S.

to be paid for
10/11/12

10/11/12

10/11/12

10/11/12

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10/11/12

2

William Martland

Baron F.B.
F. Beclford

George Gordon

James R.

James R.

James R.

Thomson

Thomson

Westmerland

John Somer I.

Robert Constable

William's Sonnet



INDEX.

VOL. II.

4 L

INDEX.

A.

- Abyngton, John*, purveyor of victuals, vol. i. p. 390. 479. 492. Ordered to repair to London, 492.
- Agarde, George*, furnishes the castle of Tutbury with wood and coal, ii. 498.
- Agard, William*, ii. 443, recommended by Somer to lord Burleigh, 492. 498.
- Alferton-castle*, account of, ii. 414.
- Allen*, cardinal, his disputes with Dr Lewis, ii. 256.
- Amiens*, bishop of, sent from France, i. 417. 439. 450. Arrives at Leith, 464. 470. 474.
- Amerat*, ambassador from France, i. 313.
- Angus, Archibald*, earl of, account of him, i. 66. Conversations with sir Ralph Sadler, 73. 94. His excuses for not being able to prevent the establishment of the regent, 95. Accused of negligence by the English, 101. Marries Margaret Maxwell, daughter of lord Maxwell, 119. 135. His preparations against the governor, 151. Reconciled to the earl of Lennox, 161. The benefice of the bishopric of Aberdeen refused to him, 192. Conference with sir Ralph Sadler, 195. Requires an increase of pay from England, 196, which is granted, 197. Hopes to win Dumbarton by assault, 205. Appointed to the command of an English army to be sent into Scotland, 247. Advises with the other lords against bringing in an English army, 257. His preparations, 281. Letter to him from the cardinal and his faction, 284. Retires to his own country, 285. A bond subscribed by his faction, 288. Assembles his adherents at Douglas, 289. Refuses to come to the convention, 298. Intends to come with his forces to Edinburgh, 306. Arrives there with his faction, 312. His entrance into the castle of Stirling refused, 317. His want of money, 340. Answer to a letter of his by sir Ralph Sadler, 341. Attempts to bring him over to the French party, 343.

Letter to sir Ralph Sadler, 345. Assembles his faction again at Douglas, 349. Intends to burn Hamilton, 350.

Angus, David, earl of, i. 334, *note*.

Anjou, duke of, arguments against his marriage to queen Elizabeth, ii. 570.

Archer, William, complaint against him, ii. 25.

Argyle, Archibald, earl of, disposition towards England, i. 70. Refuses his consent to the delivery of the queen into England, 169. His feud with the isles, 192. 214. Sadler's opinion of him, 227, 228. Joins with Lennox, 233. Report of his son's marriage to queen Mary, 265. Raises forces, 266. But is employed by his feuds at home, 266. 275. Attacks the possessions of the earl of Glencairn, 275.

Armada, defeat of the, ii. 321.

Arran, James Stewart, earl of, a favourite with king James, inimical to queen Mary, ii. 378. 395. Appointed viceroy to the parliament, 409.

Arran. See *Hamilton*.

Arundel, Henry Fitz-Allen, earl of, account of him, i. 394.

Ashby de la Zouch, account of the castle, ii. 357.

Ashton, Roger, serves under sir W. Stanley in the Spanish army, ii. 239. Executed at Tyburn, 240.

Askham, Roger, recommended to sir R. Sadler, ii. 47.

Association of the nobility, ii. 429. 431.

Aston, Walter, lord, marries the daughter of Ralph Sadleir of Standon, ii. 606. His descendants, *ib. et seq.*

Aymouth, reported to have been fortified by the French, i. 634, 635. 645.

Attainders, roll of, for the northern insurrection, ii. 191.

Audenarde, siege of, ii. 218.

Avington, Nicholas, scout-master of the army, ii. 164.

Aumale, duke of, appointed to go to Scotland from France, i. 494.

Austria, archduke of, on the way to London to solicit the hand of queen Elizabeth, i. 507.

B.

Babthorp, sir William, captain, wages of his company at Berwick, ii. 170.

Bagot, Richard, justice of peace, letter respecting the composition for carriages to Tutbury, ii. 533.

Baldwyn, Thomas, secret negociator for the queen of Scots, ii. 402. 411. 420.

Balnavis, Henry, of Hall-hill, one of the ambassadors to England, i. 63. 83. Secretary of state, 90. A violent reformer, 399. 401. 403. Arrives at Berwick, 430. Converses with Arran, 435. Returns to Scotland, 436. Detained at Holy Island, 450. Returns to Stirling, 461. Money granted him from England, 470. His communications to the English in Randall's dispatch, 511. His coming to England recommended to be deferred by Cecil, 532. His excuses to sir R. Sadler, 548. Sent to meet the duke of Norfolk, 700. 703. 704. Letter, 461.

Bamborough, Thomas, lieutenant-major, his wages, ii. 164.

Barnaby. See *Randall*.

Barnard-castle, account of, ii. 39. Besieged by the rebels, 52.

Barney, an English fugitive in Flanders, ii. 218.

Barton, Andrew, i. 254.

Barton, John à, captain of a Scotch ship, i. 324. 339. 342.

Basset, ii. 531.

Beale, Robert, clerk of the privy council, negotiates with queen Mary, ii. 389.

Beaumont, Mrs, queen Mary's hostess at Derby, ii. 505.

Bedford, Francis Russel, earl of, account of him, ii. 35. Endeavours to persuade lord St John to accept the charge of queen Mary, 477. Letters, 35. 47.

Bell, Walter, servant to Robert Maxwell, i. 193.

Benet, master of the ordnance at Berwick, i. 640.

Bentall, the earl of Shrewsbury's gentleman porter for guarding the queen of Scots, ii. 365. Suspected at court, 369. 397. 415. 418.

Berwick, necessity for increasing the garrison, i. 382. Muster of the garrison, 385. Fortifications, 406. Gunners sent thither from Guisnes, 393. 454. Want of provisions, 479. Orders for the garrison, 539. Quota of troops to be furnished by the northern counties towards the 2000 men to be sent to Berwick, 601. Ordinance respecting some houses to be demolished on account of the fortifications, 622. The 4000 additional troops sent thither, 638. Debts due to the garrison, 644, 645, 646. 652. Necessity of augmenting the wages of the garrison, 653. Money sent to Berwick, 657. Sums owing to the captains there, 658. 668. The additional troops arrive, 668. Monthly charges of the extraordinary garrison, ii. 3. Fees and allowances due for the castle and town, 8. Sir Ralph Sadler's device for garrisoning the town, 12, 13.

Berwick, Humfrey, master of the ordnance, ii. 164. 181.

Bethune, Andrew, parson of Esse, i. 16.

Bethune, David, cardinal, some letters of his intercepted in England, i. 6. One of the intercepted letters, 13. Negotiates at Rome for the primacy of Scotland, 14, 15. His fall, 70. The earl of Arran's intentions towards him, 77. Removed to St Andrews, 89. His removal explained by the governor, 93. Sends a message to sir Ralph Sadler, 104. His required removal into England denied, 107. Praised by the queen-dowager, 115. Conversation with sir G. Douglas, 131. Sends a message to sir R. Sadler, 133. Manner of his liberation, 136. Offences he is charged with, 138. Returns to favour with the governor, 151. Wishes to have an interview with sir R. Sadler, 167. Sir R. Sadler's reasons for not going to him at St Andrews, 189. Proposes to go into France, 206, 214. Which is refused, 214. Goes to Arbroath, 220. Prepares for war, 245. Secret bond made between the cardinal and the catholic lords, 257. Confers with the governor, 273. 275. Refuses to meet the governor, 278. Declared a traitor at St Andrews, 278. Reconciled to the governor, 282, 283. Letter from him and his faction to the earl of Angus, 284. His faction refuses to deliver the queen into England till she be of lawful age, 292. Excuses the non-performance of the treaties with England, 295. Removes with the other lords to St Andrews, 309.

Bethune, James, archbishop of Glasgow, account of him, i. 501.

Borders, disorders there, i. 194, 195. 233. 239. 294. English incursions complained of, 307. English depredations, 317. Commission appointed for the settlement of the Borders, 407. 423. Letters from the Scottish commissioners, 414. 429. A meeting appointed on the Borders, 427. Meeting of the commissioners, 440. A further day appointed, 441. Confused state of the Borders, 444. Articles concluded by the commissioners at Ladykirk, 457. 466. The English wardens proposed to be changed by Cecil, 460. Further disorders on the Borders, 504. 642. 643. Papers relative to the Borders, ii. 1. Device for better regulating the three marches, 12. Gentlemen dwelling in the east marches, 18. Towns in the same, 19. Number of footmen to be placed in them, 20. Entertainment to be given to the warden and his officers, 21. Abatement of the wages of the garrison, 27. State of the forces left on the Borders, 131. 133.

Borthwick, captain of the French guard, i. 19.

- Bothwell, Patrick*, earl of, his disposition towards England, i. 69. 72. Conversation with sir R. Sadler, 81. In the French interest, 170. His enmity to the English marriage, 183. Sir R. Sadler's opinion of him, 184. His depredations on the Borders, 195, 196. Charged to redress them, 198. Report of his marriage with Mary of Lorraine, 265. Goes to Edinburgh, 331.
- Bothwell, James*, earl of, one of the Scottish commissioners, i. 407. Letters to the English commissioners, 414. 429. Complained of by the earl of Northumberland, 497. Commands the French on their march to Stirling, 667.
- Bothwell*, earl of, extracts from his correspondence with Q. Mary, ii. 337.
- Bowes, sir George*, assembles his vassals against the northern rebels, ii. 31. 39. 44. *note*. Obtains Barnard-castle in lease, 60. *note*. His cruelty against the insurgents, 82. *note*. His wages, 162. 168. 175.
- Bowes, sir Robert*, an English knight, prisoner to the Scots, i. 208. 218. Account of him, ii. 597. 599.
- Bowis, Elizabeth*, the mother of Knox, requests a licence to repair into Scotland, i. 456. 479. 509.
- Brage, Walter*, i. 346.
- Brandforth, Edward*, complaint against him by Isabel Brandforth, ii. 23.
- Brandling, sir Robert*, i. 453. 484. Letter to sir R. Sadler on furnishing him with wine, and concerning some French ships which put into Newcastle, laden with provisions for Leith, 546.
- Brend, sir John*, his death, i. 417.
- Bridges, Humphrey*, letter to Nicolas Langford, esq. ii. 517. Examination respecting the letter, 519. Denies the truth of his confession, 524. Further confessions, 530.
- Broch, de la*, ambassador from France, i. 313. Goes to Stirling, 319. His commissions, 323, 324. Promises assistance from France, 338.
- Brosse, La*, sent from France with troops, i. 417. 439. 450. Arrives at Leith, 470. 474. Writes to the duke of Chastleherault, 501.
- Broughty Craig*, castle of, assaulted by the lords of the congregation, i. 468.
- Brown, sir Anthony*, account of him, i. 221.
- Brunstoun*, letters taken from him at Bamburgh, i. 25.
- Brymston*, laird of, sent by Maitland to Scotland, i. 693. 699.
- Bull, George*, ii. 531.
- Butlar*, lieutenant to William Pigot, ii. 223.

C.

Campbell, sir Hugh, sheriff of Ayr, attached to the English cause, i. 166. Disputes with the earl of Cassils, 167. His communication with Drummond, 228. Speaks with Sadler, 231. Sent by the English faction to Edinburgh, 304. Requires money from England, 339.

Campbell, sir John, of Lundy, i. 282.

Canterbury, alterations of Christ's-church there, i. 44.

Carden, sir Thomas, his death, i. 417.

Cardonni, Mana, obtains the earl of Westmoreland's regiment in Flanders, ii. 230.

Carnaby, lady, refuses to deliver the house of Hexham to the keeper of Tyndale, i. 391. 412. 419. 424. 427. A letter sent to her from the queen, 441. Resolutions respecting the house, 489.

Carnaby, sir Reynold, keeper of Tyndale, i. 391, 441, 442.

Carnegy, i. 495.

Carre, Robert, treasurer to lord Clinton's army, ii. 73. 75. Letter, 80.

Cary, Edward, a son of lord Hunsdon, ii. 38.

Cassils, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of, account of him, 77. Conversation with sir R. Sadler, 96. His attachment to England, 97. Interview with sir R. Sadler, 122. His pension from England, 178. Promises to deliver hostages into England, 276. Retires to his own country, 285. Subscribes the bond together with his faction, 288. Refuses to come to the convention, 298.

Cave, sir Ambrose, account of him, i. 487.

Cave, Bryan, cofferer clerk, sent to Tutbury, ii. 446. 448. 449. 452. 498.

Cecil, Thomas, wages of his company of horsemen, ii. 166.

Cecill, William, lord Burleigh, memorial on the affairs of Scotland, i. 375. 377.

Instructions to sir R. Sadler and the other commissioners, 387. To sir R. Sadler, 388. Advises Sadler to lend money to the Scottish protestants as from himself, 438, 439. Returns the bill for 200 crowns lent to Arran, 460. 485. Complains of the paucity of Randal's communications; acquaints sir Ralph that Mons. Martigresse, and not Dampmartin, is to command the French soldiers coming to the aid of the regent; hints at the insufficiency of Drury, 526. His advice to attack Leith speedily, and promise of sufficient pecuniary supplies; also respecting ammunition and captains to be sent from England; recommends to the lords to employ some of the captains come out of France, and discontented with the regent, 534. Instruc-

- tions to sir R. Sadler respecting supplies to be sent to the protestants; 566. Complains of the want of secrecy among the protestants, 601. His good offices for sir R. Sadler's discharge, ii. 477. Letters, i. 387, 388. 391. 402. 404. 417, 418. 422. 426. 437, 438. 447. 460. 463. 478. 485. 494. 506. 526. 532, 533. 566. 574. 600. 635. 641. 668. 707. 710. ii. 34. 39. 53. 56. 69. 73. 78. 98. 123. 129, 130, 139. 143. 477.
- Chalmeley, sir Richard*, wages of his company of soldiers, ii. 173.
- Chapman, Oswald*, mayor of Newcastle, letter to the earl of Northumberland, &c. i. 453.
- Charlebois*, a French captain, i. 674.
- Chipchase*, castle of, i. 441.
- Clavering, Thomas*, farmer of Norham, i. 394. 497. Suspected to be employed as a spy by the queen-regent, 519. Plunders some Scottish ships, 672. Wages of 100 horsemen conducted by him, ii. 176.
- Clergy, Scottish*, authority of the clergy with James V., i. 47. They cabal against sir Ralph Sadler, 48. Aversion to sir G. Douglas, 176. Inimical to the English marriage, 184. Convene at St Andrews, 204. Their further convention prevented by the governor, 211. 215.
- Clifford*, of Tixall, genealogy of that family, ii. 604.
- Clinton, Edward*, lord-lieutenant of the counties of Essex, Hertford, &c. for Q. Mary, i. 367. Account of him, 394. Letter to sir R. Sadler and sir J. Croft respecting the ships stranded near Berwick, 608. Appointed one of the lieutenants against the northern rebels, ii. 39. Assembles forces in Lincolnshire, ii. 44, 45. Marches to join Warwick, 49. Fatigues of the march 61. Discharges part of his army, 76. Expenditure for the army, 80, 81. Discharges all his army but 1500 men, 106. Discharges the remainder, 140. Letters, i. 438. 550. 608. 632. ii. 44, 45. 48, 49. 53. 60. 76. 79, 80. 83. 87. 90. 103. 105.
- Cockburn, John*, of Ormeston, a reformer, i. 435. Asks for relief from England, *ib.* 437. 446. Granted, 478. Receives 1000*l.* for the lords, and 200 crowns for his own relief, 530. In returning is attacked and his money taken from him by the earl of Bothwell, 536. His loss concealed for some time from queen Elizabeth, 573.
- Cockburne*, of Langton, i. 692.
- Codnor-castle*, account of, ii. 414.
- Collingwood, Robert*, an English captain, i. 247.

Como, cardinal, letter to Dr Parry, ii. 300.

Constable, sir John, wages of his company of horse-men, ii. 167. 180.

Constable, sir Robert, recommended by sir J. Forster to sir R. Sadler, i. 389, and by him to Cecil, 591. Account of him, ii. 57. Employed to discover the number of the rebels, 58. Distrusted by Sadler, 63. Meets the earl of Westmoreland, *ib.* Speaks with him, 97. Sir R. Sadler's opinion of him, 108. 109. Sent by him into Scotland, 109, 110. Goes to Farneherst, 110. Converses with Westmoreland, 111, and Richard Norton, 112, 113. His feud with the earl of Northumberland, 120. Returns into England, 122. Requires money, 124. Sadler's advice to him, 127. His offer and demand for keeping Tinedale and Redesdale, 128. Answer to his letter respecting the fugitives in Scotland from sir R. Sadler, 133. Conversation with the countess of Westmoreland, 135. His instructions for corrupting the Borderers to deliver the fugitives, 139. His services commended by Sadler, 144. Letters, 57. 62. 110. 135.

Constable, William, the uncle of Robert Constable, ii. 59.

Contarini, Francis, legate from the pope, lands at Dumbarton, i. 313. He is sent to Glasgow and to Stirling, 319.

Cornish, an English fugitive in Flanders, ii. 218. His subsequent fate, 221.

Cotton, sir Robert, note on Cecil's memorial on Scotland, i. 383.

Coventry, bishop of, accused by sir R. Sadler of negligence in his charge, ii. 526. Letter to him from the same, 542.

Council, Privy, of England, letters and dispatches, i. 392. 413. 481. 489. 492. 495. 576. 581. 650. ii. 46. 47. 440. 446. 480, 481.

Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, taken prisoner, ii. 400. 404.

Crichton, laird of Brunston, sent to England, i. 280. Letter to sir R. Sadler, 342. His professions of attachment to England, 345.

Croft, sir James, joined to sir R. Sadler in his commission to negotiate with the Lords of the Congregation, i. 375. Instructions to them, 387. Account of him, 387. Sadler's opinion of him, 409. Joined in command with lord Gray against the French in Scotland, 706. Accused and disliked by the duke of Norfolk, 711. Interview with the queen-dowager, 718. Commended by Sadler as a fit person for warden of the marches, 471. 544. His yearly allowance, ii. 8, 9. Appointed comptroller of the household, 98. Letters, i. 399. 401. 430. 523.

Cullen, a catholic, executed at Tiburn, ii. 263.

Curle, Gilbert, one of Q. Mary's secretaries, letter to Baldwin, ii. 402. 420. Sir R. Sadler is directed to examine him, 426, 427. His examination, 441. Intended to have been sent from Q. Mary to Scotland, 523. 530.

D.

Dacre, Christopher, prisoner to lord Dacre for a trespass, i. 486. Letter in his favour from Sadler, 493.

Dacre, Edward, one of the northern rebels, account of him, ii. 101.

Dacre, Leonard, holds Naworth-castle, ii. 31. Account of him, 114. Not suspected, 140.

Dacre, sir Thomas, of Lanercost, commended by Sadler as a proper person for the wardenry of the west marches, i. 471. Recommended by lord Whar-ton, 486. 504.

Dacre, Thomas, lord, his inactivity on the Borders, i. 449. 452. Suspected of negotiating with the queen-regent, 452. Advised by sir R. Sadler to be sent for to court, 476. His willingness to give up the office of warden, 504. Engaged in the northern rebellion, ii. 31.

Dalbeuf, marquis of, sent with troops into Scotland, i. 452. 464. 487. 491. 671. 683, 684.

Dalkeith, castle of, taken, i. 332. The dungeon besieged, *ib.* 334. Rendered up, 335.

Dalton, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 223. His subsequent fate, 227, 228.

Dampmartin, apprehensions of his bringing 4000 men from France to the aid of the regent, i. 516.

Darcy, John, lord, account of him, ii. 38. Serves against the northern rebels, *ib.* Keeps Doncaster, 40. 47. His wages, 167.

Darington, captain, his wages, ii. 168.

Davidsons, the clan of, make excursions into England, i. 240.

Davison, returns from a mission to Scotland, ii. 408.

Debateable-land, requisitions respecting it by the Scots, i. 63.

Debts owing to the northern garrisons, i. 385.

Denmark prepares a navy against England and the emperor, i. 270. 277.

Derby, Edward, earl of, refuses to join the northern insurrection, ii. 54.

Deventer, yielded up by sir W. Stanley, ii. 233. Account of the town, *ib.*

Dickson, John, i. 208.

Digby, Anthony, wages of his company of soldiers, ii. 174.

Douglas, Archibald, archbishop, account of him, ii. 370. Recommended to Q. Mary by the French ambassador, 388.

Douglas, of Cavers, ii. 113.

Douglas, sir James, of Drumlanrig, his deposition, i. 190. Subscribes the bond of the English faction, 288. Sent by the English faction to Edinburgh, 304.

Douglas, James, of Parkhedge, natural son of sir G. Douglas, i. 334. Sent from the earl of Angus to sir R. Sadler, 349.

Douglas, sir George, sent to England, i. 63. Account of him, 66. Conversation with sir R. Sadler, 67. Removes cardinal Bethune to St Andrews, 89. Converses again with sir R. Sadler, 95. Suspected by the English of doubleness, 100, 101. Conversations with Sadler, 104. 123. His account of the captivity of the cardinal, 131. Accused by lord Fleming of the escape of the cardinal, 134. Conversation with sir R. Sadler, 142. His promises, 143. Another interview with Sadler, 158. Promises to deliver part of Scotland in case of an invasion, 159. Speech to the nobles, 175, *note*. Denies having taken an oath to England, 176. Sets out for England, 186, 187. Returns to Scotland, 209. Dispatched back to England, 214. Negotiates with the catholic lords, 266, and with the cardinal, 278, 279. His enmity to the catholic faction, 281. At Coldingham, 284. Subscribes the bond with the English faction, 288. Excuses himself for not taking the regent at Dalkeith, 313. His illness, 320. Conversation with sir Ralph Sadler, 327. Jealousy of the English respecting his intentions, 328, *note*. Repairs to Darlington to the earl of Suffolk, 331. His sons, 334, *note*. He is to be summoned for treason, 343.

Douglas, lady Margaret, her marriage with the earl of Lennox, i. 227. 232.

Douglas, sir William, keeps the earl of Northumberland in prison, ii. 111, 112.

Dorrel, sent from the privy council to Tutbury, ii. 529.

Doyselle, monsieur, letter to the earl of Northumberland on the ship stranded near Berwick, i. 582. Fortifies Eyemouth, 635. Returns to Edinburgh, 674.

Drummond, Alexander, i. 334.

Drummond, John, recommended by Henry VIII. to be secretary of state in Scotland, but is disappointed, i. 90. His informations, 226.

- Drury, sir William*, sent by Sadler to Cecil, i. 530. Suspected by the latter, 532. Sent to Scotland, ii. 97, *note*. Letter, i. 549.
- Dumbarton*, refused to be delivered up by the captain, i. 197. 201, 202.
- Dunbar, Gavin*, archbishop of Glasgow, i. 66.
- Duncan, sir John*, denounced a rebel, i. 13.

E.

- Eaton, James*, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 239.
- Edinburgh*, the inhabitants intention to send an ambassador to England, i. 327. The town devoted o the French, 331.
- Edinburgh*, town of, discharge of a recognizance taken of lord Keith and David Strang, i. 663.
- Edinburgh*, castle of, attempts upon it by the French, i. 619. 624. Importance of it, 625, 626.
- Egleby*, ii. 69, 70. 74. 79. 89.
- D'Elbeuf*, marquis, driven back to France, i. 655. 669. 671.
- Elizabeth*, queen, offered by her father to the son of the earl of Arran, i. 129. 139. Her illness, 405. Recovers, 417. 427. Solicited in marriage by the K. of Sweden, 487. 507; by the duke of Austria, 507. Her anxiety to have the charges of the northern army diminished, ii. 72. 91. Her eulogy by the author of the Estate of the English Fugitives, 316, 317. Pretended regard for the health of Q. Mary, 453. Complains of the mean furniture of Tutbury-castle, 514. Arguments against her marriage to the duke of Anjou, 570. Letters and dispatches, i. 387, 388, 389. 405. 445. 480. 527. 531. 578, 579. 622. 634. 638. 669. 708. 719. 722. ii. 33. 91. 144. 146. 148, 149. 152, 153. 349, 350, 351. 355. 359. 380, 381. 514. 544.
- Ellerkar, Edward*, wages of his company, ii. 172.
- Ellerkar, Ralph*, wages of his company of soldiers, ii. 177.
- Eltryngton, Edward*, son-in-law of Sadler, ii. 126. 142.
- Errington, Christopher*, i. 39.
- Eryngton, Nicholas*, letter to sir John Forster, i. 642.
- Erskine, John*, lord-constable of the castle of Stirling, i. 203. Of the party of the dowager, 263. Summoned to keep the castle of Edinburgh for the lords, 462. Promises to keep it, 475. 498. 502. Declares against the

regent, 537. Fires upon the French during the absence of the lords, 553. His determination to retain the castle of Edinburgh in his own hands, 631. Promises to receive the queen-dowager into the castle, 654. 696. 702. Receives her and her train, 712.

Erskine, John, of Dunn, i. 465.

Everly, genealogy of the family of Sadleir of Everly, ii. 616.

Ewry, William lord, captain, wages of his company, ii. 169. 179.

Evers, sir Ralph, an English captain, i. 247.

Evers, sir William, i. 208. ii. 15.

F.

Fairfax, Thomas, wages of his company, ii. 171.

Fairfax, sir William, wages of his company, ii. 173.

Fairniherst, castle of, i. 474. ii. 110.

Featherstonehaugh, sir Albany, i. 609.

Fenton, James, ii. 485.

Fenwick, Gerard, account of him, ii. 118.

Fenwick, Oswald, complaint against him, ii. 24.

Fenwick, Tristram, a rebel, fled into Scotland, ii. 118.

Fenwick, widow, complaint against Oswald Fenwick and Thomas Huntley, ii. 24.

Ferrers, Humfrey, a justice of peace in Derbyshire, ii. 524. 527.

Finland, duke of, sent to London to solicit the hand of Elizabeth for the king of Sweden, i. 507.

Fleming, John, gunner at Berwick, i. 393. 454.

Fleming, Malcolm, lord, not in the English interest, i. 72, 73. Conversation with sir R. Sadler, 133. Account of him, *ib.* In the interest of the queen-dowager, *ib.* Accuses sir G. Douglas and the governor, 134. Commends the queen-dowager, 135. Sent to the governor from the cardinal's faction, 242. Subscribes the confederacy with the cardinal, and refuses to return into England, 258. 268. Sent to the earl of Angus, 290.

Foljambe, sir Godfrey, suspected by sir R. Sadler for being a catholic, ii. 414. 417.

Forman, Andrew, bishop, the pope's legate, i. 77.

Forster, sir John, commended by Sadler as a proper person to be warden of the middle marches, i. 471. 478. 544. Appointed keeper of Tynedale, 590. Letter to sir R. Sadler respecting his transactions in Tynedale, and the appointment of George Heron of Chipchase to the office of keeper of that district, 611. Memorandum of persons bound in bail for the appearance of Jarret Charleton, 614. Appointed deputy-warden of the middle marches by sir R. Sadler, 616. Assembles forces against the northern rebels, ii. 44, *note*, 75. 85. His demands unreasonable, 126. 141. His wages, ii. 166. Letters, i. 589, 590. 611.

France. An army intended to be sent into Scotland, i. 70. Intentions of the lords of Scotland to join with England against France, 74, 75. Preparations of France against the emperor, 87. An ambassador sent to England, 99. Conversation between the governor of Scotland and sir R. Sadler respecting the alliance with France, 154. The offers of France, 162. 174. League between England and France, 188. Intention to send an army into Scotland, 191. 193. A French fleet sent north, 222, 223, 224. They land some men at Aberdeen, 225. Sail to Arbroath, 228. Sail from the coast of Scotland, 231. They lie off the Isle of May, 235; fight with the English, and come into Leith, 236. 239. Ready to return into France, 258. Seen off Holy Island, 260. 262. Further accounts of them, 277. Ambassadors arrive from France at Dumbarton, 313; but do not land, 314. The money and munition delivered to Lennox, 318. Promises of France to the Scots, 326. Intentions of France towards England and Scotland, 378 *et seqq.* Army to be sent to Scotland, 400. Number of it, 403. Arrive at Leith, 411. Another company lands, 431. The French fortify Leith, 461. 464. A seal with the arms of France, England, and Scotland, sent into Scotland, 463. 680. The ambassador complains of safe conducts granted to Scotchmen, 482. The French ambassador complains that sir J. Croft had conveyed the earl of Arran into Scotland, 517. Arms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, quartered with those of France, 570. Five hundred Frenchmen said to have landed at Aymouth to fortify it, 634, 635. Further aid sent to Scotland, 635. 647, 648. Numbers of Frenchmen in Scotland, 651. 654. Preparations for war, 655. Nine hundred more Frenchmen arrive, 662. March against Stirling, 665, 666, 667. 674. Arrive there, 676. Determine to abandon Leith, 678. 682. Defeat the protestants in Fife, 684, 685. They encamp at Burntisland; 689, at Kinghorn, 691. Their

- want of victuals, 695. Repair the fortifications of Leith, 698. Retreat to Leith, *ib.* 701. They occupy Stirling, 705.
- Francesco, Jaques*, lieutenant-colonel to sir William Stanley in Spain, ii. 240.
- Francis I., king of France*, generosity to James V., i. 30.
- Francis II.*, his accession to the throne of France, i. 403.
- Fugitives*, estate of the English fugitives under the king of Spain, ii. 208. Pensions paid to them, 244, 245.

G.

- Gant*, yielded up to the Spaniards, ii. 401. 409.
- Gargrave, sir Thomas*, account of him, ii. 37. Money paid to him, 50. 53. Hindered in the execution of his office as sheriff of Yorkshire, 104. Complained of by Sadler, *ib.* Wages of his soldiers, 175.
- Gargrave, Cotton*, wages of his company, ii. 172.
- Gate, sir H.*, marches to Hartlepool, ii. 71. Sent to Scotland, 97. 102. Wages of his company, 169. 174. 179, 180.
- Gerard, sir Thomas*, a catholic gentleman in Staffordshire, ii. 525.
- German, Mark*, sent as legate to Scotland, i. 199. 205.
- Gibson*, an English fugitive in Flanders, ii. 218. His death, 221.
- Gilrie, John*, complaint against William Archer, ii. 25.
- Glasgow*, archbishopric, exempted from the primacy of cardinal Bethune, i. 16.
- Glencairn*, earl of, sent to England, i. 63. Conversation with sir R. Sadler, 72. His promises in writing, 76. Accused of neglect of his promise to the English, 101. Interview with sir R. Sadler, 122. His protestations to sir R. Sadler, 144. 146. Offers to convoy an English army to Glasgow, 156. Disliked, as well as the other English prisoners, for their corruption, 165. Allowance of money from England, 178. Sets out for England, 186, 187. Preparations against the cardinal, &c. 254. At variance with Argyle, 269. His preparations, 281. Retires to his own country, 285. Subscribes the bond of the English faction, 288.
- Glencairn, Alexander*, lord, with the Lords of the Congregation, i. 465. Requires aid, 469.
- Goodman*, a minister, recommended by the earl of Arran to Randall, i. 510.

- Gordon, George lord*, joins the Lords of the Congregation, i. 465. 498. Comes to Edinburgh, 514. His intention of bringing 4000 horse, 517.
- Gordon, Alexander*, bishop of the Isles, i. 510.
- Gower, J.* master of the ordinance in the north parts, i. 477. Letter to sir J. Croft in behalf of some artificers of the ordnance, 505.
- Gower, Thomas*, captain, wages of him and his soldiers, ii. 178.
- Graham, William*, earl of Montrose, of the queen-dowager's faction, i. 263.
- Grahams*, clan of, make incursions into Scotland, i. 449. 452. 463. 469.
- Gray*, an English fugitive, executed in Flanders, ii. 217.
- Gray, Katherine*, apprehended for popery, ii. 204.
- Gray, William lord*, appointed warden of the east marches, i. 639. Intended to be sent against Leith, 641. Account of him, 646. Marches into Scotland, 715. Ordered to prosecute the siege of Leith and Edinburgh castle, 722.
- Gray*, master of, sent as ambassador to London, ii. 409. 420. Supposed by Walsingham to be devoted to Q. Mary, 420. Arrives at Kingston, 430. Account of him, *ib. note*. His first audience, 435. Not known to Q. Mary, 443. His negotiations, 460. His quarrel with Nau, *ib.* Queen Mary's jealousy of him, 465. 467. A creature of the bishop of Glasgow, 467. His conduct complained of by the Q. of Scots, 515, 516.
- Gray, Robert*, a seminary priest, countenanced by Nicholas Langford, esq. ii. 517. 519. Account of him, 521.
- Greencroft*, house of, account of it, ii. 207.
- Gresham, sir Thomas*, ii. 69.
- Grevesley, T.*, sheriff of Staffordshire, ii. 489. Delivers money to sir R. Sadler, 507.
- Grey, sir Ralph*, possessor of Wark, i. 414. 421. 473. Letter respecting the goods of Mons. Doyssel wrecked near Berwick, 593. Appointed deputy-warden of the east marches by sir R. Sadler, 616.
- Grey*, lord, prisoner to the English, i. 388.
- Guery, Anthony*, i. 495.
- Guise*, duke of, rumour of his coming to Scotland, i. 243. James VI. sends lord Seton ambassador to him, ii. 374. His enterprise against England, 375.
- Guise*, policy of the house of, ii. 311.
- Gwin*, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 239.

H.

Hamilton, James, earl of Arran, governor of Scotland. First interview with sir R. Sadler, i. 65. Disposition towards England, 70. His character, 75. Conversation with Sadler, 76. The earl of Bothwell's account of him, 81. Accused by the queen-dowager, 89. Conversation with Sadler respecting the queen-dowager, 91. His intentions respecting the queen's marriage, 92. Explains the removal of cardinal Bethune, 93. His religious opinions, 94. His appointment censured by Henry VIII. 102, 103. Gives some liberty to the cardinal, 105. His suspicious character, 106. Anxious for the Reformation, 108. 128. His intentions towards the cardinal, 109, whom he refuses to send into England, 110. Denies any intention to marry his son to the queen, 111, of which he is again accused by the queen-dowager, 113. Refuses to remove the queen to Edinburgh, 123. His jealousy of the English armaments on the Borders, *ib.* Promises to follow the advice of king Henry, 126. His intentions towards the monasteries, 128. Promise of the king to marry princess Elizabeth to the governor's son, 129. He complains of the liberation of the cardinal, 130. 136. Accused by lord Fleming, 134. Accepts the offered marriage of his son to princess Elizabeth, 139. Alteration of his intentions, 147. 149. 152. Complains of the unreasonable demands of K. Henry, 152. 162. Refuses the deliverance of Q. Mary into England, 154. His legitimacy disputed by Glencairn, 157. His offers respecting the queen's delivery into England, 163. He returns to the English interest, 170. His protestations to sir R. Sadler of attachment to England, 171. Promises to send sir G. Douglas and lord Maxwell to England, and to come personally to the king after the conclusion of the peace, 172. Promises to send his son to the court of England, 173. Confers with sir R. Sadler on the offers from France, 180. Professes a great attachment to England, 181. Offers to send the earl of Glencairn and sir G. Douglas to England, 182, 183. The uncertainty of his situation, 183. The earl of Lennox refuses to acknowledge him, 186. The governor orders him to deliver up Dumbarton, 188. 201. His resolution to march against Lennox, 195. 197. His wish for the conclusion of peace, 200. Marches with 4000 men against Dumbarton, 201. Returns to Glasgow, 203. He remains attached to England, 206. Will not permit the cardinal to go to France, 207. Letter to him from Sadler, 209. Unpopular for his attachment to

England, 216. Descended from the Hamptons, *ib.* His illness, 219. Promises to send back the prisoners to England, 222. Returns to Edinburgh, 224. Accused of an intention to destroy the young queen, 228. His preparations against Lennox, Huntley, and the cardinal, 234. Proposes to Sadler to remove to Tantallon, 237. Refuses to remove the young queen to Edinburgh, *ib.* Advice given him by Henry VIII. 238. Conditions proposed to him by the catholic faction, 242. His want of money, 244. Refuses the aid of 5000 Englishmen, and requires the loan of 5000l., 255. Offer to him from Henry VIII. to make him king of Scotland beyond the Firth, 256. Hated for the report of his intention to bring Englishmen into the realm, 259. His want of courage, 260. Goes to St Andrews, 270. Concludes the treaty with the catholic lords, 270. Repeats the demand of 5000l., 272. Goes to confer with the cardinal, 273, who refuses to meet him, 273. His preparations against the cardinal, *ib.* Unable to fulfil his treaty with England, 279. Want of money, 282. Revolts to the French faction, *ib.* Meets the cardinal at Callander-house, and goes with him to Stirling, 283. 297. Promises to observe the English treaties, 288. Council chosen to assist him, 290. Private assurances given by him to Sadler, 297. Confers with sir G. Douglas, 309. Goes to St Andrews, 310. Not constant in the French interest, 313. Returns to Edinburgh, 331. Takes the castle of Dalkeith, 332. 334. His enmity to England, 335. His conference with the earl of Morton, *ib.* Requires Sadler to address all his letters to him, 337. Determined for war, 338. Goes north against the lords Gray, Ogilvy, and Glamis, 340. Returns to the catholic religion, 344. His proceedings against the English faction, 348. Held in no estimation in Scotland, 400. Letter to him from Cecil, 404. His promises to the Lords of the Congregation, 431. Negotiates with the lords and the regent, 465. 474. Letter to him from sir R. Sadler, 467. Constant to the lords, 498. Accused by the regent of aiming at the crown of Scotland, 502. 731. Declared one of the chiefs of the council, 513. Arrival at Edinburgh with 15,000 men, 514. Skirmishes with the regent's troops, *ib.*

Hamilton, James, earl of Arran, Sadler points out the importance of his presence in Scotland, i. 400. Cecil promises to send him, 403, 404. Sets out for Scotland, 417, 418. Passport for him, 421. Arrives at Alnwick, 429. 438. Converses with Balnaves, 435. Conveyed into Teviotdale, 439, 440. Money lent to him by Cecil, 447. Arrives at his father's, *ib.* Jealousy

- manifested by the Scottish on account of his being conveyed into Scotland, 448. Discovers himself, 450. Returns the money lent to him by Cecil, *ib.* Rejoicings for his arrival, 451. Requires the assistance of Randall, 462. Letter to him from sir R. Sadler, 466. Declared one of the chief heads of the council, 512. With lord James he takes lord Bothwell's house, 536. Defied by the earl of Bothwell, 565. Letters, 620. 632. 647. 666. 676. 684. 689. 691. 697, 698. 706. 709.
- Hamilton, Claud*, prior of Paisley, i. 465, *note*.
- Hamilton, lord David*, i. 500.
- Hamilton, Gavin*, abbot of Kilwinning, account of him, i. 475. His character by Randall, 498.
- Hamilton, Hugh*, earl of Eglinton, i. 498.
- Hamilton, James*, bishop of Argyle, account of him, i. 495.
- Hamilton, John*, abbot of Paisley and archbishop of St Andrews, sent by the governor to cardinal Bethune, i. 137. His interest with the governor, 145. Account of him, *ib.* Causes the governor's revolt to the French party, 160. Confers with sir R. Sadler, 286. Sent to the earl of Angus, 290. Resigns the abbey of Paisley to lord Claud Hamilton, 465, *note*. Arrives at Hamilton, 475. Discord with the duke, 498. Wishes to retire, 705.
- Hamilton, sir William*, of Sanguhar, one of the ambassadors to England, i. 63. 83.
- Hamilton*, brings dispatches from Glasgow to sir R. Sadler, i. 678.
- Hamyel*, a citizen of Antwerp, anecdote of him, ii. 278.
- Harbottle-castle*, account of, ii. 13. Device for its government, 14, *et seq.*
- Harrison*, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 239. Killed, 240.
- Harlaw, Hector of*, betrays the earl of Northumberland to the regent, ii. 119.
- Hartlepool*, taken by the rebels, ii. 52. Retaken, 71. 74.
- Harvy, Alexander*, imprisoned, i. 13.
- Haultpenne*, commander in the Spanish service, ii. 235. Killed, 236.
- Hawkesworth, William*, sent for by sir R. Sadler, ii. 410. Somer's conference with him, i. 417, 418, 419.
- Hawkhill*, skirmish of, i. 718.
- Heath, Nicholas*, archbishop of York, letter to sir R. Sadler, i. 370. Account of him, *ib.* *note*.
- Henry VIII.*, sends sir R. Sadler to Scotland, i. 3. His present of geldings to James V., 4. Advises him to seize on the church lands, 7. Negocia-

- tions respecting the government of Scotland, in case of the marriage between prince Edward and queen Mary, 71. Letter to sir R. Sadler, 101. His expostulations with the Scottish lords, *ib.* Threatens more violent measures, 103. Promises to send six ships against the French fleet from Dieppe, 228. Letters to sir R. Sadler, 238. 246. Sends a present of 1000*l.* to the governor, *ib.* Promises to send an army and provisions to Scotland, 247. Offers to make the governor king of Scotland beyond the Firth, 256. Anxious to know the reception of his religious books in Scotland, 264. Prepares a fleet and army against Scotland, 308. Wishes the earl of Angus and his party to deliver the cardinal and the governor into his hands, 312.
- Herbert, John*, captain, wages of his company, ii. 170.
- Heron, George*, account of the state of the Borders, i. 636. Letter, *ib.*
- Herries, lord*, speech in behalf of Mary queen of Scots, ii. 334.
- Heskits*, a catholic, executed, ii. 262, 263.
- Hexham*, disputes on the keeper of Tynedale residing there, i. 391. 412. 419. 424. 427. 441. 480.
- Hile, James de la*, promised to be delivered up to the English, i. 216. Said to be dead, 217.
- Hilliard, Dr.*, a Roman catholic divine, flies into Scotland, i. 12.
- Hodgson*, a papist, ii. 64.
- Hodgeson, Lancelot*, imprisoned for popery, ii. 204.
- Hodgeson, William*, accused by the bishop of Durham of recusancy, ii. 205.
- Home, James*, prisoner to the English, returns to Newcastle, i. 453. Required by lord Wharton, 483.
- Home, of Blackader*, suspicions of his correspondence with the regent, i. 564.
- Horsey, sir Edward*, marches with 500 men against the rebels, ii. 50. Account of him, *ib. note.* Arrives, 55. 64.
- Horsley, Robert*, an English captain, i. 247.
- Howard, sir George*, interview with the queen-dowager of Scotland, i. 718. Sent to London, 721; returns, 722.
- Howard, lord William*, ambassador to Scotland, i. 36.
- Howard, William, lord Effingham*, account of him, i. 394.
- Howson*, postmaster at Newark, ii. 499.

- Hume, George lord*, his incursions into England, i. 235. Letters to sir Ralph Sadler respecting a Border meeting to be appointed, 594. 599. Professes to favour the protestants, 676. Favourable to the northern insurgents, ii. 71. Letters, i. 594. 599.
- Hume, Patrick*, takes an English messenger prisoner, i. 294; whom he refuses to deliver, 305.
- Hungate, William*, captain, wages of his men, ii. 170.
- Hunsdon, Henry lord*, sent to quell the northern insurrection, ii. 31. Account of him, 37. Offers to reconcile the countess of Northumberland to the queen, 121. His wages during the insurrection, 163.
- Huntley, George*, earl of, asks at the council for sir R. Sadler's instructions, i. 78. Conversation with sir R. Sadler, 98. Suspected of a conspiracy to liberate cardinal Bethune, 103. Intercedes for him with the governor, 105. Reconciled to sir G. Douglas, 107. Suspected by the lords of being privy to the liberation of the cardinal, 141. Feuds with the Forbes's, 161. Engaged in feuds with the Highland clans, 214. Joins with Lennox, 233. Arrives at Edinburgh, 299. Courted by the Lords of the Congregation, 461. 498. Refuses to come to the regent, 465. Uncertainty of his intentions, 515. Sir R. Sadler's enquiry of Randall respecting his sentiments, 517. His absence suspicious to Cecil, 532. 535. Sir R. Sadler's idea of his character, 552. A speedy conference with him and other lords recommended by sir R. Sadler, 626. His promises to the lords, 685. 691. 702. 704, 705. Meets the duke at Perth, and promises to join him, 709.
- Huntley, Thomas*, complaint against him, ii. 24.
- Hutcheson, Thomas*, imprisoned, i. 13.
- Hutton, Matthew*, bishop of Durham, letter to Cecil, ii. 202. Account of him, *ib. note*.

I.

- James V.* Means of increasing his revenue, i. 7. His first conversation with sir R. Sadler, 20. Introduces justice on the Borders, *ib.* His private audience to sir R. Sadler, 24. Attention to economy, 30. Refuses to dissolve the abbeys, *ib.* Refuses to have had any intention to invade England, 32. Evades the proposed meeting with Henry VIII., 37. Another conversation with Sadler, 42. Excuses cardinal Bethune, 43.

James VI. assumes the government of Scotland, ii. 344. Forfeits some of his noblemen, 368. A French letter to his mother, 373. Conversation respecting him between Q. Mary and Mr Somer, 389. Rumours of his marrying princesses of Lorraine, Denmark, or Spain, 393. Holds a parliament, and appoints Arran viceroy, 408, 409. Money allowed him by Q. Mary, and by the duke of Guise, 467. Letters, ii. 343. 373.

Inchkeith, garrisoned by the queen-regent, i. 499.

Ingleby, John, wages of his company, ii. 173.

Ingleby, sir William, treasurer of the garrison of Berwick, i. 385. Requires money for the garrison, 445. 459. His account required, 481. His accounts, 645, 646. His wages as captain in the northern rebellion, ii. 165. Letters, 445. 459.

Insurrection, Northern, in 1569-70. Papers relative to it, ii. 29. Number of the rebels, 38. 43. They advance to Wetherby, 36. Retire northwards, 50. Besiege Barnard-castle, 52. Take Hartlepool, *ib.* Their disorders, 64. Joined by the inhabitants of the bishopric and part of Yorkshire, 67. They march to Hexham, 70, 71. Severe execution done upon them, 82. 95. Roll of rebels attainted for the insurrection, 191.

Ireland, invaded by some Scottish islanders, ii. 394. Expenses of the government there, 550.

Justices of peace near Tutbury, ii. 510. Instructions for them from sir Ralph Sadler for furnishing carriages, 513.

K.

Keith, lord, bond to the earl of Northumberland, i. 561. Allowed to go home by the earl of Northumberland, 625. Discharge of his recognizance, 663.

Kemp, Francis, i. 370.

Ker, clan of, favourable to the insurgents, ii. 71. Enter and lay waste the English borders, 149. 152.

Ker, sir Thomas, of Farniherst, protects the earl of Westmoreland, ii. 113. Marries Jane Scott, sister to the lord of Buccleuch, 114. Accused of co-vetousness by Constable, 123.

Ker, Walter, of Cessford, one of the Scottish commissioners, i. 408. Letter to him from sir R. Sadler, complaining of some disorders, 688.

Ker, William, i. 673. 677.

Kilmaurs, Alexander lord, hostage in England, i. 81. See *Glencairn, Alexander lord*.

Kinneal, castle of, spoiled i. 667; burnt, 701.

Kirkaldy, sir James, asks for relief from England, i. 435. 437. 446.; which is granted to him, 478. 498. His company of soldiers, 500.

Kirkaldy, sir William, of Grange, attached to the English interest, i. 107. Keeper of Edinburgh castle, ii. 114.

Knapp, Leonard, wages of his company of soldiers, ii. 175.

Knollys, sir Francis, account of him, i. 394. Appointed lord-treasurer, ii. 98.

Knox, John, sends a messenger to sir R. Sadler, i. 399. Letter to him from sir R. Sadler, 401. Assumes the name of John Sinclair in his negotiations, 411. Chosen one of the council for religious matters, 510. His account of the great seal of Scotland, 523. His request of men and ammunition answered, as well as his suspicion that Calais be rendered up by France to England, 524. Disliked at the court of England, 532. 535. His writings suppressed by Cecil, 535. Intercedes for several protestants, 680. Offers for his apprehension, 682. Letters, 455. 662. 680.

Kychin, Rowland, servant to Nicholas Langford, esq. ii. 517. 530. His examination. 532.

L.

La Marque, sent to Glasgow by the French, i. 687. Imprisoned, 688. 695.

Langford, Nicholas, letter to him from Humfrey Bridges, ii. 517. Accused by the latter of harbouring popish priests, and of other points, 519. Accused of having been promised by the queen of Scots to be made duke, 521. Comes to Tutbury, 524. Sadler's opinion of him, 525.

Lawson, James, alderman of Newcastle, ii. 600.

Lawson, Robert, i. 688.

Learmonth, sir James, of Balcomy, one of the ambassadors to England, i. 63. 83.

Lee, sir Richard, surveys the fortifications of Berwick, i. 389. 404. 439.

Leicester, earl of, endeavours to persuade lord St John to accept the charge of Q. Mary, ii. 478.

Leighton, sir Brian, an English captain, i. 247.

- Leighton*, captain, marches against the rebels, ii. 50.
- Leighton, John*, captain, wages of his company, ii. 167.
- Leith*, siege of, Cecill's opinion respecting it, i. 506. Randall's account, 510. Garrison estimated by sir R. Sadler at 3000; in want of supplies, 543. Fortified, 698. 702. Opinions respecting its strength, 710, 711.
- Leeke, sir F.*, sent by the duke of Norfolk to the Lords of the Congregation with Sadler, i. 721.
- Lennox, Matthew*, earl of, attached to the French, i. 75. The regent's intention to resist him, 97. Said to assemble an army, 122; which is denied by sir G. Douglas, 123, and by the governor, 124. Joins with the earl of Argyle and others, 132. Promises to come to Edinburgh, 140. Strongholds possessed by him, 145. Comes to court, and is reconciled to the earl of Angus, 161. His attachment to France, 173. Treats for France, 180. Refuses to acknowledge the governor, 185. His escape, 186. The governor's resolution to march against him, 195. Practises with the captain of Dumbarton not to deliver the castle, 197. 201. Proclaimed a traitor, 198. Promises to submit himself, 201. Flies into the Highlands, 203. Gathers forces in Lennox, 214. His marriage with the lady Margaret Douglas, 227. 232. Report of his marriage with Mary of Lorraine, 265. Changes to the English party, 299. 310. Goes to Dumbarton to get the money and ships from France into his possession, 314. His unwillingness to part with Dumbarton, 318. Requires the government of the realm, 323. Does not come to the meeting of the English faction at Douglas, 325. His return to the French party suspected, 331. The cardinal labours to reconcile him to the governor, 336. Reports of his marriage to the young queen, *ib.* Offers to him by the queen-regent, 649.
- Leviston*, a Scotchman, sent into France, i. 494.
- Lewis, Dr.* a catholic, opposed to Allen in his being elected cardinal, ii. 256.
- Lincoln*, earl of, his death, ii. 496.
- Lincolnshire*, forces levied in this county against the northern rebels, ii. 44, 45.
- Lindsay, John lord*, i. 263.
- Livingston, Alexander lord*, has an office about Q. Mary, i. 263.
- Loggin, Daniel*, a servant of the earl of Shrewsbury, sent to London, ii. 410. 417. 443.
- Lords of the Congregation*. Beginning of sir R. Sadler's negotiations with them, i. 399. Their want of money, 400. Advice to them from Cecil, 403.

Convene at Glasgow and Stirling, 410. Letter meant to have been sent to them, 415. Send Balnavis to sir R. Sadler, 430. The truce with the queen-regent broken, *ib.* Their popularity, 431. Intend to assemble at Stirling, 432. Require money from England, 433. L.2000 promised to them, 434. Begin to assemble an army, 451. Go from Stirling to Hamilton, 455. Their want of money, 456. 461. Their intent to march against Edinburgh and Leith, 462. Disperse to levy forces, 464. Suppress several abbeys, 468. Their forces, *ib.* Warned by sir R. Sadler not to treat with the regent, 492. Prosperous state of their affairs, 498. Depart for Edinburgh, *ib.* Assault the castle of St Andrews, 500. Their loss of time complained of, 502. Intend to call a parliament, 508. Choose a council, 510. Send a letter to the regent, who delays the answer, 511. Their intention to proclaim her an enemy of the country, and besiege her in Leith, *ib.* Agree to depose the regent, *ib.* Their letter to sir Ralph Sadler on the deposition of the regent, and her being proclaimed an enemy of the country, 512. They request two or three thousand soldiers, with ammunition, *ib.* Their exertions praised, but their negligence complained of, by sir R. Sadler, 520. Their request for ammunition and men answered, and secrecy recommended, by sir R. Sadler, 521. Supplication for pecuniary aid; they receive 1000*l.* and promises of more very speedily, 530. Three thousand pounds remitted for them to sir R. Sadler, 532. Regulations for the supporting and ordering the troops raised by them, 540. Not deemed strong enough by sir R. Sadler to besiege Leith, 542. After the skirmish with the French they retire to Stirling, 554. Supplication proposed by Cecil to be sent by the lords to England, 569. Impression caused by their defeat in the English council, 574. Dispatch the laird of Lethington to England, who sets sail, 592. They go into winter quarters at Glasgow and St Andrews, 603. Their goods ordered to be arrested by the queen-dowager, 618. Request 2000*l.* for the relief of the castle of Edinburgh, 619, 620. They hold a convention at Coupar, 630. Letter to sir R. Sadler respecting the operations determined upon by them, 632. Take some French vessels, 648. Plan for joining their forces to the English, 653. Grant hostages to the English, 662. 665. Assemble in Fife, 675. Require further aid of money, 679. Defeated by the French, 685. Take a French ship, 689. Deserted by the common soldiers, 689. 694. Retire to Cupar, *ib.* Intend to march to Stirling, 696. Send hostages to

the English, 705. Their forces, 712. Letters to the lords who had not joined them, 714. Their jealousy of the English treaty with the queen-dowager, 720.

L'Orge, Montgomery de, sent to Scotland, i. 191. 193.

Lowhall, particulars of lands belonging to, ii. 22.

Lyndsay, sir David, i. 19. 40.

M.

Macdonell, James, stirred up by the queen-regent against Argyle, i. 431. Intends to bring 700 men to Edinburgh, 517.

Macdoul, Alexander, i. 208.

Maitland, sir Richard, the elder, account of him, i. 408. One of the Scottish commissioners, *ib.* 448.

Maitland, sir Richard, the younger, sent by the Lords of the Congregation to England, i. 492. 498. 503. To be sent on an embassy to London, 565. Arrives at Berwick, 602. Instructions, 604. Sends Robert Menville for instructions to the Lords of the Congregation, 628. Conference with the council, 638. Letter to sir R. Sadler, 686. Dispatched from London, 691. Recommended by Cecil to Sir R. Sadler, 707. Letters, 628. 686.

Mansfeld, Count, appointed the queen's pensioner, and bound to furnish 4500 men, i. 507.

Margaret, queen-dowager of Scotland. Interview with sir Ralph Sadler, i. 38. Complains of being neglected by her brother, *ib.*

Markenfield, one of the northern rebels, ii. 78. 96. 100.

Markham, Robert, sheriff of Nottingham, ii. 387.

Marishall, William, earl of, conversation with sir R. Sadler, i. 99. Interview with sir R. Sadler, 169, 170.

Mary, queen of England. Dispatches to sir R. Sadler, i. 367, 368.

Mary, queen-dowager of Scotland. Audience of sir R. Sadler, i. 84. Dissembles with him, *ib.* Denies her supposed intention to marry the earl of Lennox, 86. Her confidence in the English court, 100. Her intended removal by Huntley's means to Stirling, 105; which is prevented, 106. Her intentions explained by the governor, 111. Interview with sir R. Sadler, 113. Her opinion of the governor, and other noblemen, 115. Labours to hinder the marriage of prince Edward and her daughter, 191. Anxious to remove to

Stirling, 195. Conference with [sir R. Sadler, 249. Exculpates the rebellion of the noblemen against the governor, 251. 253. Reports of her marriage to Lennox or Bothwell, 265. Chosen principal of the council, 290. Removes to St Andrews, 309. Letter to her from the earl of Northumberland, 395. Her letter to the same, 397, 398. Fortifies Leith, 411. Truce with the Lords of the Congregation broken, 430. Fortifies Leith, 461. 468. Negotiates with the duke of Chatleherault, 474. Reports concerning her, 499. Her offers to the duke, 501. Her ill state of health, 503. Retires to Leith, 503. 508. Her proclamation, 510. Deposed by the Lords of the Congregation, and all the French declared enemies to the country, 512. Letter to the earl of Northumberland in behalf of a Scottish ship stranded near Berwick, 580; to sir J. Croft on the same, 583. Her moderation at getting possession of Edinburgh, 586. Report of her death, 596. Requests that no Scotchman without a passport be allowed to come into England, 601. Her illness, 625. Offers to the duke of Lennox, 649. Letters in behalf of some merchants, 672, 673. Declared a traitor by the lords, 680. Received into the castle of Edinburgh, 712. Negotiates with the English, 720. Letters, 397, 398. 580. 583. 672, 673.

Mary, queen of Scots. Projected marriage with Edward VI., i. 59. The Parliament refuse to deliver her into England till she be of an age fit to marry, 60. The dowry required for her, 63. Negotiations respecting the marriage, 73 *et seq.* Seen by sir R. Sadler, 87. Her delivery to K. Henry till she was eleven years old refused by the Lords, 148. The delivery fixed at ten years of age, 212. Her return in case of the prince's death stipulated, 213. Henry VIII. proposes her removal to Tantallon, 241. Kept at Stirling castle, 245. Shown to sir R. Sadler by her mother, 253. Report of her illness, 263. In the power of the cardinal's faction, 265. Report of her marriage to the earl of Argyle's son, 265. Her coronation, 287. 289. She is safely kept in Stirling, 311. Her accession to the throne of France, 403. Removed from Tutbury to Ashby de la Zouch, ii. 40. Lord Herries' speech in her behalf, 334. Extracts from her letters to Bothwell, 337. Particulars of her bringing lord Henry Darnley to Edinburgh, 339. Conversation with Shrewsbury and sir R. Sadler, 344. Requests permission to send Nau to London, 345. Edward Toky's discoveries respecting her, 347, 348. Instructions for her keepers, 351. Ordered to be removed to Ashby, 352. Her papers ordered to be seized, 355. Further instructions for

removing her, *ib.* Ordered to be removed to Milborne castle, 356. Private instructions for keeping her and her household, 360. Her removal to Milborne does not take place, 362, *note*. The earl of Shrewsbury's orders for guarding her, 364. Excuses James VI. for forfeiting some of the noblemen of the English faction, 369. French letters to her from James VI., 373, and lord Seton, 374. Another French letter to her, 375. Ordered to be removed to Wingfield, 382. 384. Her request to be allowed to send Nau to London and Scotland, 385, 386. Conversation with Mr Somer on the road to Wingfield, 389. Number of soldiers appointed for her guard, 396. Q. Elizabeth's construction of her excusing her son for forfeiting the nobles, 399. Q. Mary offers to mediate between them, 405, 406. Suspensions of her at court, 410. Her ill state of health, 413. Her impatience for Nau's embassy to London, 419. Her intended removal to Tutbury, 423. Points respecting her household set down by sir R. Sadler, 436, *et seqq.* Her injunctions to Nau before his setting off for London, 440. Her anxiety to know her future governor, 442. 445. Interview with Nau, 444. Her sentiments respecting the association, *ib.* Order for her removal, 450. Her illness, 456. Her dislike to Tutbury, 459. 464. Her protestations of affection for Q. Elizabeth, 461. Distrusts the safe carriage of her letters to Scotland, 463. Jealousy of the master of Gray, 465. 467, 468. Her unwillingness to remove to Tutbury till Nau's return from his embassy, 473. Her charges and attendants are to be diminished, 478. Is satisfied with Nau's reception at court, 479. Consents to remove to Tutbury, *ib.* The intended journey, 485. Intended curtailment of her establishment, 486. Arrives at Tutbury, 489. Proposes to join in the English association, 491. Wants required for her at Tutbury, 493. Expences of her establishment ordered to be reduced to 1500*l.* *per an.* 495. Number of her attendants settled, 499. Circumstances which occurred while she was at Derby, 504. Complains of the delay of her letter to her son, 506. 516. Requires her establishment to be regularly fixed, 508. Dorniks delivered out to her household, 511. Complains of the conduct of the master of Gray, and of her son James VI., 515, 516. Requires an increased number of horses, 522, 523. Complains of the non-performance of promises made to her, 528. Charges of her household, 529. Denies having any private correspondence with Scotland, 541. Her parcels searched

- before being delivered to her, 542. Sir Ralph Sadler's speech in parliament on her right to the crown of England, 556. His opinion in council respecting her restoration to the crown of Scotland, 562.
- Matthews, Tobie, bishop of Durham*, letter to lord Burleigh, ii. 204.
- Maximilian, archduke*, defeated in Poland, ii. 305.
- Maxwell, Herbert lord*, procures the liberty for all ranks to read the Bible, i. 83. Accused of negligence by the English, 107. Interview with sir R. Sadler, 117. Requires money, 164. His intended embassy with sir G. Douglas to England, 173. His pension from England, 178. Proposes to send his son to England, 179. Appointed to the command of part of the English army sent into Scotland, 247. His anxiety for the accomplishment of the English treaties, 291. Wishes the earl of Angus's party to come to the convention, 298. Apprehended by the French party, 330. Not willingly as was pretended, 339. His lands invaded by the Grahams, 449. 453. 463. 469; which is excused by the English, 476. Constant to the Lords of the Congregation, 498. 675.
- Maxwell, master of*, sent to meet the duke of Norfolk, i. 700. 703. 704.
- Maxwell, Robert*, communications to John Thomson, i. 193.
- Maunissiere, de*, French ambassador in England, ii. 385. Letter to Q. Mary, 387. Negotiates for her with Q. Elizabeth, 387. 391. Letter to Nau, 388.
- Meldrum, sir George, of Fyvie*, sent to England, i. 271. 276. 302.
- Melville, sir James, of Hallhill*, account of him, i. 451.
- Melville, Robert*, i. 628, conveyed into Scotland, 638. Arrives at St Andrews, 647. Sent to London again, 665, 666. 678. Arrives at Carlisle, 683.
- Menager*, ambassador from France, i. 313.
- Menville, Ninian*, recommended to sir R. Sadler, i. 496. Letter to sir R. Sadler and sir J. Croft respecting a gold chain and money kept from him by sir Albany Featherstonehaugh, 609.
- Middleham*, spoiled by the rebels, ii. 64.
- Milborne-castle*, account of, ii. 356.
- Mildmay, sir Walter*, account of him, ii. 49. Negotiates with Q. Mary, ii. 389. Letters, ii. 49. 68. 132.
- Minto, Stewart lord*, i. 499
- Molstrap, sir Oswald*, captain, his wages, ii. 164.
- Monte, Camillo de*, defeated by sir P. Sidney, ii. 231. Leaves the Spanish service, 297.

- Monte, John Baptista de*, leaves the Spanish service, ii. 297.
- Morgan, Thomas*, secretary to Mary Q. of Scots, ii. 256, 257. Imprisoned, 258.
- Mortigues, de*, a French commander sent to Scotland, i. 662.
- Morton, earl of*, defends the dungeon of Dalkeith castle against the governor, i. 332. Account of him, 334, *note*. Renders up the castle, 335. Conference with sir R. Sadler, *ib*. At Edinburgh, 514. His absence suspicious to Cecil, 532, 533. Suspected by the lords, 537. Sir R. Sadler's wrong opinion of his character, 552. Refuses to come to the dowager, 696.
- Moubray, of Barnbougil*, attached to the interest of Mary Q. of Scots, ii. 412.
- Murray, James Stuart, earl of*, account of him by sir Ralph Sadler, i. 98. Attached to popery, *ib*. Inclined to change to the English interest, 161. Interview with Sadler, 169. His venality, 178.
- Murray, earl of, regent of Scotland*, goes to the Borders against the English insurgents, ii. 71, 72. Refuses to deliver up Northumberland, 97, *note*. Killed at Linlithgow, 146.
- Musgrave, Simon*, joins the queen's army against the rebels with 400 horse-men, ii. 66. Wages of them, 168. Account of him, 142.

N.

- Nau*, one of queen Mary's secretaries, ii. 371. Her wish to send him to London and to Scotland, 385, 386, 387. Delay in the request being acceded to, 399. 403. Sadler's opinion of his embassy, 416. Reason of the delay, 420. Orders for his coming to London, 425. His journey to court, 441. 444. 449. 451. His first audience at court, 454. Further negotiations, 457. His dissensions with the master of Gray, 460. His good reception, 468. Departs from the court, 474. His return to Wingfield, 479.
- Nevill, Andrew*, sheriff of Leicestershire, instructions to him, ii. 381.
- Neville, Cuthbert*, attainted, ii. 136.
- Neville, sir Henry*, joined in commission with the earl of Shrewsbury and sir W. Pelham in the charge of queen Mary, ii. 349. Instructions to them, 351.
- Neville, sir John*, one of the northern rebels, ii. 78. 100.
- Neville, Margaret*, interceded for by the bishop of Durham, ii. 203.

- Neville*, captain, his wages, ii. 168.
- Newcastle*, letter of the magistrates on furnishing coals for the works at Berwick, i. 545.
- Norfolk, Thomas, duke of*, intention of the queen to make him lieutenant general of the North, i. 577. Sent to Newcastle, 635. Appointed lieutenant-general of the North, 640. 668. Arrives at Newcastle, 680. 688, 684. His opinion relative to the treaty with the queen-dowager, 721. His trial, ii. 340. Charges against him, 341. Letters, i. 721. 724.
- Norham-chase*, skirmish of, i. 483.
- Norham-castle*, device for its government, &c. ii. 14, *et seqq.*
- Norris*, leads a band of 600 English to the duke D'Alva, ii. 218. Their fate, 219. His death, 220.
- Norris, sir John*, his retreat before Gaunt, ii. 218.
- Northumberland, Thomas, earl of*, joined with sir R. Sadler and sir J. Croft in commission to negotiate with the Lords of the Congregation, i. 375. Not confided in by Sadler, *ib.* Instructions to the commissioners, 387. Account of him, *ib.* Letter to the dowager of Scotland, 395. Appoints a further day to the Scottish commissioners, *ib.* Sadler's opinion of him, 410. Excuses his conduct towards lady Carnaby, 424. His violent proceedings against her, 443. His neglect of the Borders, 444. Advertised from London of secret matters in the council, 453. His directions concerning two vessels shipwrecked near Berwick, 548. Delivers the writings respecting the office of warden to sir R. Sadler, 576. Joins Westmoreland in the insurrection, ii. 31. His further fate, *ib.* Escapes to Scotland, 71. In the power of the regent, 96. 100. Letters, i. 395, 396. 412, 413. 422. 424. 436. 488. 496. 540. 548. 575.
- Northumberland, Ann, countess of*, escapes to Farnyherst, ii. 96, 97. Removes to Hume castle, 111. Hunsdon offers to work her reconciliation to the queen, 120.
- Norton, Christopher*, one of the principal insurgents, taken, ii. 89. Suffers death as a rebel, 136, *note*, 137.
- Norton, Francis*, one of the northern rebels, ii. 116.
- Norton, Richard*, one of the northern rebels, ii. 78. 96. 100. Account of him and his pedigree, 111, 112, *note*.

O.

- Octavian*, a French captain, sent to Scotland, i. 403, 404. 411.
Ogilvy, sir Walter, i. 19. 40.
Olifant, Andrew, a priest, i. 702.
Oliphant, Laurence lord, will not enter himself prisoner into England, i. 268.
Ormeston, James, letter to sir John Forster and his brother on his fears from his enemies among the protestants, i. 559. The earl of Bothwell attempts to corrupt him, 618.
Otterburn, sir Adam, provost of Edinburgh, i. 316. Conference with sir R. Sadler, ii. 559.
Overton, clerk of the customs, i. 481. 495.

P.

- Paget, William lord*, account of him, i. 221. His death at Brussels, ii. 248. His furniture brought to Tutbury, ii. 423.
Panter, David, account of him, i. 221.
Parliament, sir R. Sadler's speeches in parliament and at the council, ii. 545.
Parliament of Scotland. Act appointing ambassadors to England, i. 59. Instructions to them, *ib.* Stipulations respecting the government of Scotland in case of a union with England, 61.
Parma, duke of, his treatment from Phillip II. in money transactions, ii. 292.
Parr, William, counsellor of Henry VIII., i. 194.
Parry, doctor, letter to him from cardinal Como, ii. 500. His treason discovered, 523.
Parry, sir Thomas, account of him, i. 394.
Pastrana, duke of, his ill usage of the English fugitives, ii. 248.
Pawlet, sir Amyas. First intention to give him the charge of Q. Mary, ii. 483. Appointed to the charge, 501; which he accepts, 510. His arrival, 543.
Peckin, sir Edmond, high-treasurer of England, i. 358.
Pelham, sir William, joined with the earl of Shrewsbury and sir H. Neville in the charge of Q. Mary, ii. 349. Instructions to them, 351.
Pembroke, earl of, sent against the northern rebels, ii. 41.

- Percy, sir Henry*, i. 405. Account of him, 409. Assembles forces against his brother and the northern rebels, ii. 44, *note*.
- Philip II.*, account of him and his government, ii. 287.
- Pickering, William*, ii. 140.
- Pigot, William*, an English captain, goes over to the Spaniards, ii. 221. His subsequent fate, 223 to 227. Imprisoned, 231.
- Pilkington, bishop*, letter, ii. 95, *note*.
- Pinky-house*, taken by the governor, i. 336.
- Pitcairn, Robert*, sent by K. James VI. to England, ii. 344.
- Portugal*, detestation of the Spanish there, ii. 314, 315.
- Poyntz, sir Nachas*, commander of some English ships in the west of Scotland, i. 261. 264.
- Pragell, John*, wages of his company of soldiers, ii. 175.
- Pyle, George*, a borderer, ii. 110.

R.

- Rallay, Mrs.*, a servant of Mary Q. of Scots, her death, ii. 515.
- Randal*, captain, sent to Berwick, i. 633.
- Randal, Thomas*, account of him, i. 417. Passport for him, 421. Arrives at Alnwick, 429. Sent to the lords, 465, 466. Arrives at Hamilton, 474. Dispatched to sir R. Sadler from London, 576. Sent again to Scotland, 635, 636. Arrives at Glasgow, 665. His illness, *ib.* 674. Sent to Scotland after Murray's death, ii. 146. Letters, i. 429. 474. 497. 509. 515. 536. 563. 593. 662. 674. 687. 693. 696. 699. 704. 712.
- Rat, Giles*, a citizen of Antwerp, executed, ii. 274.
- Ratcliffe, Egremont*, concerned in the rebellion, ii. 43. His subsequent fate, *ib.* *note*. 96. 100. 217.
- Ray, Henry*, pursevant of Berwick, i. 287. 396.
- Raylton*, a private secretary, i. 417. 441. 482. 501, 502.
- Rede*, captain, i. 402. 413. 421. 472. Suspected to favour the northern rebels, ii. 56. 74. 89. Accused by Christopher Norton, 137.
- Reid, Robert, bishop of Orkney*, account of him, i. 167. Sent to the governor from the cardinal, 242.
- Reynolds*, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 239. Killed, 240.

- Richardson, sir Robert*, priest, sent from England, i. 210. Confers with the cardinal, 217. Returns to England, 344.
- Ridolphi*, sent from duke d'Alva to the duke of Norfolk, ii. 342.
- Riveley, Richard*, examined on account of Border thefts, ii. 26.
- Rizzio, David*, his murder, ii. 336.
- Rogers, sir Edward*, account of him, i. 394.
- Rohan, de*, commands on board the French fleet sent from Dieppe, i. 228.
- Ross, bishop of*, i. 46.
- Rouverie, Mons.* dispatched from the queen-dowager to queen Elizabeth, i. 585. His arrival at Westminster, and complaints of the assistance afforded by the English to the protestants, 600.
- Ruthven, lord*, suspicions of his faithfulness entertained by the lords, i. 628. Sent to meet the duke of Norfolk, 700. 703, 704.
- Rutland, Edward Manners, earl of*, account of him, ii. 33. Serves under Sussex against the northern rebels, 34. Recommended to sir R. Sadler, *ib.* 40. 56. Returns, 78. 143. His allowance during the insurrection, 163.

S.

- Sackville, sir Richard*, account of him, i. 394.
- Sadler, sir Ralph.* His instructions from Henry VIII., i. 3. Well received at Edinburgh, 18. His first audience with James V., 19; with the queen, 22. Has a private audience with the king, 23. Inveighs against the monks, 31. Points out the advantages of the connection with England, 35. Urges a meeting with Henry VIII., 37. Interview with the queen-dowager, 38. Presents the horses sent from England to the king, 40. Conversation with James V., 42. Sent to Scotland in 1543, 65. Interview with the earl of Arran, *ib.* Conversation with sir G. Douglas, 67; with lord Somerville, 72; with the earls of Angus and Glencairn, 73; and with the earl of Cassills, 77. Introduced in the council, 78. Visited by the earl of Bothwell, 80. Audience with the queen-dowager, 84. Suspects the governor and sir G. Douglas, 89. Converses again with the governor, 91; with sir G. Douglas, 95; with the earl of Cassills and lord Somerville, 96; and with the earls of Huntley, Murray, 98, and Marishall, 99. Receives a message from the cardinal, 104. Conversation with sir G. Douglas, *ib.*; with the governor, 108. Interview with the queen-dowager, 113; with lord Maxwell, 117;

with the earls of Cassills and Glencairn, 122. Expostulates with the governor, 124, 127. Receives a messenger from the cardinal, and has an interview with lord Fleming, 133. Conversations with the governor, 136; with the earls of Angus and Cassills, and others, 141; and with sir G. Douglas, 142. Interview with the governor, 152. Excuses the demands of Henry VIII. which the governor complained of, 153. Meets with the earl of Lennox, 162. His intended dismissal from the office of secretary, 168. Interview with the earls of Murray and Argyle, 169. Acquaints the captive lords with their allowances of money from England, 178. Converses with the governor, 180; again on the road to Hamilton, 185. He is ordered to confer with the cardinal, 189. Reasons for his declining it, *ib.* Conference with the earl of Angus, 195. Repairs to the governor, 199. Advises him not to let the cardinal go to France, 207. Appointed by Henry VIII. with his wife to attend on the young queen, 229. Appointed master of the wardrobe, 228. Resolves to remove to Tantallon, 237. His life attempted, *ib.* Conference with the queen-dowager, 249; with the governor, 254. His dangerous situation at Edinburgh, 285, 286, 317. Confers with the abbot of Paisley, 286; with the provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, 293. Confers with the cardinal and the council, 294. Another audience with the council, 300, and with the cardinal, 307. Ordered to remove to Tantallon, 308. He is secretly watched by the inhabitants, *ib.* Is promised the house of Tantallon for a residence, but is disappointed, 321. His illness, 322. Conference with lord Maxwell, *ib.*; with sir G. Douglas, 327, 328. Goes to Tantallon, 329. Ambush laid for him near Tantallon by Oliver Sinclair, 333. Conference with the master of Morton, 335. His answer to the governor's requisition to address all his letters to him, 337. Is ordered to repair to the earl of Angus, 346. He excuses himself for not going, *ib.* 347. Removes to Berwick, 348, 349. Appointed treasurer to Somerset's expedition into Scotland, 354. His account of the expences, 355. Commission for reviewing his accompt, 356. His discharge, 364. Employed by Q. Mary under lord Clinton, 367, 368. Sent to Berwick, and joined in commission with sir James Croft and the earl of Northumberland, 375. Instructions to them, 387. Further instructions to him, 388. Private powers given to Sadler, 390, 391. Recommends sir J. Croft only to be intrusted with his secret negotiations, 409. Transactions with Balnaves relative to the money required by the Lords of the Congregation, 432, *et*

seqq. Meets the Scottish commissioners on the Borders, 440. Lends money to Balnaves for the lords, 450. L. 3000 sent to him, 480, 481. 485. Intends to send Drury to Edinburgh, and to view Leith, 518. Acquaints the lords of the intended succour from France, *ib.* Complains of their neglect to prevent the fortifying Leith, *ib.* His opinion that only the open declaration of England against France will put an end to the troubles, 522. Appointed warden of the marches during the earl of Northumberland's absence, 527. One thousand pounds remitted to the lords by the lord of Ormeston, 528. Requests money to pay the garrison of Berwick, 530. Sends Drury to secretary Cecill to give him oral information, *ib.* He earnestly importunes for money, *ib.* Cecill's suspicions of Drury, 532. Advertises the Lords of the Congregation of having received money for^t them, and of the coming of a French force to Leith, 538. The office of warden made over to him by the earl of Northumberland, 540. Wishes for more money to foment the enmity of the Scots and French, 543. Complains of being unable to discharge the office of warden, and recommends sir J. Croft and sir J. Forster to be employed, 544. Letter respecting the money to be employed for the protestants, the captains to be sent to them, &c. 550. Advises a speedy attack upon Leith, 556. Complains of his appointment to the office of warden, 557. Receives 3000*l.* for the public service, 578. Receives instructions for preparing victuals for 2000 additional men, 581. Letter respecting his appointment to the office of deputy-warden, 584. Letter to the council respecting the additional troops to be sent to Berwick, 596. Letter to Cecill respecting his transactions as warden, and the expences attending that office, 616. Letter requiring ammunition for Berwick, 622. Letter to sir Walter Kerr of Cessford respecting disorders on the Border, 629. Ordered to prevent the French from fortifying Eymouth, 655, 656. Complains of the burden of the office of warden, 646. Commended by the queen, 669. Repairs to the duke of Norfolk, 679. Advises the lords not to hazard battle, 690. Appointed governor of Berwick, and warden of the east and middle marches, in sir J. Croft and lord Gray's absence, 706. Complains of the great lack of money of the army, 715. Ordered to repair to the camp, 719. 721. His credit with the Scotch, 724. Memorials on the affairs of the frontiers of Scotland, 725. Memorial to be imparted to the queen, 730. Papers relative to his office of warden, ii. 1. His weekly charges for himself and retinue, 11. Remembrances for the better executing the office,

12. Device for establishing the three marches against Scotland, *ib.* 14. Names of his horses, 21. Treasurer to the armies sent against the northern insurrection, 31. Arrives at Hull, 41. His diligence praised by the queen, 50, 51. Distrusts Robert Constable, 63. Requires further supply of money, 65. Numbers of the army, 66. Ten thousand pounds remitted to him, 69, 70. Want of money to discharge the armies, 86. Allowed to return after settling the payment to the army, 125. Six thousand pounds remitted to him, 130. Order for his return, 144. He is ordered to proceed into Scotland upon the regent Murray's death; but the order does not arrive in time, 146. Has the temporary charge of Mary Q. of Scots, 148. Made lieutenant of Hertfordshire, 150. Ordered to levy fifty footmen to serve under Sussex, 153. Appointment for the horsemen, 154. Accompt rendered by him of the expences of the rebellion of the north, 159—188. His own wages, 163. Letter to him from K. James, 344. Conversation with Q. Mary, 344. Joined in commission with sir W. Pelham and sir H. Neville for the custody of the queen, 351. Instructions for him and Shrewsbury, 355. Further private instructions, 359. Summary of his instructions, 363. His additions to the earl of Shrewsbury's orders for guarding the queen, 367. Commission for keeping in custody queen Mary during Shrewsbury's absence, 380. Arrives at Sheffield, 381. Conversation with the queen, 382, 383. Points resolved by him respecting her removal to Tutbury, and her household in general, 436. His wish to return to London, 461. His expenses at Wingfield, 473. His health declines, 476. His illness, 487. Excuses the number of gentlemen attendant on the Q. of Scots to Tutbury, 495. Queen Elizabeth's answer to him respecting his submission, 514. Gives an account of the number of his horses, and the manner in which the charges had been defrayed, 526, 527. Excuses himself for having taken Q. Mary a hawking at Tutbury, 538, 540. Complains of his being so long detained in this charge, 539, 540. Commission to him, discharging him from it, 544. Speech in parliament about a subsidy, and the succession, 547. Speech at the council on the succession, 553. Speech on the queen of Scots title to the crown of England, 556. Speech in council respecting her restoration to the crown of Scotland, 562. Articles against queen Elizabeth's marriage to the duke of Anjou, 570. Letter on the state of the north in 1537, 596. Genealogy of his descendants, 603. His letters, i. 17. 46. 65. 84. 90. 104. 108. 113. 117. 122. 127. 136. 143. 150. 152. 158. 160. 168. 184. 187. 194. 197, 198, 199. 207. 209.

212. 215. 217, 218, 219. 221. 224, 225, 226. 229. 233. 236. 242. 249. 259.
 261, 262. 264, 265. 268. 270. 275. 277. 282. 290. 294. 300. 306. 308, 309,
 310. 313. 315, 316. 319, 320. 325. 332. 334, 335. 337, 338. 341. 344, 345,
 346. 348. 399. 401. 406. 409, 410. 415. 419. 427. 430. 438. 441. 447. 451.
 454. 464. 466, 467. 470. 475. 477. 479. 487. 491. 493. 501. 503. 508. 513.
 516, 517, 518. 522, 523. 528, 529, 530. 538. 541. 544. 547. 551. 555, 556,
 557, 558. 563. 584, 585, 586, 587, 591. 595, 596. 602. 615. 622, 623. 626.
 629. 637. 644. 645. 649. 651. 667. 670, 671. 676. 678. 683. 688. 690. 692.
 703. 711. 715, 716, 717. ii. 36. 41. 51. 54. 65, 66. 70. 72. 74. 82. 85, 86.
 95. 99. 100. 106, 107, 108. 127. 141. 144. 368. 371. 381. 385. 396. 403.
 412. 421. 440. 455. 460. 462. 464. 466. 468, 469. 473, 474. 479. 484. 486.
 489. 494. 501. 506. 515. 522. 524. 526. 538. 540. 542. Memoir of his
 Life, I. i.
- Sadleir, Edward, of Templedinesley*, second son of sir Ralph, his descendants,
 ii. 608.
- Sadleir, sir Edwin*, his armorial-bearings, ii. 610.
- Sadler, Henry*, son of sir Ralph, intercedes for his father's relief from the
 charge of Q. Mary, ii. 428. His descendants, 616.
- Sadler, Ralph, jun.*, list of his household-furniture at Standon, ii. 577. Ac-
 count of him and his descendants, 605.
- Sadler, sir Thomas*, son of sir Ralph, his descendants, ii. 605. His epitaph, *ib.*
- Sadleir, colonel Thomas*, account of him, ii. 614.
- Saint Andrews*, convocation of the clergy there, i. 204.
- St John, John lord*, first intention to commit the charge of Q. Mary to him,
 ii. 429. His intended arrival at Tutbury, 442. 448. 452. Comes to court,
 454. Hastened to proceed to Tutbury, 459. 465. His evasions, 474. Re-
 fuses to take the charge, 477. Accepts it unwillingly, 478. Is finally
 excused from the charge, 510.
- Salisbury*, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 239.
- Salter*, gentleman-porter at Wingfield, ii. 415.
- Scotland*, hatred of the people against England, i. 70. 259. Most of the lords
 determined rather for war than to accomplish K. Henry VIII's desires, 147.
 Attachment of the nation to France, 163. The lords refuse to break the
 league with France, 170. Distracted state of the country, 216. 231. The
 treaty of marriage and peace concluded, 229. Scottish vessels detained in
 England, 274. 293; which is complained of, 300. Attachment of the

- whole realm to France, 326. The union with England pointed out by Cecill, 376. The superiority of England over Scotland alleged by him, 378. Commission of the Border commissioners, 407. Hatred to the French, 431. Daily skirmishes between the protestants and the French, 517. Skirmish between the French and the protestants on the 6th November 1559, 554. Further account, 564. Names of Scottish earls, ii. 20. The nobles refuse to deliver the English fugitives, 102.
- Scott, sir Walter, of Buccleuch*, his incursions into England, i. 233.
- Scott, clan of*, enter and lay waste the English borders, ii. 149. 152.
- Scroop of Bolton, lord*, warden of the west marches and governor of Carlisle, ii. 13, *note*. His delay in assembling his forces against the rebels complained of, 56. Money remitted to him, 142.
- Scurlock*, serjeant-major to sir W. Stanley, in the Spanish service, ii. 239. Killed, 240.
- Seminaries*, rules of the catholic seminaries in Spain, ii. 268.
- Seton, George lord*, keeper of cardinal Bethune, i. 107. Sets him at liberty, 124. 136. French letter to queen Mary, ii. 374. Ordered to go as ambassador to France, *ib*.
- Sheffield, lord*, drowned, i. 427.
- Shrewsbury, Francis, earl of*, account of him, i. 388.
- Shrewsbury, George, earl of*, appointed high-steward at Norfolk's trial, ii. 341. Conversation with Q. Mary, 345. Instructions to him, sir H. Neville, and sir W. Pelham, respecting Q. Mary, 351. His orders for guarding the queen, 364. His repeated applications to be relieved from the charge of keeping the queen, 372. Allowance to him, *ib. note*. His reception at court, 400. His illness, 401. Letters, 407.
- Shrewsbury, Elizabeth, countess of*, employed by Q. Elizabeth as a spy upon Q. Mary, ii. 150. Slanders Q. Mary, 421. Negotiations respecting her accusations of Q. Mary, ii. 457.
- Shute, captain*, appointed gentleman-porter at Tutbury-castle, ii. 451.
- Sidney, sir Philip*, defeats Camillo de Monte at Breda, ii. 231. Takes Axhill, 251.
- Sinclair, Oliver*, account of him, i. 220. Refuses to enter himself prisoner in England, 268. Lies in wait for sir R. Sadler near Tantallon, 333.
- Skink, Martin*, a German commander, account of him, ii. 298, 299, 300.
- Skipwith, Henry*, disliked by Q. Mary of Scots, ii. 487.

- Slingsby, sir Francis*, keeper of Tynedale, i. 412. 419. 428. 442. Wages of his company, ii. 174. Letter, i. 613.
- Slingsby, Marmaduke*, letter to the bailiffs of Tynedale, i. 613.
- Smith*, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 223. His death, 231. Anecdote of him, 250.
- Smythe, Richard*, gentleman-porter at Tutbury, ii. 485.
- Solway Moss*, battle of, i. 59.
- Somer*, secretary to sir R. Sadler, conversation with Q. Mary, ii. 383. Conference with her on the road to Wingfield, 389. Commended by Sadler, 422, 423. Interview with Q. Mary, 444. Recommends the appointment of some gentlemen of the country to have the charge of the Q. of Scots, 497, 498. Letters, 476. 482. 492. 497. 528. 541.
- Somerset, duke of*, his expedition into Scotland, i. 354. Accompt of the expences of it, 355.
- Somerville, Hugh lord*, his negociations with sir R. Sadler, i. 72. 96. His attachment to England, 97. Pension from England, 178. Requests the liberation of his son, 182. Preparations against the cardinal, &c. 254. Subscribes the bond of the English faction, 288. Refuses to come to the convention, 298. Sent to Edinburgh by his faction, 304. Sent to England, 326. Apprehended by the French party, 330. Will not confess the charge he had to the English court, 339. Sent from the regent to the duke of Chatleherault, 499.
- Sopwell*, genealogy of the family of Sadler of Sopwell in Ireland, ii. 613.
- Spain*, garrisons maintained in the Low Countries, ii. 301, and in Italy, 303.
- Spain, king of*, his illness, ii. 448.
- Spencer, John*, a servant sent from Henry VIII. to the governor, i. 218.
- Stafford, lord*, ii. 191.
- Stafford, sir Robert*, appointed serjeant-porter, ii. 98.
- Standon*, list of household-furniture in that house, ii. 577.
- Stanhope, Edward*, letter respecting the examination of Ann Tailor, ii. 535.
- Stanley, sir William*, renders up Deventer to the Spaniards, ii. 232. His subsequent fate, 235—237. Forms a regiment in Spain, 239. Retires to Antwerp, 249.
- Stewart, lord James*, prior of St Andrews and earl of Murray, i. 499. Letter concerning some effects on board a vessel stranded near Berwick, 562.

- Sent to meet the duke of Norfolk, 700. 703, 704. Letters, 562. 620. 647. 666. 676. 684. 689. 691. 698. 706, 707.
- Stewart, James, of Curdonald*, letter to Lennox, i. 655.
- Stewart, James*, sent by Lennox to France, i. 204, 205. 254. Returns, 315.
- Stewart, colonel William*, a favourite with K. James, ii. 376.
- Stirling, captain*, refuses to deliver up Dumbarton, i. 201. Prepares to defend it, 202.
- Stoddert, John*, i. 392.
- Strang, David*, bond to the earl of Northumberland, i. 561. His discharge, 663.
- Strelley, captain*, goes as a spy to Branspeth castle, ii. 35. 89.
- Stringer, steward* to the earl of Shrewsbury, ii. 415. 442. 465. 471.
- Sussex, Thomas, earl of*, marches against the northern rebels, ii. 31. 33. Account of him, 41. Commended by Sadler, 42. Number of his army, *ib.* Reason of the slow increase of it, 55. Discharges his soldiers, 71. Abused at court by Leicester, 73. Commended by Cecil, *ib.* 78, and Sadler, 88. Appointed president and lieutenant at York, 91. Suspected at court, 99. Enters Scotland, and lays waste the Borders, 149. 153. His wages during the insurrection, 162.
- Sutherland, earl of*, sent to the lords by the earl of Huntley, i. 685. Wounded, *ib.* 691. Inimical to the French, 702.
- Sweden, Eric, king of*, sends an ambassador to Q. Elizabeth, i. 467. 507.
- Sweres, Simon*, a Portuguese merchant, account of him, ii. 290, 291.
- Swynborne, John*, one of the northern rebels, account of him, ii. 101.

T.

- Tailboys, lord*, exchanges Harbottel-castle, ii. 15.
- Tailor*, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 223. His subsequent fate, 228.
- Tailor, Anne*, a catholic, accused in Humfrey Bridges' deposition, ii. 520. Her examination at Nottingham, 535.
- Tantallon*, account of the castle of, i. 329.
- Tassos*, governor of Zutphen, ii. 233.
- Tempest, Michael*, one of the northern rebels, ii. 96. 101.
- Tempest, Nicholas*, imprisoned for popery, ii. 204.

- Tempest, Richard*, wages of his company, ii. 171.
Tempest, Robert, one of the northern rebels, ii. 96. Account of him, 101.
Temple—Dinnesley, genealogy of that branch of sir R. Sadleir's descendants, ii. 608.
Thompson, Michael, wages of his company, ii. 172.
Thompson, John, deputy-customer of the west marches, i. 190. 193.
Toky, Edward, his examination, ii. 347. Deranged in his senses, and discharged from the prison, 443.
Tunstall, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, account of him, i. 194.
Tunsted, Robert, ii. 443.
Tutbury-castle, Q. Mary's intended removal thither, ii. 424. Ordered to be put in readiness, 434, 435. Furnished with lord Paget's household stuff, 448. Order for guarding it, 450. 452. Requires a greater garrison than Wingfield, 488. Wants required for furnishing the house, 507. Guards appointed to watch the house, 509. Charge of the carriages supplying the castle with wood and coal, 534.

V.

- Valence, John Montluc, bishop of*, sent by queen Mary into Scotland, i. 716. Sadler advises to detain him as hostage, 717.
Vaughan, John, his wages as captain in the northern rebellion, ii. 165.
Vecque, Christian van der, betrays the fortress of St John in Portugal, ii. 266.
Verdugo, governor of Deventer, ii. 233.
Vilvord, yielded up to the Spaniards, ii. 401.
Vincent, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 223. His death, 230.
Vitelli, marquis of Catena, sent by Alba to foment the insurrection, ii. 53.
Unedall, John, treasurer to the garrisons on the Borders, i. 358.

W.

- Walsh*, an English captain in the Spanish service, ii. 223. His subsequent fate, 232.
Walsingham, sir Francis, his evil reception at the court of James VI., ii. 374. Letters, 375. 381. 394. 397. 408, 409, 410, 411. 419. 424, 425. 428, 429. 434. 448. 449, 450. 452, 453, 454. 456. 458, 459. 469.
Walthamstow—Francis. See *Lowhall*.

- Warcopp, Reginald*, his wages, ii. 168.
- Ward, John*, captain, wages of his company, ii. 167.
- Warke*, castle of, i. 390. Fortified, 414. 472. 490.
- Warners, John*, ii. 443.
- Warwick, Ambrose, earl of*, sent to quell the northern insurrection, ii. 31. Appointed one of the lieutenants against the rebels, 39. Levies forces in Warwickshire, 45. Their fatiguing march, 61. Discharges his forces, 76. Charges of his army, 80, 81. Returns to court, 84. Commended by Sadler, 88. His army discharged, 108. Letter, 79.
- Westmoreland, Charles Neville, earl of*, rebels against Q. Elizabeth, ii. 31. His further fate, *ib.* Advances to Weatherby, 36. Escapes to Scotland, 71. 96, 97. 100. Protected by Hume, 111. His contrition, 120. Promises to write to the queen or lord Hunsdon, 121. His death, 123, *note*. Colonel of an English regiment in Flanders, 222. Wounded by captain Tailor, 229, 230. Letter, 60.
- Westmoreland, Ann, countess of*, account of her, ii. 135, *note*. Conversation with Robert Constable, *ib.*
- Wetheret, Isabell*, complaint against Edward Brandforth, ii. 23.
- Wharton, Thomas lord*, commands at the battle of Solway, i. 120. Sends letters to Sadler, 215. Appointed to guide part of the 5000 English into Scotland, 247. Commended by Sadler, 470, 471. Letter to sir R. Sadler in behalf of his servant William Nory, and taking young Coldingknowes prisoner, 524. Letters, 482. 486. 504. 524.
- Whytlaw, Alexander*, asks for pecuniary relief from England, i. 435. 437. 446. Delivers a memorial for some Scottish merchants, 440. Sent to sir Ralph Sadler, 461. Arrives, 467. Account of him, *ib.* His company of soldiers, 500. His attachment to England, 537, *note*. Sent with 2000*l.* to Scotland, 637. 638. Arrives at St Andrews, 649. Sent from the Lords for pecuniary aid to Berwick, 706, 707. Letter, 630.
- Whitlaw, Patrick*, letter to sir R. Sadler respecting some cattle stolen, i. 599.
- Willoughby, Peregrine lord*, account of him, ii. 37.
- Witshop, John*, his wages as captain in the northern rebellion, ii. 166.
- Winchester, earl of*, lord-treasurer, letter on money sent to Berwick, i. 657.
- Wingfield-castle*, Q. Mary kept prisoner there, ii. 389. Account of it, 414. Method of guarding the house, 476.

- Winne, Peter*, lieutenant to sir W. Stanley in Spain, ii. 239. Slain in Hungary, *ib.*
- Wiseman*, opposes Sadler's son-in-law in a suit at court, ii. 126. 142, 143.
- Wishart, of Pitarrow*, a reformer, i. 510.
- Wood, Anthony*, particulars relating to the Sadleir family, ii. 610.
- Wood, John*, letter to Thomas Randall, i. 617.
- Woodfont, Harry*, ii. 531.
- Wotton, Nicholas*, account of him, i. 395, *note*.
- Wriothesly, Thomas, earl of Southampton*, i. 168.
- Wyliding, John*, i. 392.
- Wynter, William*, sent with a fleet into the Firth, i. 640. 642. 649. 654. 671. 679. Detained by winds, 693. Arrives in the Firth, 697.

Y.

- York, Rowland*, betrays Zutphen to the Spaniards, ii. 232. Poisoned by the Spaniards, 237, 238.

Z.

- Zouch, sir John*, recommended by sir R. Sadler to be joined in the charge of Q. Mary with lord St John, ii. 490. 496. Intended assistant to the latter, i. 7.

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